



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D C 20463

THIS IS THE BEGINNING OF MUR # 3176

DATE FILMED 4/29/92 CAMERA NO. 2

CAMERAMAN S.E.G.

92040900542



06-08653

90 NOV 16 AM 11:49

MUR 3176

October 26, 1990

General Counsel
Federal Elections Commission
999 E Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20463

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTIONS COMMISSION
OFFICE OF THE GENERAL COUNSEL
90 NOV 16 PM 4:04

Dear Mr. Scott:

On October 25, we became aware of an organization calling itself the "Christian Coalition" purchasing radio advertisement attacking the Congressman Pat Williams.

The ad specifically names Congressman Williams five times in its text and would run from October 29 through November 5, 1990 on radio stations within the Congressman's district. We have enclosed a listing of the stations that have received the advertisement as of this date.

We believe the specific naming of Pat Williams and the timing of the placement of the advertisement constitutes an "independent expenditure" by the Christian Coalition. It would therefore require that group to register as a political committee with the Federal Elections Commission and comply with all federal election laws relating to their activities.

Our initial inquiries with both the FEC and the Montana Commissioner of Political Practices finds no listing for any organization called the Christian Coalition.

Furthermore, it is evident from the enclosed transcript of the advertisement that the disclaimer is deficient in clearly identifying who is purchasing the advertising time.

The person contacting the stations on behalf the Christian Coalition has been a Connie Wagner from the Info-Cision advertising agency in Akron, Ohio at (216) 668-1400.

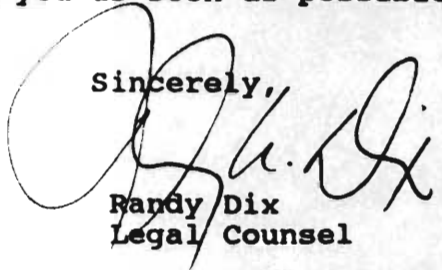
ARTCRAFT

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We believe the "Christian Coalition" to be in violation of both federal and Montana election laws and would request a ruling from your agency on this matter. The proximity to the election makes this matter extremely urgent if we are to maintain the integrity of the election process.


We look forward to hearing from you as soon as possible.

Sincerely,


Randy Dix
Legal Counsel

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN TO before me this 26th day of October, 1990.

(SEAL)


Notary Public for State of Montana
Residing at Helena, Montana
My Commission Expires 11/14/92

92040900544

Script for announcement paid for by Christian Coalition.

PEOPLE IN THE STATE OF MONTANA WORK HARD FOR THEIR MONEY, BUT PAT WILLIAMS WANTS TO TAKE IT AWAY BY RAISING OUR TAXES. AND DO YOU KNOW WHY HE WANTS TO RAISE OUR TAXES? HE WANTS TO RAISE OUR TAXES TO PAY FOR PORNOGRAPHY. IT'S SHOCKING BUT TRUE. PAT WILLIAMS CHAIRS THE COMMITTEE THAT VOTED TO GIVE ONE HUNDRED EIGHTY MILLION DOLLARS OF OUR TAXES TO THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS, TO PAY FOR PHOTOGRAPHS SHOWING:

- A CRUCIFIX IN A JAR OF URINE;
- TWO MEN HAVING SEXUAL INTERCOURSE;
- A FOUR YEAR OLD GIRL WITH HER GENITALS EXPOSED.

ALL THIS PAID FOR BY OUR TAXES. AND THEN, PAT WILLIAMS VOTED TO RAISE OUR TAXES ONE HUNDRED FORTY NINE BILLION DOLLARS OVER THE NEXT FIVE YEARS, OR TWO THOUSAND FOUR HUNDRED DOLLARS FOR EVERY FAMILY OF FOUR IN AMERICA. YOU KNOW WHERE PAT WILLIAMS STANDS ON TAXES AND PORNOGRAPHY. NOW, LET HIM KNOW WHERE YOU STAND. CALL PAT WILLIAMS TODAY AT 443-7878 - THAT'S 443-7878 - AND TELL HIM YOU'RE AGAINST HIS VOTE FOR HIGHER TAXES AND PORNOGRAPHY. PAID FOR BY THE CHRISTIAN COALITION.

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Distortions and Misinformation in the Christian Coalition Ad

1) Pat Williams does not chair the committee that gave \$180 million to the NEA. That committee is chaired by Congressman Jamie Whitten of Mississippi. And the vote to fund the NEA was 342 in favor to 58 opposed. Pat Williams was one of those 342, as was Newt Gingrich, Bob Dornan and William Dannemeyer. Those three congressman are not liberal by anyone's definition of the word.

2) The NEA did not fund the "crucifix in the jar of urine" photograph. What the NEA did do was provide funds to the North Carolina Arts Center to exhibit a show of contemporary art. The photograph in question was produced long before the exhibit occurred, without the use of any NEA funds.

3) The NEA did not fund the photographs of the two men or the little girl. What the NEA did do is provide funds to the Philadelphia Art Center to produce a retrospective exhibit of the works of the late photographer Robert Mapplethorpe. The photographs in question were produced years before the NEA grant and produced without any NEA funds.

4) The Congressional Budget Office, the House Ways and Means Committee and the Joint Committee on Taxation all agree the impact of the tax bill on a family of four with an income of under \$50,000 would be about \$100 a year not the \$2400 for five year figure claimed in the ad.

These inaccuracies once again demonstrate the lies that continue to be told about what the NEA did and what the NEA has not done. The NEA did not fund the works of art in question. But what the NEA has funded in Montana include the Helena Film Society, the Vigilante Players of Bozeman, the Montana Ballet Company of Bozeman, the Montana Institute of the Arts Foundation in Billings, the Garden City Ballet in Missoula, the Glacier Orchestra and Chorale in Kalispell and the Bigfork Center for Performing Arts. These projects were funded by the NEA and that's why Pat Williams supports the NEA.

92040900546

**Radio Stations in Montana's First Congressional District
receiving a request to purchase advertising time by the
"Christian Coalition" as of October 26, 1990**

- 1) KBOW-AM
P.O. Box 3389
Butte, Montana 59702
- 2) KOPR-FM " "
P.O. Box 3389
Butte, Montana 59702
- 3) KDXT-FM
P.O. Box 4106
Missoula, Montana 59806
- 4) KGRZ-AM
P.O. Box 4106
Missoula, Montana 59806
- 5) KGVO-AM
P.O. Box 5023
Missoula, Montana 59806

92040900547

NOTE: HOUSE NEA APPROPRIATION
PASSED OCT 15 AND SENATE
NEA APPROPRIATION OCT. 24.
THE DATE OF THIS LETTER
INDICATES THEY WERE
INTERESTED IN ELECTION
NOT INFLUENCING A
CONGRESSIONAL VOTE

October 26, 1990 *

Dear Christian Friend:

On October 11-Pat Williams led the fight to spend
your hard-earned tax dollars on pornography.

That's right. He chairs the committee that voted to
give \$180 million of your taxes to the National Endowment
for the Arts to pay for photographs depicting:

- Jesus Christ immersed in a vat of urine;
- Two men engaged in sexual intercourse;
- A 4-year old girl with her genitals exposed;
- Jesus Christ shooting heroin in his arm.

And that's not all.

He also voted to allow the NEA to spend your taxes
on--

-- \$9,000 to the Lesbian and Gay Film Festival
in San Francisco, which includes films
portraying lesbian group sex.

-- A porn queen named Annie Sprinkle performing
sex acts on stage in New York City's Kitchen
Theatre.

All this paid for by your taxes.

All this at a time when the federal government is
three trillion dollars in debt.

And then Pat Williams voted to raise our taxes \$149
billion over the next five years, or an average of \$2400
a year for every family of four in America.

That's \$2400 a year for every family of four in
America.

And then Pat Williams voted against a constitutional
amendment requiring the federal government to balance its
budget.

9 2 0 4 0 9 0 0 5 4 9

Pat Williams led the fight against an amendment offered by Congressman Dana Rohrabacher (R-CA) that would have prohibited the government from spending your taxes on obscenity, child pornography, and blasphemy. I am proud to say that 60 brave Democrats voted for this amendment. But Pat Williams and 57 Republicans voted against our position, causing the amendment to fail.

The liberals in Congress have officially said that Christians in America do not matter, and that moral people for whom faith in Jesus Christ is important do not have a say in the affairs of government.

Now you know where Pat Williams stands on tax-funded pornography.

Let Pat Williams know where you stand.

Call him today at 406/443-7878 and tell him you are against his votes to raise your taxes and spend your tax dollars on pornography.

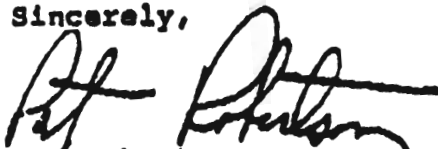
And please use the enclosed envelope to send your best gift today to the Christian Coalition so we can continue to stand tall for Christian values.

I need your help to air radio spots in your community to inform Pat Williams' constituents so they will tell him to oppose obscenity and blasphemy when it next comes before Congress. Please send your best gift of \$50, \$35, or \$25 today.

We must stop liberals like Pat Williams from supporting this outrageous assault on faith and family.

God bless you. Your friendship and support means a great deal to me. I am

Sincerely,



Pat Robertson

P.S. Please call Pat Williams today at 406/443-7878. The Congress should vote again soon on tax-funded pornography. Your voice is vital at this critical time.

The Christian Coalition is a non-profit organization under IRS Code 501(C)(4). Contributions are not tax deductible.

WARNING!

EXTREMELY EXPLICIT PHOTOGRAPHS PAID FOR BY YOUR TAX DOLLARS

The following photographs are reproductions of portions of exhibits funded by the National Endowment for the Arts with taxpayer funds. They are not suitable for children or minors.

YOUR TAXES AT WORK

These shocking photographs were paid for by your tax dollars. As explicit and disturbing as they are, you have a right to know what is being done with your taxes. The Bible says in Hosea 4:6, "My people perish for lack of knowledge."

The National Endowment for the Arts gave \$30,000 to support an exhibit of Robert Mapplethorpe's "Perfect Moment" photographs. In addition to those included here, there was a self-portrait of Mapplethorpe with a bullwhip in his rectum, photographs of male genitalia, and depictions of two men engaged in anal sex.

Also reproduced below is a small part of a larger work by David Wojnarowicz entitled "Tongues of Flame," showing Jesus Christ shooting heroin in his arm, an exhibit paid for by \$15,000 from the National Endowment for the Arts to the University Galleries of Illinois State University. This photograph was a small fraction of a larger work, part of a collage that showed a man standing in a cathedral with his portrait of Christ shooting drugs into his arm hanging on the wall behind him.

Your Congressman voted against an amendment that would have prohibited the funding of these photographs. Call and write today and tell him you are opposed to his vote for tax-funded pornography.



One man urinating in another man's mouth.



Jesus Christ shooting drugs into his arm



9 2 0 4 0 9 0 0 5 5 0

9 2 0 4 0 9 0 0 5 5 1

"People in the State of Montana work hard for their money. But Pat Williams wants to take it away by raising our taxes. And do you know why he wants to raise our taxes? He wants to raise our taxes to pay for pornography. It's shocking but true. Pat Williams chairs the Committee that voted to give 180 million dollars of our taxes to the National Endowment for the Arts. To pay for photographs showing a crucifix in a jar of urine, two men having sexual intercourse, a 4-year old girl with her genitals exposed. All this paid for by our taxes. And then, Pat Williams voted to raise our taxes 149 billion dollars over the next 5 years, or \$2,400 for every family of 4 in America. You know where Pat Williams stands on taxes and pornography. Now, let him know where you stand. Call Pat Williams today at 443-7878, that's 443-7878, and tell him you're against his vote for higher taxes and pornography. Paid for by the Christian Coalition."

Christian Coalition
bought 2 days of
ADS on K GVO
missals at
prime time

9 2 0 4 0 9 0 0 5 5 2

1. Pat Williams does not chair the committee that gave \$180 million to NEA. That committee is the Appropriations Committee, and is chaired by Congressman Jamie Whitten of Mississippi. And the vote to fund the NEA was 342 in favor to 58 opposed. Pat Williams was one of those 342, as was Newt Gingrich, Bob Dornan, and William Dannemeyer, three individuals who are not liberal by anyone's definition of that word.

2. NEA did not fund the "crucifix in a jar of urine" photograph. It did not give funds to the artist to produce the photograph. What the NEA did do was provide funds to a North Carolina Arts Center to exhibit a show of contemporary art. The photograph in question was produced long before the exhibit occurred, without the use of any NEA funds.

3. NEA did not fund the photographs of the two men or the little girl. What the NEA did do is provide funds to a Philadelphia art center to produce a retrospective exhibit of the works of the late photographer Robert Mapplethorpe. The photographs in question were produced years before the NEA grant were made, and were produced without NEA funds.

These three inaccuracies once again demonstrate the lies that continue to be told about what the NEA did, and what the NEA has not done. The NEA did not fund the works of art in question. But what the NEA has funded is the Helena Film Society, the Vigilante Players of Bozeman,

tthe Montana Ballet Company in Bozeman, the Montana Institute of Arts Foundation in Billings, the Garden City Ballet in Missoula, the Glacier Orchestra and Choral in Kalispell, and the Bigfork Center for Performing Arts. These projects were funded by the NEA. And that's why Pat Williams supports the NEA.

9 2 0 4 0 9 0 0 5 5 3

The \$149 billion over 5 years is correct. The \$2,400 for a family of four is incorrect. It may be correct as an overall average but the issue is "who" pays. The plan PW voted for shifted the burden away from the "average" family of four to the rich.

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assume
roughly
1 million
tax returns
fitted

Does not differentiate \$1500-per taxpayer
distribution among
two basic sources
ways and means
CBO tax model

average annual
effect

top 1%
above
4 hundred
dollars
year

\$200⁰⁰ bottom
80%

81-90⁰⁰
\$200⁰⁰

Transcript: Discussion between Pat Robertson and Ralph Reed,
Executive Director of the Christian Coalition, broadcast on the
"700 Club", November 1, 1990, on the Christian Broadcasting
Network, Cable Channel 16, in Helena, Montana

ROBERTSON: Ralph Reed's here with us from the Christian
Coalition. The Coalition is just up and running.

Ralph, you have some agenda items too. What is the Coalition
doing?

REED: Well right now Pat we're distributing about four million
voter guides in seven states to inform Christians where the
candidates stand on the issues so they can get out and vote.

5 If you look at the '88 election cycle, for example, there were
5 eighty-nine million votes cast for president. Twenty-five
5 million people self identified themselves in network exit polls
as either evangelicals, born again or pro-life Catholics.

0 If we could get that kind of a turnout again, we can see people
0 like Jesse Helms and Tom Tauke win.

9
0 ROBERTSON: Are you sending out copies of that salacious, so
4 called art, the Mapplethorpe photographs? ← *

0 REED: Well, yea we are (giggle). With some of these congressmen,
2 you read them their record back to them and they say that's a
9 distortion, you know.

We're sending out the Mapplethorpe photographs, as we promised we
would into seven states. And there are a number of congressmen
that are in serious trouble because of that issue. ← *

One of them is Ben Jones, a liberal freshman Democrat from
Atlanta. Another is Jolene Unsoeld, who you mentioned in your
piece. Another one is Richard Stallings who is in Idaho too. ← *

So there are some congressmen in real trouble.

ROBERTSON: You're not going to tell the media who the targets of
the hit list are? ← *

REED: We want them to know with the rest of the American people,
the day after election when some of these members have a career
change. (Both laughing)

ROBERTSON: But the Coalition essentially warned congress that if they voted to refund the NEA, that there would be retribution.

REED: Well that's correct and we think the taxpayers should be allowed to call the tune. And when their taxes are being used to fund homoerotic art or so called homoerotic art, the voters in those districts have a right to know what their taxes are being used for.

We're also doing, by the way, thousands of get out the vote phone calls in North Carolina so Christians will get to the polls next Tuesday.

ROBERTSON: So that kind of activity is with the Coalition. How many states is the Coalition in?

REED: We now have chapters operating, Pat, about three hundred chapters operating in forty states all over the country.

ROBERTSON: This can be a very powerful political force.

REED: There's no question about it. As you have so eloquently said on this program if pro-family Roman Catholics and evangelicals will unite at the ballot box, there is almost no candidate anywhere in the country that we can't elect.

ROBERTSON: Where could somebody get in touch with you if they want to work more closely with the coalition?

REED: Well they can give me a call here in Chesapeake, Virginia at (804) 424-2630. And we will let them know how they can get their hands of those voter guides or we'll be glad to get them more information.

ROBERTSON: Well that's a tremendous service.

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5B

LAWYER, MONTANA, ...

"Montana's failed economy and business climate cannot be turned around without significant tax reform," he said. While Montana has the third-lowest

ers in Montana. ... Montana will not solve its revenue problems by soaking the rich," Lambros said.

Colburg can't stop anti-Williams radio ads

By The Associated Press

Dolores Colburg, Montana's commissioner of political practices, said Wednesday she has no authority to decide the legality of advertisements attacking Democratic Rep. Pat Williams for his role in reauthorizing the National Endowment for the Arts.

The Christian Coalition, which placed the ads on radio stations in Butte, Helena and Missoula this week, is not registered with the Federal Election Commission and therefore does not have to register or file its financial reports with Colburg's office, she concluded.

Federal election laws govern campaigns for federal offices and supersede any related state laws, Colburg noted.

Ralph Reed, executive director of the coalition headed by evangelist Pat Robertson, said the organization does not have to file with the FEC because it is not a political committee trying to influence the outcome of an election.

"Our interest is not in removing Pat Williams from office," he said in a telephone interview from the coalition's headquarters, Va., headquarters. "Our interest is in securing votes against anti-family propaganda."

Williams appreciated

Regarding the Missoulian editorial: ...

Indian rep blames both our reps for Custer failure

States News Service

WASHINGTON - Indian leaders and park service officials Wednesday said they were shocked and disappointed to learn that a proposal for a memorial to the Sioux and Cheyenne warriors who fought at Custer Battlefield died in the final hours of Congress.

Legislation authorizing the memorial in eastern Montana died early Sunday morning after Rep. Pat Williams moved to try to change the battlefield's name and Rep. Ron Marlenee said he would not agree. Because of imminent adjournment, the House leadership refused to bring up the bill for a vote unless they were assured of unanimous consent.

Rep. Ben Nighthorse Campbell, D-Colo., blamed the bill's failure on what he described as a political and personal feud between the state congressmen, who are gearing up for a possible race against each other in 1992.

"The two Montana congressmen got in an argument over who would be helping the Indians the most and they ended up killing the bill," Campbell said. "The Indians are the ones who suffer for it.... I am disgusted."

Campbell, a major supporter of the bill, said both Montana congressmen were on the floor together around 11 pm Saturday night but refused to talk to each other. He said he talked to each several times but couldn't get them together.

"They had plenty of opportunity," to discuss the bill, Campbell said. "I got the feeling that each one was worried about the other."

5B

PM-VA--Robertson Return, Bjt, 720

Robertson Re-emerges On National Scene To Fight NEA

By D.W. PAGE=

Associated Press Writer=

VIRGINIA BEACH (AP) The re-emergence of Pat Robertson after a two-year hiatus could signal the religious broadcaster's return to active politics, longtime Robertson observers said.

Robertson and his Christian Coalition are mounting a campaign to halt the funding of what they consider pornography and blasphemous art by the National Endowment for the Arts.

Robertson has used his "700 Club" television show a program of news, features and religion seen by more than 960,000 people daily on cable channels to attack NEA grants.

"I see it as no change in his position. He has withdrawn for a time from the political sphere but still harbors the hope of returning one day," said Larry Sabato, a University of Virginia political scientist.

Last week, Robertson targeted the Atlanta Arts Festival, which included an adult puppet show that the Christian Coalition claimed showed oral sex. The coalition alleged NEA grant money helped fund the show, a charge denied by the NEA and officials of the Atlanta show.

Those officials said the puppet show was a morality play intended for adults and was clearly advertised as such. John Ludwig, producer of the show, denied his puppets engaged in oral sex. He described the scene as a satirical treatment of sexual temptation.

Ralph E. Reed Jr., the coalition's executive director, said it may be technically true that the NEA did not fund the puppet show, but "that's not the point. To us they (the NEA) are simply shirking their responsibility ... like Pontius Pilate washing his hands.

"The Atlanta puppet show demonstrates what can happen when the NEA gives out tax money without any restrictions ... the blatant misuse of tax money to promote pornography," he said.

For the 50,000-member coalition, established and headed by Robertson to mobilize the "pro-family Christian" movement in support of political issues, the NEA funding is its first national issue.

"If the weirdos on the federal dole do not stop peddling obscenity and pornography, members of Congress will hear from angry voters in November," Robertson said on the "700 Club."

In 1987, Robertson relinquished his call to the pulpit and ran for the Republican presidential nomination in 1988. He finished second in the Iowa caucuses behind Kansas Sen. Robert Dole and ahead of then Vice President George Bush. The glory of Iowa faded in just a week as Robertson finished last in New Hampshire primary.

Later defeats in South Carolina and Super Tuesday left the Robertson campaign in disarray.

Robertson returned to his Christian Broadcasting Network, which had been losing millions during his campaign, and has spent the last two years building up the ratings.

While Robertson toiled at CBN, his people moved on to work in

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local campaigns. Many of his Virginia supporters joined the campaign of Marshall Coleman against L. Douglas Wilder for governor.

Coleman, who started his campaign on a strong pro-life platform, lost in a close election.

"Both 1988 and 1989 were tough years for us," Reed said. "The issue of the NEA has fired up and energized our troops."

To Jeffrey Hadden, a longtime Robertson observer, Robertson's attacks on the NEA, whether based on fact or not, will continue to endear him to his audience.

"Pat is speaking to a different audience with different expectations," said Hadden, a University of Virginia sociologist and expert on television evangelists. "In the world of religious broadcasting, he is speaking a metaphorical truth."

"The exact fact of the situation may be in question, but what is not in question is that his audience perceives NEA money is being used to do things offensive to them," Hadden said.

"Any time you can demonstrate that your government is spending your money to do something you consider objectionable, that mobilizes people," Reed said.

Robertson said earlier this year it would take divine intervention to get him to run for political office again.

"I think it would take an angel coming down and standing in front of me, then three or four other signs," Robertson said.

"You can't predict the movement of angels," Sabato said. "He has not abandoned his political hopes. He still remembers the miracle of Iowa and has forgotten the defeats of Super Tuesday."

"I really think he has a longer-term ambition to take another crack at the presidency," Hadden said.

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IN THE NEWS INTERVIEW

Pat Robertson interviewed John Frohnmayer on April 23, 1990, on "The 700 Club." The transcript has been edited for space limitations.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS CHAIRMAN JOHN FROHNMAYER



JOHN FROHNMAYER

Q: Robertson: Mr. Frohnmayer, I want to ask you one question. Are you as the head of [the NEA] going to stop funding lesbian and gay films, obscene art and anti-religious art, are you going to stop funding those through the Endowment? Yes or no?

A: Frohnmayer: I have said repeatedly that obscenity will not be funded under my watch and I mean that with every fiber of my body.

Q: Robertson: But you have said that you did not think that so-called homo-erotic art is obscene, and in 1990, my friend, during your watch you gave \$9,000 to the San Francisco International Lesbian and Gay film festival. Now that is still going on.

A: Frohnmayer: Well, what I have said is that I do not believe that a person's sexual orientation is relevant to whether or not that person is going to break the law. And quite frankly, I think that if we were to take the position that we can't fund people who have a certain sexual orientation we'd be in court tomorrow on that issue....I do not believe that a person of a particular sexual orientation is automatically going to obey the law any more than I believe that a person of another sexual orientation is automatically going to obey the law. So it's simply a question of trying to treat human beings as human beings. I think that is consistent with what we believe as Christians.

Q: Robertson: When you were interviewed by *USA Today* they asked you specifically what would you do with Serrano and Mapplethorpe, and you said you would put them through the review process again and they would be subject to consideration again and you said and I am quoting you, "It accuses us of funding homosexuals and I plead guilty because we do not consider sexual orientation as a criteria for judging grants." Now you [also] said "nor do we assume that because of a person's sexual orientation that a person will automatically disobey the law." Well, Mapplethorpe has got child pornography among other things. If someone is a pedophile would that automatically disqualify him from getting a federal grant?

A: Frohnmayer: Well, Pat, what I am going to do as the head of this agency is I think the same thing you would do and that is I am going to pray for wisdom and courage to do the very best job I can in fulfilling the mandate of this agency, and that is to produce the very best art we have in this country.

Q: Robertson: Your agency funded an organization that called Cardinal [John] O'Connor a fat cannibal and...attacked the Roman Catholic Church....

A: Frohnmayer: I do not believe that this Endowment should be funding things that are a swastika on synagogues or are defiling other people's religions. That is not what I am about and again the examples that you talk about are all examples that pre-date anything that this administration has done. So what is really happening here is you are crying that the house is on fire, the fireman has arrived and you are hurling bricks at the fireman.

92040900560

CHRISTIAN AMERICAN

6-13-90

**AT&T Hangs Up on
Planned
Parenthood p.2**

**NEA: Frohnmayer
answers critics p.4**

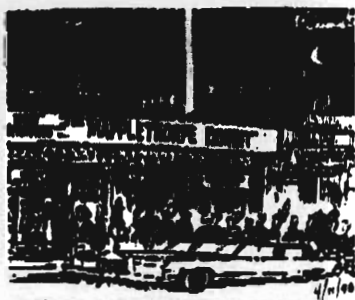
**Who Will Bush's
Opponent Be In
1992? p.7**

**Homosexual
Leaders Invited to
White House p.5**

Volume 1 Number 2

Summer 1990

CHRISTIANS TO CONGRESS: STOP TAX- FUNDED PORN



**Christian
Coalition
Petition Demands
End to NEA
Funding**

As the National Endowment for the Arts' political base on Capitol Hill continued to crumble, Christian Coalition recently announced a nationwide petition drive to cut off funds to the agency.

Christian Coalition president M.G. "Pat" Robertson pledged to generate 100,000 petitions to Congress during the August recess to stop tax-funded pornography. The campaign—which includes national television and radio advertisements—comes as the NEA is reeling from allegations of misconduct by Chairman John Frohnmayer.

Frohnmayer met with criticism in early June when he summarily fired deputy chairman Alvin Felzenberg, who supported concessions to Congress on the issue of obscene and pornographic art.

On May 25 Frohnmayer blasted noted scholar Jacob Neusner, a member of the prestigious National Council of the Arts, for suggesting reforms in the NEA's grant-

**"We the undersigned urge the President
and Congress to stop using our tax
dollars to fund pornography through the
National Endowment for the Arts."**

ACT TODAY! DON'T DELAY!

CALL 1-900-820-9797.

Your \$4.00 call will help stop this madness.

making policies. "I would fire you if I could," he told Neusner in a blistering letter that was reprinted by conservative weekly *Human Events*.

Frohnmayer has also admitted directing an NEA employee to provide him with free singing lessons at the

agency's headquarters at the Old Post Office in Washington. Several NEA employees have complained about the practice, reporting that the lessons took place during normal office hours and imposed hardships on their ability to carry out their normal duties.

The NEA controversy began when the agency funded an exhibit by Robert Mapplethorpe, who died of AIDS in 1989, that included photographs of nude children and homosexuals engaged in sex acts. A separate grant to Andres Serrano funded a photograph of Christ immersed in a vat of urine.

Other grants that have drawn fire:

The "Tongues of Flame" exhibit by artist David Wojnarowicz, held at the University

(Continued On Page 6)

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GROUP RESEARCH

Vol. 29, No. 1

January/February 1990

Evangelicals regroup as Christian Coalition

Several leaders of evangelicals, conservative Catholics and allies have met in Washington to formalize a grass roots movement called Christian Coalition, subtitled "a house united." The object: "to make government and the media responsible to our concerns."

Headquarters are at the Chesapeake, Virginia, offices of Rev. Pat Robertson, the enterprising fundamentalist who ran for President in 1988.

Another leader is Beverly LaHae, whose husband Tim was on the board of Rev. Jerry Falwell's defunct Moral Majority and nearly 10 years ago was President of the Council for National Policy, the active coordinating group for the entire right wing. The two work together in Christian Voice, a leading force in the American Freedom Coalition with Rev. Moon. (below) In 1987, Tim LaHae was forced out of a position in the presidential campaign of Jack Kemp because of earlier anti-Catholic and anti-Semitic statements which caught up with him in the press.

Other leaders include Rev. D. James Kennedy, long active in numerous religious-right movements; Rev. Charles Stanley, a founder of Moral Majority and recently President of the Southern Baptist Convention; and Father Michael Scanlan.

Executive Director of the Coalition is Ralph Reed, a former leader of the College Young Republicans who organized Students for America to lobby for President Reagan's policies on campuses. A year ago, Reed told the Conservative Digest that the evangelical movement was a largely untapped reservoir of political power "ready to explode."



CHRISTIAN COALITION

He believes that "the real battles of concern to Christians are in neighborhoods, school boards, city councils and state legislatures," rather than trying to change Washington.

The group is also organizing a Christian Legal Defense Fund to help Christians "protesting violations of their historical freedoms."

Moonies step up and expand activities

Since our previous reports on the Reverend Sun Myung Moon and his followers in the United States (pp 7 & 15, 1989), the cult leader has been very active and his organization has expanded into some new enterprises of interest.

The International Security Council, a project of his CAUSA, held a conference in a Congressional meeting room on "Is the Cold War Over?" which included several participants who may or may not have known it was a Moon operation. And the Council ran several quarter-page ads in newspapers, including the New York Times, questioning any "new" thinking by the Soviets. As usual, no Moon identification was included.

The World Media Association ran a full-page ad with Moon's name and picture, reprinting his interview with a Russian newspaper.





Christian Coalition

August 13, 1990

Dear Christian Friend:

"I'm for evangelicals running for public office and winning, if possible, and getting control of the Congress, getting control of the bureaucracy, getting control of the executive branch of government."

I didn't say that. My friend Billy Graham was addressing the 700 Club television audience some months ago when he said it.

"I think," he continued, "if we leave it to the other side, we're going to be lost and I would like to see every true believer involved in politics in some way, shape, or form."

Billy was expressing the same concern you and I share. We simply can't stand by and watch our beloved nation taken apart, plank by plank.

That's why your involvement in the Christian Coalition is so crucially important. I believe with all my heart it is up to us — as members of the Body of Christ — to preserve religious and civil freedom in America.

The reason is that you and I know America was founded on the bedrock of Biblical principles. No matter how distorted a view our modern history books take on this subject, the majority of those who shaped our republic were God-fearing, Bible-believing statesmen who wanted this nation to embody the governmental principles of God's Word.

As one of those statesmen, John Adams,* said, "Our Constitution was made for a moral and religious people. It is wholly inadequate for the government of any other."

Yet, our generation of "moral and religious people" has failed to take leadership — and now we are paying a dear price.

Had Biblical principles prevailed, no American child would be denied the right to pray in a public schoolroom.

Had Christians taken their God-given place in government, American babies would rest safely in their mothers' wombs.

Had you and I "learned the ropes" of the political world, no agency like the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) could have spent public monies on homo-erotic photography, or pictures of Christ immersed in a vat of urine.

Winter
1985

organization to help evangelicals and conservative Catholics and Jews get involved in the public policy arena. Millions of Christians mobilized to pray for our leaders, to register to vote, and to impact the decisions of city councils, state legislatures and the Federal government in Washington.

Before my campaign for the presidency began The Freedom Council was shut down and I resigned from CBN because I wanted to avoid any appearance of conflict of interest.

For the last year I've avoided public action on many of the issues near to my heart. I wanted to allow our President to have every opportunity to speak out and take action.

But the time has now come for you and me to lift high once again the banner of freedom

-- including religious freedom for Christians right here in the USA!

Last year --

* a public elementary school teacher destroyed a first grader's drawing of Mary and Joseph and the baby Jesus, then ridiculed the child in front of the class -- because the drawing was "religious"...

* a private Catholic university was ordered to pay expenses and give official university status to a gay and lesbian student group on their campus -- because not funding the group would violate their "civil rights"...

* thousands of abortion protesters across America have been beaten, dragged, jailed, and in some cases, had medical treatment withheld -- in order to protect the radical feminist position supporting abortion through the 9th month of pregnancy as a means of birth control.

And Congress continues funding the pornography I enclosed -- calling it "art"!

It's time to take a stand again.

Last week I began a new organization to fight

(3)

for our freedoms -- The Christian Coalition. Once again I invite you to join me in making our voices heard.

As soon as I receive your membership form, I'll send you an official membership card and lapel pin.

You can begin wearing your lapel pin immediately to civic and political meetings as a way of identifying others who are concerned about the moral decadence that has invaded the heart of America.

We won't endorse any candidates or political parties -- but we will speak out on issues -- and we'll make sure candidates for office at every level know how we stand -- and how we'll vote.

We'll organize chapters in every state, every Congressional District, and God willing, every precinct in America.

We'll register God-fearing Americans to vote and insist that candidates for every office tell us their views on religious freedom, abortion, prayer in schools, sex education, pornography, and other issues important to the moral fiber of our nation.

We'll sponsor rallies and debates and inform voters of positions held by those seeking office.

As an activist organization, The Christian Coalition will force America to face the moral issues that threaten to destroy us.

I need you to join The Christian Coalition today. Membership is just \$10 a month.

With your membership you will receive a free subscription to Pat Robertson's Perspective -- my newsletter on the economy, foreign affairs and current events.

You'll also receive a free subscription to The Christian Citizen -- giving you news, information, and action you can take about the great moral issues facing America.

(Over, please)

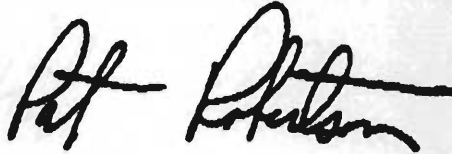
9 2 0 4 0 9 0 0 5 6 5

(4)

Can I count on you?

Return your membership form today. Together we can begin to turn back the tide of pornography, filth and moral decay that is attacking every level of our society.

Sincerely,



Pat Robertson

P.S. ~~Enclosed~~, on the back of your membership form is a questionnaire about state and local chapters of The Christian Coalition. Please indicate what kind of leadership role you'd like to have in a chapter in your area.

IMPORTANT -- I encourage you to exercise your freedom immediately by destroying the vulgar information about the photographs.

92040900566

State and Local Chapter Information

- ☐ I am interested in a state or local chapter of The Christian Coalition.
- ☐ I will help organize a chapter.
- ☐ I available to be a chapter officer.
- ☐ I will be a chapter member.

Complete the following:

State _____ Zip Code _____

U.S. Congressional District
(or your Congressman's name) _____

City _____

County _____

Precinct _____

**Fill out membership
form on the other
side and mail
TODAY!**

92040900567

Membership Form

for

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

☐ I want to be a member of The Christian Coalition.

One Year Plan

3-Pay Plan

12-Pay Plan

☐ \$100 Enclosed

☐ \$35 a month
for 3 months

☐ \$10 a month
for 12 months

(SAVE \$20)

(SAVE \$15)

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

☐ Check enclosed.

☐ Bill my:

☐ VISA

Account # _____

☐ Mastercard

☐ Discover

Expiration Date _____

Signature _____

☐ I can't join at this time, but please use the enclosed contribution to further the work of The Christian Coalition.

Amount enclosed: \$ _____

☐ I destroyed the disgusting descriptions of the photographs you sent me.

Christian Coalition is a non-profit organization under IRS code 501-C4. Contributions, including membership fees, are not income tax deductible under IRS law. Corporate and business contributions are welcome. The Christian Coalition is not affiliated with any political party and does not endorse any candidates.

Make checks payable to: Christian Coalition • Box 1990 • Chesapeake, VA 23320

9 2 0 4 0 9 0 0 5 6 8

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

Ladies and Gentlemen:

You are being asked to appropriate funds taken from the American taxpayers in order to continue the National Endowment For The Arts.

In recent years the NEA has used funds provided by you to pay for exhibitions of paintings and photographs depicting:

- Two naked men engaged in anal intercourse
- Little children with exposed genitals
- One man urinating in the mouth of another
- Jesus Christ immersed in a jar of urine
- The Roman Catholic Pontiff immersed in a vat of urine
- Jesus Christ shooting heroin into his arm

This November you will face an electorate:

- Furious at being forced by you to pay for the greed of savings and loan manipulators
- Disgusted with your handling of your pay raise
- Shocked at the revelation that you have been looting the Social Security Trust Fund for years
- Discouraged at your inability to balance the federal budget

Do you also want to face the voters with the charge that you are wasting their hard-earned money to promote sodomy, child pornography, and attacks on Jesus Christ?

You could choose to fund the NEA while refusing public funding for obscenity and attacks on religion. But the radical left wants you to give legitimacy to pornography and homosexuality. So you are being asked to vote like sheep for \$175,000,000 with no strings attached.

Of course, when you vote, you may not have any risk.

We may not be able to give out 100,000 copies of the Mapplethorpe and Serrano "art" to registered voters in your district.

There may be more homosexuals and pedophiles in your district than there are Roman Catholics and Baptists. You may find that the working folks in your district want you to use their money to teach their sons how to sodomize one another. You may find that the Roman Catholics in your district want their money spent on pictures of the Pope soaked in urine.

But maybe not.

There is one way to find out.

Vote for the NEA appropriation just like Pat Williams, John Frohnmayer, and the gay and lesbian task force want.

And make my day.

Sincerely,



Pat Robertson
President, Christian Coalition

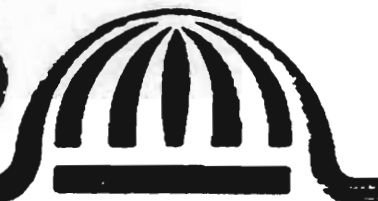


Christian Coalition

250

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INDEPENDENT RECORD



Sunday, November 4, 1990

From Montana's capital city

Vol. 46, No. 348

\$1.00

Williams: Religious right politicking

Federal Election Commission to review tape of broadcast

By BILL LOMBARDI
IN State Bureau

Rep. Pat Williams' campaign on Saturday shipped to the Federal Election Commission a videotape it contends shows the Christian Coalition is attempting to knock him and others off at the

polls for their support of the National Endowment for the Arts.

The Virginia-based coalition's literature says it is not affiliated with any political party and does not endorse any candidates. And its executive director, who could not be reached for comment Saturday, said last week that the coalition is not trying to influence elections.

Williams, a Democrat seeking re-election, helped forge compromise legislation to reauthorize NEA funding with the stipulation that grant recipients would be required to return money used to produce art that the courts declare obscene.

Joe Lamson, Williams' campaign manager, sent FEC officials a videotape of a portion of religious broadcaster Pat Robertson's 700 Club show, aired Thursday night, that included an interview with Ralph Reed, executive director of the Christian Coalition, a non-profit evangelical organization formed by Robertson.

The coalition has sent to Montana thousands of reproductions of sexually explicit photographs of the late Robert Mapplethorpe that were displayed

(More on WILLIAMS, page 8A)

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Williams

Continued from Page 1A

with the help of an NEA grant.

The Montana Democratic Party last week questioned the legality of the coalition's radio ads accusing Williams of supporting higher taxes to finance pornographic art.

But Dolores Colburg, state commissioner of political practices, said she had no authority to decide on the legality of the ads because the coalition is not registered with the FEC.

The coalition's radio ads and mailers don't tell Montanans how to vote. And Reed said in interviews last week that the coalition is trying to prod Williams, through constituents, to stop federal funding of allegedly obscene art.

But, after watching Robertson's interview of Reed, the Williams campaign now contends the coalition is attempting to influence congressional elections around the nation, and should comply with federal election laws.

In the 700 Club television interview, Reed told Robertson that

the coalition is distributing about 4 million voter guides in seven states to inform "Christians where the candidates stand on the issues so they can get out and vote."

"You're not going to tell the media who the targets of the hit list are?" Robertson asked Reed.

"We want them to know with the rest of the American people the day after the election when some of these members have a career change," Reed responded.

Reed also noted the coalition plans to "get out the vote" in North Carolina.

"This can be a very powerful political force," Robertson also said.

"There's no question about it," Reed said. "As you have eloquently said on the program, if pro-family Roman Catholics and evangelicals will unite at the ballot box, there is almost no candidate anywhere in the country that we can't elect."

Lamson discussed the Robertson-Reed interview with FEC officials on Friday.

"They said they wanted to look at (the videotape)," he said.

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AM-MT-ELN--Anti-Williams Ads, 750
Colburg: No Authority to Rule on Anti-Williams Ads
bawck

By BOB ANEZ-

Associated Press Writer-

HELENA (AP) Dolores Colburg, Montana's commissioner of political practices, said Wednesday she has no authority to decide the legality of advertisements attacking Democratic Rep. Pat Williams for his role in reauthorizing the National Endowment for the Arts.

The Christian Coalition, which placed the ads on radio stations in Butte, Helena and Missoula this week, is not registered with the Federal Election Commission and therefore does not have to register or file its financial reports with Colburg's office, she concluded.

Federal election laws govern campaigns for federal offices and supersede any related state laws, Colburg noted.

Until or unless the FEC requires the coalition to register at the federal level, "I cannot compel the Christian Coalition to answer to this office, nor can I make any ruling as to any deficiency in the disclaimer on the advertising," she wrote.

Her comments were in response to a complaint filed over the radio ads by Randy Dix, attorney for the Montana Democratic Party.

In an Oct. 26 letter to Colburg, he said the ads represent an independent campaign expenditure and the coalition should be forced to register with the commissioner's office as a political committee.

Dix also contended that the ads' disclaimer "Paid for by the Christian Coalition" failed to clearly identify who was paying for the spots.

He said the Democratic Party believes the coalition is violating federal and state election laws by running the ads.

Ralph Reed, executive director of the coalition headed by evangelist Pat Robertson, said the organization does not have to file with the FEC because it is not a political committee trying to influence the outcome of an election.

"Our interest is not in removing Pat Williams from office," he said in a telephone interview from the coalition's Chesapeake, Va., headquarters. "Our interest is in securing votes against tax-funded pornography."

"If we can't get that from Pat Williams, we'd prefer to get that from someone else," Reed said. "But that's not for us to decide. That's up to the voters in his district."

The radio ads accuse Williams of supporting higher taxes in order to finance pornography. The ads say Williams chairs the committee that approved \$180 million for the endowment, and claim the money is used to pay for photographs considered by some to be obscene.

Two of the photos described are part of a controversial exhibit of the late Robert Mapplethorpe that sparked a national debate over whether NEA money should be used to promote such work.

The ads say Williams voted to raise taxes \$149 billion over the next five years, an increase of \$2,400 for every family of four.

"Now you know where Pat Williams stands on taxes and pornography," the ads say before urging listeners to call Williams' Helena office to complain.

Reed said the ads do not urge votes against Williams, but only suggest they complain about his legislation that imposes no anti-obscenity restrictions on endowment funding.

"Our position on Pat Williams has nothing to do with his re-election," he said. The timing of the ads reflects last week's passage of the Williams bill and is coincidental with the final week of the six-term incumbent's campaign against Republican Brad Johnson, Reed added.

The coalition has been running ads and sending mailings on the issue of endowment funding since June or July, he said. "We did not just start doing this."

He acknowledged the coalition has similar campaigns in six other congressional districts around the country against incumbents who voted for Williams' bill. But Reed would not identify the targets or how much is being spent in Montana or other states.

The radio ads criticizing Williams are being accompanied by mailings in the western district that include some of the photos mentioned in the ads, Reed said.

Dix, who said he filed an identical complaint with the FEC, rejected Reed's explanation of the organization's goal in placing the ads.

"They were obviously designed to influence the voters," he said. "The coincidence in time with the running of those ads in the last two weeks of the election is more than coincidence."

He criticized the ads as mean-spirited and laced with "distortions and misinformation" about how endowment money was used and the impact of tax increases.

The coalition, he said, is "taking the low road in this campaign. To call Pat Williams a pornographer is to malign someone dedicated to public service in Montana for a long, long time."

Williams targeted by second group for his arts funding stand

By BOB ANEZ
Associated Press Writer

HELENA (AP) — A second national organization has launched a campaign criticizing Democratic Rep. Pat Williams for his legislation reauthorizing federal funding of the National Endowment for the Arts without anti-obscenity restrictions.

The conservative American Family Association Foundation, headquartered in Tupelo, Miss., sent letters to Montana residents urging them to complain to the congressman about his position on use of NEA money.

Signed by the Rev. Donald Wildmon, executive director of the foundation, the letter says Williams is supporting the use of taxes to finance pornography.

"Write Congressman Williams," Wildmon says. "Tell him you oppose the NEA's use of your tax dollars to fund pornographic and anti-Christian art. And tell him you resent his calling those who oppose government-funded pornography 'right-wing, evangelical cuckoos.'"

"Congressman Williams thinks it's good use of tax money to force you to pay for pornographic, hate-filled, anti-Christian works of art with tax dollars," the letter says.

The letter is accompanied by graphic photos that Wildmon says are examples of work paid for with endowment funds. Small black dots are placed strategically over genitalia.

The message is similar to that in Montana mailings and radio advertisements this

Campaign advertising continues to be hot subject in election

Tribune Capitol Bureau

HELENA — Battles over campaign advertising continued to rage Thursday, with Republicans complaining about Democratic ads and Democrats defending them.

GOP Chairman Barbara Campbell criticized a Democratic Party flyer that accuses Republicans of "lying through their teeth" about tax their tax policies.

Campbell said Democrats were ignoring the truth in their efforts to elect legislators, but Democratic Party Director Jane Murphy said the flyer was fair criticism.

The flyer says Gov. Stan Stephens misled Montanans because he campaigned as an opponent of taxes but then supported a 4 percent sales tax. The flyer says a sales tax would hurt the average taxpayer while benefiting big businesses.

Campbell said the flyer discredits and insults Democratic leaders who back a sales

tax, including Rep. Dorothy Bradley of Bozeman, Sen. Dorothy Eck of Bozeman, Sen.-elect Harry Fritz of Missoula and Missoula County Commissioner Ann Mary Dussault. Campbell also said Democrats are being hypocritical in accusing Republicans of pushing for "secret tax hikes" because Democrats advocate eliminating income-tax indexing. The indexing system adjusts tax brackets annually so that taxes don't rise simply as a result of inflation.

Murphy said Campbell is wrong because her party doesn't advocate eliminating tax indexing, even though some individual Democrats have done so.

Murphy also said it is fair to criticize Republicans for backing a sales tax, although some Democrats have supported one, because the Democratic Party has had a position against a sales tax for 20 years.

Meanwhile, aides to GOP Senate candi-

date Allen Kolstad said Sen. Max Baucus should pull ads that, among other things, get Kolstad's position on wilderness wrong.

Kolstad campaign manager Leo Ellingson said the ad "falsifies" Kolstad's position by saying he wants to study the wilderness issue four more years. Ellingson said Kolstad actually proposed a citizens advisory council to study wilderness as a back-up plan and would push for its creation only if the congressional delegation could not reach an agreement.

Baucus spokesman Paul Risley said the ad's claim is legitimate. He said the Associated Press story that reported Kolstad's proposal quoted Kolstad as saying it would be a back-up plan in case the delegation couldn't reach agreement this year. Since the delegation didn't reach agreement this year, Risley said, that implies Kolstad's council idea is more than a back-up plan.

no authority to compel the coalition to file with her office until or unless the group registers with the Federal Election Commission.

Wildmon could not be reached for comment Thursday about his organization's mailings.

Lamson said the attacks by the two groups have distracted the Williams campaign.

"We would much rather be talking about what happened in Congress with the budget and where Pat stood on that to get Montana's economy turned around," he said. "Instead, we're having to run after this trash."

Republican Brad Johnson of Bozeman, Williams' challenger, distanced himself from the Christian Coalition's ads Thursday. "It's not the kind of tone I want to see in this campaign," he said. "I don't support that effort. I don't condone it. I wish it were not going on."

Johnson said his campaign has had no contact with the coalition, although the group did collect background information from him early in the campaign.

The local Williams office reported receiving about 60 phone calls in response to the coalition ads and mailing, and 35 of the callers were critical of the incumbent.

Williams is at the center of the furor over endowment funding because he chaired the subcommittee responsible for overseeing its operations. His bill did not contain strict anti-obscenity restrictions, but forces artists whose work is declared obscene in court to repay any federal funds.

week paid for by evangelist Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition, which urges people to call Williams' office in Helena to complain.

Joe Lamson, Williams' campaign manager, said, "I've never seen campaigning sink to this kind of low. I'd hope most Montanans would reject it."

He said the campaign is airing radio ads rebutting the Christian Coalition commer-

cials, featuring the Rev. George Harper, a prominent Methodist minister in Helena.

The coalition ads are untrue, Harper says in the ads, adding, "There's nothing Christian about spreading lies solely for the purpose of influencing an election."

Harper says Williams opposes pornography and that's why Congress passed his bill reauthorizing the endowment. "Political

modslings is bad enough, but when it's done in the name of Christianity, it's outrageous."

The Montana Democratic Party filed a state and federal complaint over the coalition's activities, saying it has failed to register as a political organization.

State Commissioner of Political Practices Dolores Colburg said Wednesday she has

MONTANA

Religious right targets Williams for NEA stand

By BILL LOMBARDI
IR State Bureau

The religious right is stalking Rep. Pat Williams, and the liberal western Montana Democrat can hear their footsteps.

With the general election just days off, two evangelical groups have mailed thousands of pieces of literature that tempt Montanans to peek inside.

The graphic appeals, which don't tell voters how to cast their ballots, take aim at Williams' alleged support of taxpayer funding of pornographic and blasphemous art, which the groups provide in an attempt to spark moral outrage.

"CAMPAIGNS SOMETIMES GET NASTY, but this one is downright malicious and untrue," Williams said.

Religious broadcaster Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition and the Mississippi-based American Family Association Foundation have included graphic examples of sexually explicit artwork they note have been shown in galleries that received federal tax dollars supplied by the National Endowment for the Arts.

"Warning!" says a brown envelope mailed by the American Family Association. "This envelope contains extremely offensive material the exhibition of which was funded in part with your tax dollars by the National Endowment for the Arts."

Tucked inside are "images" of art published in the David Wojnarowicz "Tongues of Flame" ex-

hibit catalogue. Some of the work shows men performing oral and anal sex. Black circles cover explicit portions of the images.

The text notes that the University Galleries at Illinois State University recently exhibited Wojnarowicz' work with the help of \$15,000 provided by the NEA.

"THIS IS THE KIND OF MATERIAL which Congressman Pat Williams, D-MT., thinks the American taxpayer should be forced to pay for," the foundation says. "Congressman Williams is the Chairman of the House oversight committee of the NEA and has vigorously defended the NEA's use of tax dollars to support this kind of art."

Williams, who helped craft compromise legislation to stop NEA funding of art deemed obscene by the courts, said he has never been involved in such an extreme campaign to besmirch and distort his record.

"People have been receiving very offensive photographs with the outrageous charge that I am personally supportive of these photographs and want to use taxpayers' money to pay for them," he says. "In the 12 years I have been in Congress I have never undergone a more personally difficult time than the past six months of innuendo and outright lies about my character and my legislative work."

WILLIAMS, WHO RECENT polls show maintains

a comfortable lead over Republican opponent Brad Johnson, admits the direct-mail campaigns have hurt politically.

"I think it's costly," he said. "The phone's ringing off the hook."

Supporters are calling to express their outrage, Williams said, while those constituents who haven't followed the arts funding issue closely have accepted the mailers as "gospel" and are "expressing their fury at me."

Meanwhile, the Virginia-based Christian Coalition has mailed to Montanans "thousands and thousands" of reproductions of four photographs of the late Robert Mapplethorpe, whose work was displayed with the help of an NEA grant. The photos, said executive director Ralph Reed, show a man urinating into another man's mouth, a young girl and young boy with their genitalia exposed and Jesus Christ shooting heroin into his arm.

Reed noted the coalition "touched up" the photos of the young girl and boy to cover their genitalia.

Montanans, he said, aren't urged to vote for or against Williams, but told to call and tell him to stop using taxpayers' money to finance allegedly obscene art.

"OUR INTEREST IS ON HOW HE VOTES on tax-funded pornography, period," he said.

The mailing, dovetailed with radio ads in Helena, Missoula and Butte, is designed to prod Williams to work with the coalition to prohibit federal govern-

ment funding of artwork the coalition considers obscene, Reed said.

In response, the Williams campaign is airing radio ads featuring retired Rev. George Harper of Helena saying, "There's nothing Christian about spreading lies solely for the purpose of influencing an election. Of course Montanans are against pornography. So is Pat Williams."

"If Pat Williams can be turned around on this issue by hearing from his constituents, we're willing to work with him," Reed said. "Obviously Williams is swimming against a rip tide on this issue. I just think this is a simmering cauldron of rage and I think the Montana people are fed up."

BOB GARNER, GOP CANDIDATE Johnson's spokesman, said the Johnson campaign has nothing to do with the ads and mailers.

"We've been very careful all along to not engage in any kind of that strident stuff," Garner said. "We tried to keep all this on a factual level. We've never used that 'Porno Pat' stuff."

Williams thinks the mailers and radio ads are designed to reduce his support before 1992, when he could run for governor or face Republican Rep. Ron Marlenee in a statewide election if Montana loses one of two of its House seats because of reapportionment.

"Montanans reject this type of campaigning," he said. "It's an outright damn lie. The only thing it doesn't say is vote against Pat Williams."

Williams fights ad attack Religious groups open fire on congressman's NEA stand

■ Williams clarifies 'cuckoo' remark.

■ Candidates square off in Bozeman.

— Page A-10

By JOHN STROMMEN
of the Missoulian
and Missoulian State Bureau

Rep. Pat Williams says he's been stung by untrue campaign ads that claim Williams wants to "raise our taxes to pay for pornography."

Radio ads with that message, attacking Williams for his work to

fund the National Endowment for the Arts, began airing this week in western Montana. Also, mailings from two religious groups hammer on the same theme and even include samples of the photographs that fueled the controversy over the NEA.

"My phone is ringing off the hook," Williams said in an interview Tuesday, as he acknowledged

the ads have had an impact on voters in western Montana.

The radio ads are paid for by religious broadcaster Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition of Chesapeake, Va. The coalition is also mailing a flyer on the controversy to voters; another flyer, sponsored by the American Family Association Foundation of Tupelo, Miss., is appearing in

western Montana mailboxes. Both groups have been longtime opponents of the NEA.

Williams said the ads are riddled with lies. It's the latest flare-up in a feud between Williams and Robertson, who ran for president in 1988. Williams has been calling Robertson a liar and

(See WILLIAMS, Page A-10)

Williams

(continued)

a "right-wing evangelical cuckoo" for more than a year now, as the NEA funding fight spilled out of Congress into election campaigns across the country.

For starters, the radio ads say that the NEA paid to produce photographs showing a crucifix in a jar of urine, two men having alleged sexual intercourse and a 4-year-old girl with her genitals exposed. (The American Family Association flyer contains reproductions of some of the controversial photographs by the late Robert Mapplethorpe. The Christian Coalition brochure contains reproductions of photographs by David Wojnarowicz.)

But Williams said the photographs were produced without money from the NEA, which finances arts groups and projects

photographs were included in some NEA-funded exhibits.

Nor did Williams, D-Mont., serve as chairman of the congressional committee that voted to fund the National Endowment for the Arts to the tune of \$180 million, campaign officials say. Williams did, however, fight for the NEA and wrote legislation this year to authorize continued funding on the agency.

It's hard to fight the lies, Williams said in an interview Tuesday with the Missoulian, because "once Paul Harvey, Pat Robertson and Reader's Digest say it is so, it becomes so in America."

"And it's just tragic, particularly for the NEA. The NEA did not fund those works," he said.

Even Williams' Republican opponent, Brad Johnson, doesn't like the ads.

"This is not the kind of tone we have tried to set in this campaign," he said during a televised campaign forum in Missoula on Tuesday.

The Montana Democratic Party has filed a complaint with the Montana Commissioner of Political Practices, Dolores Colburg. Colburg said Wednesday she has no jurisdiction over Christian Coalition ads as they apply to a federal election.

The Federal Election Commission in Washington, D.C., said it could not release any information about complaints made to the office, but that the Christian Coalition is not registered with their agency, and if it is advertising in a federal election, then it is in apparent violation of federal election regulations.

The Democratic Party also has filed a complaint with the FEC, the party's attorney, Randy Dix, confirmed Wednesday. But he said he didn't expect any action soon on the complaint, and he was certain the FEC would do nothing before election day.

Williams said that "One of the lessons here is that Pat Robertson has the fifth biggest television net-

work in the world, and if he is mischievous enough not to tell people the truth, he can create broad disinformation and he has done so with this NEA issue."

Robertson founded the Christian Broadcasting Network, which is now known as the Family Channel. Robertson's program, "The 700 Club," is broadcast on the Family Channel.

Ralph E. Reed Jr., the Christian Coalition's executive director, said the ads don't tell Montanans to vote against Williams. Rather, voters are urged to call Williams and tell him to stop using taxpayers' money to finance obscene art.

"Our interest is on how he votes on tax-funded pornography, period," Reed told the Missoulian State Bureau.

In a recent Associated Press story, Reed said that Robertson's political activity had lost its spark since his unsuccessful bid for president, and the NEA controversy

was just what was needed — a national issue coalition members could rally behind.

"Both 1988 and 1989 were tough years for us," he said. "The issue of the NEA has fired up and energized our troops."



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

November 28, 1990

Ralph Reed
Executive Director
Christian Coalition
Box 1990
Chesapeake, VA 23320

RE: MUR 3176

Dear Mr. Reed:

The Federal Election Commission received a complaint which alleges that the Christian Coalition and you, as Executive Director, may have violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint is enclosed. We have numbered this matter MUR 3176. Please refer to this number in all future correspondence.

Under the Act, you have the opportunity to demonstrate in writing that no action should be taken against you in this matter. Please submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Where appropriate, statements should be submitted under oath. Your response, which should be addressed to the General Counsel's Office, must be submitted within 15 days of receipt of this letter. If no response is received within 15 days, the Commission may take further action based on the available information.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(4)(B) and § 437g(a)(12)(A) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the matter to be made public. If you intend to be represented by counsel in this matter, please advise the Commission by completing the enclosed form stating the name, address and telephone number of such counsel, and authorizing such counsel to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission.


92040900576

If you have any questions, please contact Jim Brown, the attorney assigned to this matter at (202) 376-8200. For your information, we have attached a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling complaints.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY:


Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosures

1. Complaint
2. Procedures
3. Designation of Counsel Statement

92040900577



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

November 28, 1990

Christian Coalition
c/o Connie Wagner
Info-Cision
325 Springside Drive
Akron, OH 44333

RE: MUR 3176

Dear Ms. Wagner:

The Federal Election Commission received a complaint which alleges that the Christian Coalition may have violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint is enclosed. We have numbered this matter MUR 3176. Please refer to this number in all future correspondence.

Under the Act, you have the opportunity to demonstrate in writing that no action should be taken against you in this matter. Please submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Where appropriate, statements should be submitted under oath. Your response, which should be addressed to the General Counsel's Office, must be submitted within 15 days of receipt of this letter. If no response is received within 15 days, the Commission may take further action based on the available information.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(4)(B) and § 437g(a)(12)(A) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the matter to be made public. If you intend to be represented by counsel in this matter, please advise the Commission by completing the enclosed form stating the name, address and telephone number of such counsel, and authorizing such counsel to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission.

92040900578

If you have any questions, please contact Jim Brown, the attorney assigned to this matter at (202) 376-8200. For your information, we have attached a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling complaints.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel



BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosures

1. Complaint
2. Procedures
3. Designation of Counsel Statement

92040900579



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

November 28, 1990

Randy Dix
Legal Counsel
Montana Democratic Party Central Committee
Steamboat Block, Room 306
P.O. Box 802
Helena, MT 59624

RE: MUR 3176

Dear Mr. Dix:

This letter acknowledges receipt on November 16, 1990, of your complaint alleging possible violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"), by the Christian Coalition and Ralph Reed, as Executive Director. The respondents will be notified of this complaint within five days.


You will be notified as soon as the Federal Election Commission takes final action on your complaint. Should you receive any additional information in this matter, please forward it to the Office of the General Counsel. Such information must be sworn to in the same manner as the original complaint. We have numbered this matter MUR 3176. Please refer to this number in all future correspondence. For your information, we have attached a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling complaints.

If you have any questions, please contact Retha Dixon, Docket Chief, at (202) 376-3110.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY:


Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure
Procedures

92040900580



INFOCISION MANAGEMENT CORPORATION
325 Springside Drive, Akron, Ohio 44313
(216) 668-1400/Fax: (216) 668-1401
Information/Decision Management

06C8791
RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
MAIL ROOM

98 NOV 30 AM 11:04

mur 3167

November 16, 1990

Federal Election Commission
Washington, D.C. 20463
Lawrence M. Noble, General Counsel
Lois G. Lerner, Assoc. General Counsel

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF ATTORNEY COUNSEL
98 NOV 30 AM 12:39

Dear Mr. Noble:

Your correspondence regarding the Christian Coalition was received and forwarded via overnight mail on this date to:

Christian Coalition
825 Greenbriar Circle
Suite 202
Chesapeake, VA 23320
Ralph Reed, President

As a buying service, InfoCision was instructed that these spots were educational in nature before we placed the spots for this client.

Sincerely,

INFOCISION MANAGEMENT CORPORATION

Steve Pittendrigh
Vice President - Client Services

SP/cw

92040900581



INFOCISION MANAGEMENT CORPORATION
325 Springside Drive, Akron, Ohio 44333
(216) 868-1400/Fax: (216) 868-1401

Information/Decision Management

98 DEC -3 PM 12:44

OGC 8836
RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL
mur 3167
mur 3176

November 30, 1998

Mr. Jim Brown
Associate General Council
Federal Election Commission
Washington, DC 20463

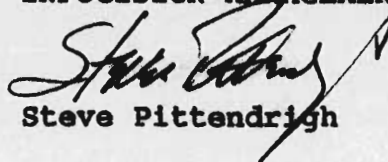
Dear Jim,

I have forwarded your letter regarding a possible violation of the Federal Election Act of 1971 to our client, Christian Coalition. You may contact them at 825 Greenbriar Circle, Suite 202, Chesapeake, VA 23320, (804)424-2630. Attention: Ralph Reed

I understand from our conversation today, your correspondence does not require any action on our part. If there is any further action needed by InfoCision we should expect to hear directly from you.

Sincerely,

INFOCISION MANAGEMENT CORPORATION


Steve Pittendrigh

SP/kc

920409000582

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL
98 DEC -4 AM 10:57

LAW OFFICES
WEBSTER, CHAMBERLAIN & BEAN
1747 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

(202) 785-9500

FAX: (202) 835-0243

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE SERVICES BRANCH

91 JAN-8 AM 10:47

GEORGE S. WEBSTER
J. COLEMAN BEAN
ARTHUR L. HEROLD
ALAN P. DYE
BURNETT VAN KIRK
FRANK M. NORTHAM
GERARD P. PANARO
JOHN W. HAZARD, JR.
CHARLES M. WATKINS
ROBERT M. SKELTON
HUGH K. WEBSTER
ANNE S. POPE

OF COUNSEL
CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN
CONSULTANT
A. L. SINGLETON

January 7, 1991

Mary Taksar, Esq.
Office of General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20463

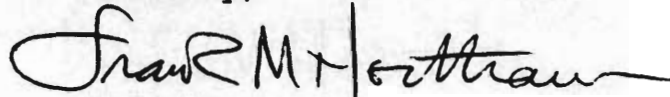
Re: MURs 3167 and 3176

Dear Ms. Taksar:

Please find enclosed a designation of counsel for MURs 3167 and 3176 indicating that I will be representing Mr. Ralph Reed and the Christian Coalition in both MURs.

As we discussed today, the response that I filed in MUR 3167 should also be considered as my clients' response to MUR 3176. Additionally, the Christian Coalition and Mr. Reed waive confidentiality in MUR 3176.

Sincerely,


Frank M. Northam

FMN:dla
Enclosure

91 JAN-8 PM 1:18

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE SERVICES BRANCH

92040900583

STATEMENT OF DESIGNATION OF C. ASKL

NUMS 3167 and 3176

NAME OF COUNSEL: WEBSTER, CHAMBERLAIN & BEAN

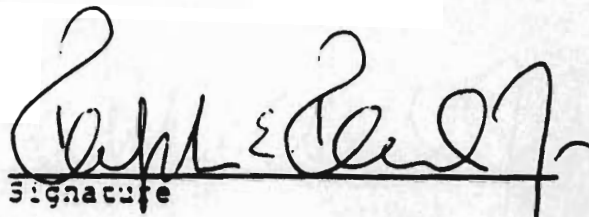
ADDRESS: 1747 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

TELEPHONE: (202) 785-9500

The above-named individual is hereby designated as my counsel and is authorized to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission and to act on my behalf before the Commission.

11-29-90
Date


Signature

RESPONDENT'S NAME: RALPH E. REED, JR.

ADDRESS: CHRISTIAN COALITION

825 GREENBRIER CIRCLE, SUITE 202

CHESAPEAKE, VA 23320

HOME PHONE: _____

BUSINESS PHONE: (804) 424-2630

92040900584



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
REGISTRATION

91 JAN 11 PH 2:43

SENSITIVE

RECOMMENDATION

TO: The Commission

FROM: Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: Lois G. Lerner *LP*
Associate General Counsel

SUBJECT: MUR 3176
Waiver of Confidentiality

On January 8, 1991, a waiver of confidentiality in the above-mentioned matter was received from counsel for respondents, the Christian Coalition and Ralph Reed, as Executive Director. The Christian Coalition and Ralph Reed are the only respondents in MUR 3176.

By making this waiver, the Christian Coalition and Ralph Reed, as Executive Director, have requested that the Commission not apply the confidentiality provision of 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(12)(A) to this matter. However, that section merely provides that any notification or investigation shall not be made public by the Commission without the written consent of the person receiving such notification or the person with respect to whom such investigation is made. By its terms, Section 437g(a)(12)(A) does not impose an affirmative duty on the Commission to publicize this matter at this time. Therefore, this Office will respond to requests for information subject to the following considerations. First, requests must be in writing. Second, such requests would be considered by the Commission subject to the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act, the Government in the Sunshine Act, and all relevant privileges which would limit or preclude the release of such requested information.

RECOMMENDATION

Approve the appropriate letter.

Attachment
Waiver

92040900585

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of)
Waiver of Confidentiality.) MUR 3176

CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, Secretary of the Federal Election Commission, do hereby certify that on January 16, 1991, the Commission decided by a vote of 5-0 to approve the letter, as recommended in the General Counsel's Memorandum on this matter.

Commissioners Elliott, Josefiak, McDonald, McGarry and Thomas voted affirmatively for the decision; Commissioner Aikens did not cast a vote.

Attest:

Jan. 16, 1991
Date

Marjorie W. Emmons
Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary of the Commission

Received in the Secretariat: Friday, January 11, 1991 2:43 p.m.
Circulated to the Commission: Monday, January 14, 1991 11:00 a.m.
Deadline for vote: Wednesday, January 16, 1991 11:00 a.m.

dh

92040900586



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

January 17, 1991

Frank M. Northam, Esq.
Webster, Chamberlain & Bean
1747 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

RE: MUR 3167

Dear Mr. Northam:

This is in response to your letter dated December 21, 1990, wherein your clients, the Christian Coalition and Ralph Reed, as executive director, waive their right to confidentiality in the above-captioned matter, pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(12)(A). The waiver is hereby acknowledged by the Federal Election Commission.

The Commission will consider requests for information concerning this matter subject to the following considerations. First, requests must be in writing. Second, such requests will be considered by the Commission subject to the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act, the Government in Sunshine Act, and all relevant privileges which limit or preclude the release of such requested information.

If you have any questions, please contact Mary Taksar, the staff member assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Nohle
General Counsel


BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

92040900587



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

January 18, 1991

Frank M. Northam, Esq.
Webster, Chamberlain & Bean
1747 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

RE: MUR 3176
Christian Coalition and
Ralph Reed, as Executive
Director

Dear Mr. Northam:


This is in response to your letter dated January 7, 1991, wherein your clients, the Christian Coalition and Ralph Reed, as Executive Director, waive their right to confidentiality in the above-captioned matter, pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(12)(A). The waiver is hereby acknowledged by the Federal Election Commission.

The Commission will consider requests for information concerning this matter subject to the following considerations. First, requests must be in writing. Second, such requests will be considered by the Commission subject to the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act, the Government in Sunshine Act, and all relevant privileges which limit or preclude the release of such requested information.

If you have any questions, please contact Mary Taksar, the staff member assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel


BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

92040900588



06C 9886
RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
MAIL ROOM

91 JAN 22 AM 10:16

MUR 316

January 16, 1991

General Counsel
Federal Elections Commission
999 E Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20463

To Whom It May Concern:

On October 26, 1990, the Montana Democratic Party filed an FEC complaint against the "Christian Coalition" for their activities opposing Congressman Pat Williams in the final days of the 1990 elections.

Subsequent to that initial complaint on November 5, we provided the FEC with a video tape and transcript of a November 1, 1990, broadcast of Pat Robertson's "700 Club."

It is our contention that the conversation in which the director of the Christian Coalition, Ralph Reed, and Pat Robertson openly discuss congressional "targets of the hit list" resulting in congressional "career changes" clearly demonstrates the intent of their mail and radio campaigns.

We request this tape be officially added as a part of our complaint.

We further request the commission to expand this complaint to include two additional groups who also participated in mass mailings to influence the 1990 election against Congressman Williams. These groups are:

- 1) Don Wildmon, Executive Director
American Family Association Foundation
P.O. Box 3206
Tupelo, Mississippi 38803
(601) 844-5036

91 JAN 22 PM 3:46
RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

2) Ron Oberlander, Chairman
The Montana Family Forum
Box 1001
Kalispell, Montana 59903
(406) 756-7745

Both the American Family Association Foundation mailing (Exhibit A) and the Montana Family Forum mailing (Exhibit B) specifically name Congressman Williams and were mailed to thousands of voters in the Western Congressional District in the week preceding the election.

The Montana Family Forum flyer was mailed throughout the Western Congressional District on Friday November 2, 1990, from Kalispell, Montana. That mailing explicitly urges voters that "the issue is graphically clear...if you agree with Pat, return him to represent you in the United States Congress. If not, vote to retire him."

As in the case of the "Christian Coalition", neither of the above mentioned organizations are registered with the FEC. We believe their activities constitute an "independent expenditure" opposing the election of Congressman Pat Williams.

We request the FEC investigate this matter and if the commission finds in our favor require the three committees to comply fully with federal election laws and be subject to any penalties for past violations of those statutes.

Thank you for your timely consideration of this matter and we look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Jane C. Murphy

Jane C. Murphy
Executive Director

Subscribed and sworn to me this
16th day of January 1991.

NOTARY PUBLIC FOR THE
STATE OF MONTANA:

Katherine Hecker

Residing in Helena, Montana. My
commission expires 10/7/93

920400590

American Family Association Foundation

P.O. Box 3206 ■ 107 Parkgate ■ Tupelo, Mississippi 38803

Dear Friend of the Family,

A government agency, the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), is using your tax dollars to pay "artists" to create pornographic and anti-Christian "art." Its budget for this year is \$171,000,000.

Some members of Congress openly and whole-heartedly approve of this abusive waste of your tax dollars. These Congressmen, led by Congressman Pat Williams of Montana, are attacking those who oppose the NEA's use of your tax dollars to fund hateful, obscene and blasphemous "art."

Congressman Williams, the powerful chairman of the House committee which oversees the NEA, calls those who oppose being forced to fund pornographic and anti-Christian "art" with their tax dollars "right-wing, evangelical cuckoos."

Are you a "cuckoo?" Do you like paying for works of "art" ...

- ...which show Jesus nailed to the cross in a jar of urine?
- ...which depict Jesus as a drug addict complete with a syringe in his arm?
- ...which have a play featuring Jesus as a foul-mouthed bigot?
- ...which feature homosexual men performing sodomy?
- ...which feature children in sexual poses?

Well, you are already paying for such works of "art" through your tax dollars. Congressman Williams says anyone who disagrees with him and objects to such blatant misuses of tax dollars is a "right-wing, evangelical cuckoo."

I thought I'd give you the chance to see the kind of "art" Congressman Williams supports spending your tax dollars on. So I've enclosed a sheet of images contained in an NEA-sponsored "art" exhibit.

But BEWARE! The images are terribly offensive. They are so offensive that we put them inside a sealed envelope. And your tax dollars help support their exhibition.

I'm writing you today to ask your help in ending this outrage. Specifically, I'm hoping you will take one major action:

Write Congressman Williams. Tell him you oppose the NEA's use of your tax dollars to fund pornographic and anti-Christian "art." And tell him you resent his calling those who oppose government funded pornography "right-wing, evangelical cuckoos."

As I told you, Congressman Williams is chairman of the House committee which oversees the NEA. If he wanted to stop government funding of this so-called "art," he could do it almost single-handedly.

But Congressman Williams refuses to do so. He supports the NEA's use of tax dollars to pay for such "art."

Congressman Williams thinks that people in Montana also support spending tax dollars to support this kind of "art." Do you? If not, express yourself. Congressman Williams is still answerable to the people of Montana.

On the House floor this summer, Congressman Williams showed how much he supports the NEA and the arts community. Here's what happened.

The University of the District of Columbia had proposed to spend \$1,600,000 to buy a work of "art" produced by "artist" Judy Chicago. The work of "art," entitled "The Dinner Party: A Symbol of Our Heritage," consists of a triangle-shaped banquet table (some 140-feet in total length) set with 39 places, one for each of the "great women" of the past.

Each of the 39 plates at the place-settings had a sculpture of a vagina on it to represent the woman who had been selected to honor!

This move caused Congressman Stan Parris of Virginia to offer an amendment to the D.C. funding measure. If D.C. wanted to spend \$1,600,000 on this work of "art," that was fine. But the government shouldn't pay for it. So he offered an amendment to reduce the amount of federal money given D.C. by \$1,600,000.

During debate over Congressman Parris' amendment, Pat Williams said from the House floor that those who voted to reduce the funding by \$1.6 million would be voting against the NEA. And those who voted to leave in the \$1.6 million would be voting for the NEA.

Congressman Williams voted for the NEA. He voted for spending \$1.6 million of tax money to pay for the "work of art."

Congressman Williams thinks it's good use of tax money to force you to pay for pornographic, hate-filled, anti-Christian works of "art" with tax dollars. And those who disagree with him are "right-wing, evangelical cuckoos."

Well, I'm no "right-wing, evangelical cuckoo." And I don't think you are either. It's high time we ordinary, hard-working, tax-paying, God-fearing citizens took a stand. Enough is enough.

It's time to end the outrages of the National Endowment for the Arts. And your postcard or letter to Congressman Williams is the perfect place to start this fight.

As Executive Director of the American Family Association Foundation, I was the one who first brought to light the abuses of the NEA. That was almost two years ago. I have personally debated NEA Chairman John Frohnmeyer on TV. I helped

92040900591

9 2 0 4 0 9 0 0 5 9 2

rally thousands of concerned taxpayers to contact Congress with letters and phone calls of protest over the NEA. I helped bring to the public's attention the grotesque "art" funded by the NEA.

I'm not telling you all this to brag. I just want you to know that I know what I'm talking about.

Congressman Williams put the debate in proper focus himself when he told the Knight-Ridder news service:

"If we can convince the members of the House and Senate that the issue is not funding of pornographic art, but Big Brother censorship, then I win." He warned, however, that if the debate centers on pornography, "I lose."

And that's the whole point.

We're not saying every NEA grant goes to create blasphemous, hate-filled, obscene, anti-Christian "art." And we're not saying "artists" can't create whatever they want to on their own time and money. But you should not be forced to pay for it with your tax dollars.

But Congressman Williams thinks you should be forced to pay for it. And he has been leading the battle in Congress to make sure you are forced to help pay for it.

Not all Congressmen feel like Congressman Williams does. Not all Congressmen think you should be forced to pay for such "art." Congressman Dana Rohrabacher, said: "If the NEA can't hold itself responsible to the U.S. taxpayer, it's our job to make them responsible."

That's what I'm asking you to help us do today. Help us make Congress take the responsibility for what the NEA does.

And one of the best ways to do that is to make Congressmen like Pat Williams see that those who oppose being forced to pay for such filth with tax dollars are not "right-wing, evangelical cuckoos," but ordinary citizens who work hard to earn a buck and don't like to see Congress throw it away on cheap pornographic "art."

Write Congressman Williams. Tell him you're upset that he would arrogantly classify you as some nut just because you don't like how the NEA spends your tax dollars.

Tell him he needs to be more sensitive to the needs and beliefs of the millions of Christians in the U.S.

Tell him he needs to be more respectful of the people of this country like you who work hard just to make ends meet.

Tell him he needs to be more in touch with real, down-to-earth people, and less concerned about an "elite" vocal minority "arts" crowd.

This is your chance to tell Congressman Williams you resent his calling those who oppose spending tax dollars to fund pornography and anti-Christian bigotry "right-wing, evangelical cuckoos."

And in so doing, if enough of us act together, we can, perhaps, convince Congressman Williams to change his support for government funded pornography and anti-Christian bigotry.

Write Congressman Williams. And use the enclosed sheet to help convince others to write the Congressman, too.

Finally, if you can, send a contribution to our American Family Association Foundation. This campaign to expose the kinds of "art" your tax dollars pay for is expensive.

But we're going up against the combined power and wealth of the arts community, some powerful members of Congress and the NEA itself. We are out-manned and heavily out-financed.

If you can help pay the costs of this fight against government funding of pornography and anti-Christian bigotry, please do. Whatever you send today, whether it be \$2,000 or \$20, will help us carry on our work. Thank you for your help.

Sincerely,

Donald E. Wildman

Donald E. Wildman, Executive Director
American Family Association Foundation

P.S. Needless to say, I am not one of Congressman Williams' dearest friends. It is unlikely he will tell me how many people contacted him as a result of this effort. Please send me your "Williams Postcard Verification" slip so I will know just how many people contacted him. Thank you.

Your Tax Dollars Helped Pay For These Images

The images appearing on this sheet are small fragments of larger "artworks" published in the David Wojanowicz "Tongues of Flame" exhibit catalog. The images do not constitute the entire work. (The black circle spots were not used in the catalog or exhibit, but were added to the images herein to make them less offensive.) The University Galleries at Illinois State University recently exhibited "Tongues of Flame". The National Endowment for the Arts, a federal agency funded by tax dollars, awarded the University Galleries \$15,000 to help pay for the exhibit.

This is the kind of material which Congressman Pat Williams, D-MT, thinks the American taxpayer should be forced to pay for. Congressman Williams is the Chairman of the House oversight committee of the NEA and has vigorously defended the NEA's use of tax dollars to support this kind of "art". In fact, Congressman Williams says that if the NEA refuses to use tax dollars to support this kind of art, that is censorship.

At a hearing earlier this year, Congressman Williams asked NEA Chairman John Frohnmayer if the NEA should permit grants for support of this kind of "art". Mr. Frohnmayer responded: "I would say yes." Congressman Williams praised the chairman for his attitude, saying: "It shows real determination that the NEA not be used as a censorship agency."

Congressman Williams is badly confused. The NEA refusing government funding for such material would not infringe on the artists' right to produce it, but would not force taxpayers to fund such material. The First Amendment provides for freedom of expression, but it does not compel government funding for blasphemous and pornographic expression.

Congressman Williams expressed what many considered an anti-Christian bias when he called those who oppose NEA funding of such material "right-wing evangelical cuckoos."

Congressman Williams has been a leader in Congress in the

fight to oppose restrictions that would stop the NEA from using \$171,000,000 of your tax dollars to help fund such "art". He told Knight-Ridder News Service: "If we can convince the members of the House and Senate that the issue is not funding of pornographic art [such as appears on this sheet], but Big Brother censorship, then I win." He warned, however, that if the discussion centers on pornography, "I lose."

In an important test vote on the NEA, on July 26 the House voted to reduce the amount of funding to the District of Columbia by \$1,600,000. The University of D.C. had proposed to spend that amount to buy a "work of art" by Judy Chicago. The "work of art", entitled "The Dinner Party: A Symbol of Our Heritage," consists of a triangle-shaped banquet table (some 140 feet in total length) set with 39 places, one for each of the "great women" of the past. The "work of art" has 39 plates, each containing simply a sculpture of vagina to represent the woman selected to honor!

Congressman Williams said from the House floor that those who voted to reduce the funding by \$1.6 million would be voting against the NEA and those who voted to leave in the \$1.6 million would be voting for the NEA. The House approved cutting the funding by \$1,600,000. Congressman Williams voted to fund the "work of art", consisting of 39 vaginas, with \$1.6 million tax dollars.

For years efforts have been made to stop the NEA from funding such sexually explicit and blasphemous imagery. But because the NEA has friends such as Congressman Williams in key positions in Congress, it has been unwilling to stop funding pornography and anti-Christian bigotry supported by the NEA.

If you disagree with Congressman Williams and don't think that you should be forced to help pay for this kind of "artistic" imagery with your tax dollars, write Congressman Williams. His address is House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515. You can also share this information with others.

This information provided by American Family Association Foundation.



Ernst Ludwig Kirchner



9 2 0 4 0 9 0 0 5 9 4



9 2 0 4 0 9 0 0 5 9 5

Montana Family Forum
Box 1001
Kalispell, MT 59903

EXHIBIT B

Bulk Rate
U.S. Postage
PAID
Permit 15
Kalispell, MT

PATRON

WARNING!

Sexually Oriented Material Enclosed!
For viewing by individuals of legal age only."
his explicit material may offend you, however,
nce it is your tax dollars that paid for it, you
e entitled to judge for yourself what Repre-
ntative Pat Williams considers artistically
orthy.

Printed and distributed for voter educational purposes only.

Pat, show us those photos

From the Butte Montana Standard

Rep. Pat Williams is working on a plan to refinance the National Endowment for the Arts.

Last week, he called opponents of his plan "right-wing evangelical political cuckoos."

The controversy began when the NEA subsidized an exhibit of unusual photographs. Critics call the photos obscene, supporters say they're art. But the press has censored the photos, and few among the general public have seen them.

The photos are of:

■ A naked man with a whip handle stuck up, er, that is, deposited where one does not expect to see a whip handle.

■ A man taking a, er, urinating in another man's mouth.

■ Naked children in what are said to be explicit sexual poses.

We've seen a photocopy of the whip photo. We think it's obscene and a waste of taxpayer money. We suspect we'd feel the same about the urine-in-the-mouth photo. We haven't seen the nude children photo, but if the children really are in explicit poses, it would mean the NEA has funded child pornography.

Except for the photos of the children, we don't care if people produce and the public sees this kind of work. We object to the tax subsidy. It's not that we're a right-wing, evangelical, political cuckoo, it's just that we believe only a birdbrain could excuse wasting tax money on this stuff.

The public should make up its own mind.

Here's where Pat Williams can contribute to an informed discussion. Having announced his opposition to censorship, Pat should obtain copies of the photos in question and send them to every household in the Western District in his next franked political mailing. Montanans should have the opportunity to examine the cause of the controversy in the privacy of their homes, and to decide whether this kind of art should be entitled to federal financing.

Strike a blow against censorship, Pat. Show us what the cuckoos are complaining about. Show us how our tax money is being spent. God is listening.

AS
OTHERS
VIEW
IT

Your Tax Dollars At Work

Pat Williams says this is art...

...and as chairman of the committee which oversees The National Endowment for the Arts Pat Williams actively fought for and spent your dollars to support it.

Though you might not agree with Pat Williams' taste in art, it is his choice. However, the arrogance he has shown by spending your dollars, then labeling anyone who opposes him as a "rightwing evangelical political cuckoo" demands his removal from office.

The issue is graphically clear... If you agree with Pat, return him to represent you in the United States Congress. If not, vote to retire him.



Mapplethorpe
Bullwhip inserts
into rectum.



Golden Shower
Two Homosexuals
one urinating into
the others mouth.



"Roney"
Genitals exposed



Child
Genitals exposed.



Mr. 10 1/2"
Genitals displayed
on block.

Photos altered to meet U.S. Attorney and Postal Service guidelines.

Additional works funded with your tax dollars

✓ \$15,000 for Serrano's art, a photo of Christ on a cross submerged in Serrano's urine. Serrano named the "work of art" Pi-- Christ.

✓ \$30,000 to fund the Mapplethorpe exhibit, portions of which are displayed above. Time magazine said that had this not been funded by the N.E.A., the exhibitor probably would have been charged with distribution of child pornography.

✓ \$10,000 in '89 and \$6,300 in '88 to support the San Francisco Lesbian and Gay film festival. The festival features films for and about homosexual lifestyles, sexual activities and practices

✓ \$10,000 in New York to pay for an exhibit in which angry homosexuals denounced Catholic clergyman John Cardinal O'Connor, calling him a "fat cannibal" and a creep in black skirts." St. Patrick's Cathedral was promoted as the "house of walking stick figures on Fifth Avenue."

✓ \$40,000 to the Gay Sunshine Press to publish sexually explicit homosexual stories and \$25,000 to the Panjandrum Press for the same purpose.

✓ displays including: • a drawing entitled "Jesus sucks" depicting a mammoth woman breastfeeding an infant • Dread Scott "Proper Way to Display a U.S. Flag" which encouraged galleys to go to walk on the U.S. Flag • a china cabinet that contained coat hanger placed next to a vial containing fetal tissue from abortion which artist Eichman underwent.

✓ \$25,000 for a live on stage performance by Annie Sprinkle. At a point after inducing the first orgasm with her favorite "sex toys" she smiles and says to the audience, "Usually I get paid a lot of money for this, but tonight it's government funded!"

✓ Pat Williams enjoys high ratings by Gay / Lesbian lobbyists.

The Issue Is Not Censorship, It Is The Waste Of Your Tax Dollars.

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IS THIS HOW YOU WANT YOUR TAX DOLLARS SPENT?

Warning: Some material on this sheet is extremely offensive.

Here are only a few examples of how the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), a government agency funded with your tax dollars, is spending those tax dollars. This is the kind of "art" Congressman Pat Williams (D-MT), chairman of the NEA House oversight committee, feels taxpayers should be forced to pay for. Congressman Williams has been a leading spokesman for the use of tax money to fund the kind of "art" described on this sheet. Currently the NEA receives \$171,000,000 of tax funds yearly.

If you don't want to be forced to help pay for such projects with your tax dollars, you can write Congressman Williams. His address is House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515.

Make copies of this sheet and pass on to others.

The NEA gave \$15,500 to "playwright" Mac Wellman to help fund a play Wellman wrote which depicts Jesus as a foul-mouth bigot. In the play, SINCERITY FOREVER, Wellman says one of the characters in the play is one "Jesus H. Christ." Mr. Wellman has Jesus saying: "What the f— do I care who f—s with who? They (sic) f—ing is they (sic) own concern; and may they use it wisely, and well."

The "Third Annual Lavender Art & Craft Exhibit: Contradictions", financially supported in part by the NEA with tax dollars, recently exhibited at the Artswatch in Louisville, KY. The homosexual community has adopted lavender as their symbolic color. The brochure promoting the exhibit read: "Recommended for mature audiences. The exhibit contains adult subject matter and viewer discretion is advised."

One of the exhibits, a bronze statue, is titled "The Fundamentalist Dream Girl." The description of the art by its creators says: "The Fundamentalist Dream Girl rests on her back, legs spread wide, intimate parts open for inspection and easy access." The girl's pubic area is exposed; however it "has been sewn together with silvery metal thread."

Another exhibit consists of two photographs by Joe Smoke who describes his art as "gay male activity-sex" which shows two men kissing, with one homosexual man holding another nude man's penis. Smoke says: "For many, homosexuality remains an ok idea but not a visualized activity. I am proud to make people gasp (and laugh) with these works."

The NEA gave the Los Angeles Contemporary Exhibitions, Inc. (LACE) \$85,000 to help support their program, including a performance by "Father Larry". Here is how the Los Angeles Reader described "Father Larry's" performance: "The bleeding naked man leapt into the audience as the drag queen speed-metal band backing him thrashed to disjointed climax. His prey were two longhairs seated among a stunned and leering crowd of three hundred art-nihilists. Father Larry threw the pair to the ground, tore their clothes off and used his considerable girth to immobilize and a large dildo to impale the two while orally copulating them. Some spectators loved it and it seemed a perverse orgy would break out, especially when a porn-queen fellated a comely six-foot-plus transsexual."

• The NEA helped honor Andres Serrano with tax dollars in competition sponsored by the NEA. Serrano's winning work of art included a photo of Christ on a cross submerged in Serrano's urine. Serrano named the "work of art" Piss Christ. He won \$15,000 in the competition.

• The NEA spent \$30,000 to help fund an exhibit of the homosexual photographs of Robert Mapplethorpe. Mapplethorpe's tax-funded exhibit included these photos: "Honey," a little girl about four years old with a sad, scared face, with the focus of the camera on the child's genitals below her uplifted dress; a man crouched over,

his penis on a block, named "Mr. 10½"; for pedophile homosexuals a shot of a nude little boy, about eight, proudly displaying his penis; a man dressed in a three piece suit entitled "Man in Polyester Suit" which focuses on his exposed sexual organ; a man standing nude with an erection; one man urinating in another man's mouth (homosexuals call it "golden showers"); and one man with his fist and forearm up another man's rectum (homosexuals call it "fisting"). In Cincinnati, those showing this exhibit have been indicted on obscenity charges.

• In Phoenix, Arizona, MARS Artspace, with financial support from the NEA, helped fund an exhibit featuring Cactus Jack's "Piss Helms," a photo of Senator Jesse Helms in a large jar of what appears to be urine.

• The organizers of the annual San Francisco Lesbian and Gay Film Festival received \$9,000 from the NEA for their 1990 showing. The NEA gave them \$10,000 in 1989 and \$6,300 in 1988 to support their Lesbian and Gay Film Festival. The film festival featured explicit films for and about homosexual lifestyles, sexual activities and practices.

• In January 1990, the NEA gave \$60,000 to three lesbian writers to help fund their homoerotic writings about their lesbian lifestyle. One writer, Minnie Bruce Pratt, submitted her poem "Crimes Against Nature" with her application. The poem reads in part: "For my methods, indecent and unnatural/of gratifying a depraved and perverted sexual instinct..."

• The NEA helped fund the exhibit "Degenerate with a Capital D" in New York. The exhibit included posters depicting Senator Jesse Helms nailed to a cross. (Exhibitor Shawn Eichman even sent several of the posters to Helms' home state.) The exhibit also included Dread Scott's "Proper Way to Display a U.S. Flag" which encouraged gallery-goers to walk on the flag, and a china cabinet that contained a coat hanger placed next to a vial containing fetal tissue from an abortion which "artist" Eichman underwent.

• The NEA recently gave \$15,000 to the University Galleries at Illinois State University to help fund David Wojnarowicz's "Tongues of Flame" exhibit. Included in the exhibit was an image of Christ in the process of injecting drugs into his arm using a needle and a syringe, an image of the Christ child wielding a pistol, scenes of men performing oral and anal sex on each other, and scenes of men having sex with animals. Congressman Dana Rohrabacher called the exhibit "sickeningly violent, sexually explicit, homoerotic, anti-religious and nihilistic."

In the exhibition catalog, which the NEA helped fund with tax money, radical homosexual activist David Wojnarowicz denounced Catholic clergyman John Cardinal O'Connor, calling him a "fat cannibal" and a "creep in black skirts" while St. Patrick's Cathedral was promoted as the "house of walking swastikas on Fifth Avenue." Wojnarowicz also wrote in the catalog: "At least in my ungoverned imagination I can f— somebody without a rubber or I can, in the privacy of my own skull, douse (Senator) Helms with a bucket of gasoline and set his putrid a— on fire or throw (Congressman) William Dannemeyer off the Empire State Building."

• Another exhibit NEA helped fund was entitled "Annie Sprinkle: Post-Porn Modernist". Annie Sprinkle is a porn movie "star" who has appeared in more than 150 hardcore pornographic movies. While the NEA initially denied that it helped fund this exhibit, the Washington Times said that research showed that the government agency did help fund the exhibit.

The art exhibit included Annie Sprinkle's live performances at the

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Kitchen theater in New York and consisted of, among other things, the "artist" spreading her legs and inviting the audience to inspect her vagina and cervix with the aid of a flashlight, masturbating to orgasm, and performing with several dildos. As part of her art exhibit, Annie did the following:

Invoked the spirits of "ancient, sacred temple prostitutes" into the theater. During the performance, Sprinkle said her sexual obsessions are "new age" spirituality, and likened her art to ancient sacred prostitutes and Taoist masters who could lengthen their orgasms. She also prayed with the audience to invoke the spirits of past sex goddesses. "I like to evoke spirits," she told the crowd. "They love having sex."

In the "art exhibit", Annie Sprinkle mounted an altar of candles and lit them in honor of former friends and lovers who had died from AIDS. She then prayed to their spirits, lit incense, and, with the audience chanting along and applauding, induced an orgasm with a vibrator.

Performed oral sex on rubber penises (dildos), and invited the audience to massage her breasts and photograph her scantily clad body. At the beginning of her tax-dollar funded exhibit she did a skit, called "100 Blow Jobs." In the skit, Sprinkle becomes very angry and despondent, and admits she "met a lot of rotten people" in her career. Then, with a background of the loud voices of demanding men shouting curses and insults at her, she proceeds to give frantic oral sex to various dildos, which represent abusive sex partners.

To conclude her performance, she opened her vaginal canal with a gynecological tool known as a speculum and invited the audience to the stage to inspect her cervix using a flashlight.

After the show, some 50 men and women paid \$5 each to have a picture taken with Sprinkle's large breasts resting atop their heads.

At one point during Annie Sprinkle's "art exhibit"—after inducing the first orgasm with her favorite "sex toys"—she smiles and says to the audience, "Usually I get paid a lot of money for this, but tonight it's government-funded!"

- The Living Stage theater company, underwritten by \$50,000 in

NEA money, put on a show for children in Baltimore in which the children were instructed to shout "bulls—" if they didn't like what they saw. Parents were kept within earshot but out of sight.

- Former Senator William Proxmire bestowed his Golden Fleece Award on the NEA in September 1977 after NEA-funded "anti-object" artist Le Ann Wilchusky used a \$6,025 NEA grant to drop crepe-paper streamers from a small plane, explaining that she was "sculpting in space" and calling attention to "the higher spirit of mankind."

- In October and November 1989, the NEA helped fund a degenerate San Francisco "art" show called "Re/Search Modern Primitives". The show was run by a group of "artists" called Southern Exposure. Southern Exposure described one portion of the show as "A presentation of literary sources in S&M culture; extolling 'the illuminative benefits of radical body modification'; woundings and cuttings by women as a healthy response for a sick society; body modification and exotic practices by non-Western civilizations."

Another part of the show featured "genital-piercing", and the final performance, entitled "NAILED! A performance not for the faint-hearted," concluded with "an emotionally charged presentation of his (artist Bob F.) ingenious autoerotic scaffold."

- NEA funded Kitchen Theater in New York hosted an "exhibit" by Karen Finley, who bills herself as the "Queen of the Dung Dynasty." Her act includes talking about cutting off men's testicles, putting them in her mouth and mixing them with feces.

Frank Moore, a recipient of a 1985 NEA fellowship, performed his "Intimate Cave" show, as well as his "Journey to Lila," at New York's NEA supported Furnace Theater. In his shows Moore invited the audience onto the stage to join him in his "cave" and then engage in, according to Moore, "intense physical playing and touching of oneself and each other."

Cheri Gaulke, whose show "Virgin" also played at the Furnace Theater, "used her often nude body to explore female sexuality...and eroticism" in a "partly Christian worship service, part pagan ritual."

Information provided by American Family Association Foundation

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Congressman Williams Postcard Verification and REPLY MEMO

TO: Mr. Donald E. Wildmon, Executive Director
American Family Association Foundation
P.O. Box 3206
Tupelo, MS 38803

FROM:

28M

HUGH R KELLEHER
OR CURRENT RESIDENT
1620 JEROME PL
HELENA MT 59601-5253

Don:

Count me in. I oppose the NEA's using my hard-earned tax dollars to fund "artists" who produce pornographic, obscene hate-filled and anti-Christian "art." And I am not a "right-wing, evangelical cuckoo."

I applaud your effort to tell Americans the truth about the NEA and about Congressman Pat Williams of Montana. I will get involved, too. Specifically, I will:

☐ Register my protest with Congressman Williams.

(Please check off appropriate action you will take.)

☐ Sign and mail enclosed postcard.

☐ Write and mail personal letter.

And, ...

☐ Help pay the costs of the American Family Association Foundation's campaign to end the NEA's funding of pornographic and anti-Christian "art." My gift is for:

☐ \$20 ☐ \$35 ☐ \$50 ☐ \$100
☐ \$500 ☐ \$1,000 ☐ Other \$ _____

Thank you for your help in this project. It's time to get the NEA under control. And Congressman Williams is the key to this fight. When writing out your contribution amount to help pay the costs of this fight, please make your check payable to: American Family Association Foundation; or simply, AFA Foundation. Thank you again.

American Family Association Foundation is a nonprofit corporation under section 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code. Contributions are not tax-deductible.

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Congressman Pat Williams
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Congressman Williams :

I resent your support of the National Endowment for the Arts in their spending my tax dollars to help fund pornography and anti-Christian bigotry. I certainly don't approve of this misuse of my money.

I also resent your calling people who oppose such trash "right-wing evangelical cuckoos."

If the "artists" want to produce such trash and call it "art", let them do it on their own time and money—not with my tax dollars.

Sincerely,

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Don Wildmon, Executive Director
American Family Association Foundation
P.O. Box 3206
Tupelo, Mississippi 38803

Non-Profit Org.
U.S. Postage,
PAID
Fredericksburg, VA
Permit No. 300

WARNING!

This envelope contains extremely offensive material
the exhibition of which was funded in part with your
tax dollars by the National Endowment for the Arts.

are

Taxpayers supported sexually explicit material enclosed.

91 JAN 23 AM 11:34



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

January 23, 1991

SENSITIVE

MEMORANDUM

TO: The Commission

FROM: Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: Lois G. Lerner *LL*
Associate General Counsel

SUBJECT: MUR 3176

On January 11, 1991, the Office of the General Counsel circulated a memorandum to the Commission regarding a waiver of confidentiality in the above-mentioned matter. On January 16, 1991, the Commission approved the letter as recommended in the General Counsel's memorandum. One Commissioner requested a copy of the letter to be sent to counsel for the respondents, the Christian Coalition and Ralph Reed, as Executive Director. Attached is a copy of that letter.

On January 14, 1991, a similar letter was approved by the Commission in MUR 3167 and was sent to the same respondents. A copy of this letter is also attached.

Attachments
Acknowledgment Letters

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

January 28, 1991

Jane C. Murphy, Executive Director
Montana Democratic Party
Steamboat Block, Room 306
P.O. Box 802
Helena, MT 59624

RE: MUR 3176

Dear Ms. Murphy:

This letter acknowledges receipt on January 22, 1991, of the amendment to the complaint you filed on November 16, 1990, against the Christian Coalition, and Ralph Reed, as Executive Director. The respondents will be sent copies of the amendment. You will be notified as soon as the Federal Election Commission takes final action on your complaint.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

January 28, 1991

Frank M. Northam, Esq.
Webster, Chamberlain & Bean
1747 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

RE: MUR 3176
The Christian Coalition and
Ralph Reed, as Executive
Director

Dear Mr. Northam:

On November 28, 1990, your clients, the Christian Coalition and Ralph Reed, as Executive Director, were notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from the Montana Democratic Party alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. At that time your clients were given a copy of the complaint and informed that a response to the complaint should be submitted within 15 days of receipt of the notification.

On January 22, 1991, the Commission received additional information from the complainant pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information. As this new information is considered an amendment to the original complaint, you are hereby afforded an additional 15 days in which to respond to the allegations.

If you have any questions, please contact Mary Taksar, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

January 28, 1991

Mr. Ron Oberlander, Chairman
The Montana Family Forum
Box 1001
Kalispell, Montana 59903

RE: MUR 3176
The Montana Family Forum and
Ron Oberlander, as Chairman

Dear Mr. Oberlander:

The Federal Election Commission received a complaint which alleges that the Montana Family Forum and you, as Chairman, may have violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint is enclosed. We have numbered this matter MUR 3176. Please refer to this number in all future correspondence.

Under the Act, you have the opportunity to demonstrate in writing that no action should be taken against you in this matter. Please submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Where appropriate, statements should be submitted under oath. Your response, which should be addressed to the General Counsel's Office, must be submitted within 15 days of receipt of this letter. If no response is received within 15 days, the Commission may take further action based on the available information.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(4)(B) and § 437g(a)(12)(A) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the matter to be made public. If you intend to be represented by counsel in this matter, please advise the Commission by completing the enclosed form stating the name, address and telephone number of such counsel, and authorizing such counsel to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission.


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Mr. Ron Oberlander, Chairman
MUR 3176
Page 2

If you have any questions, please contact Mary Taksar, the attorney assigned to this matter at (202) 376-5690. For your information, we have attached a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling complaints.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: 
Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosures

1. Complaint
2. Procedures
3. Designation of Counsel Statement

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

January 28, 1991

Mr. Don Wildmon, Executive Director
American Family Association Foundation
P.O. Box 3206
Tupelo, Mississippi 38803

RE: MUR 3176
American Family
Association Foundation

Dear Mr. Wildmon:

The Federal Election Commission received a complaint which alleges that the American Family Association Foundation and you, as Executive Director, may have violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint is enclosed. We have numbered this matter MUR 3176. Please refer to this number in all future correspondence.

Under the Act, you have the opportunity to demonstrate in writing that no action should be taken against you in this matter. Please submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Where appropriate, statements should be submitted under oath. Your response, which should be addressed to the General Counsel's Office, must be submitted within 15 days of receipt of this letter. If no response is received within 15 days, the Commission may take further action based on the available information.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(4)(B) and § 437g(a)(12)(A) unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the matter to be made public. If you intend to be represented by counsel in this matter, please advise the Commission by completing the enclosed form stating the name, address and telephone number of such counsel, and authorizing such counsel to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission.

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Mr. Don Wildmon, Executive Director
MUR 3176
Page 2

If you have any questions, please contact Mary Taksar, the attorney assigned to this matter at (202) 376-5690. For your information, we have attached a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling complaints.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel



BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosures

1. Complaint
2. Procedures
3. Designation of Counsel Statement

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American Family Association Law Center

P. O. Drawer 2220, Tupelo, Mississippi 38803

107 Parkway Drive, Tupelo, Mississippi 38801

*Benjamin W. Bull
Peggy M. Coleman
Nicholas J. Nikas*

Telephone (601) 822-5036

Telecopier (601) 822-9176

February 7, 1991

Mr. Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel
Federal Elections Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

RE: MUR 3176
American Family Association
Foundation

Dear Mr. Noble:

This letter and the accompanying memorandum will serve as the response of American Family Association Foundation, Inc., (AFAF) and Donald E. Wildmon, Executive Director (Wildmon). Enclosed as exhibits to the memorandum you will find information which identifies the purpose of AFAF and the activities in which it engages.

At no time has AFAF or Wildmon as Executive Director participated in activities that were expressly for the purpose of electing or defeating a political candidate. More specifically, they have not do so with respect to the November 1990 Congressional election in Montana.

I believe that you will find the enclosed memorandum and supporting information sufficient to make a determination that no action should be taken against AFAF or Wildmon as Executive Director.

If you find that additional information is necessary, please do not hesitate to contact me. Thank you for your cooperation in this matter.

Sincerely,

Peggy M. Coleman

Peggy M. Coleman
Legal Counsel

Enclosure

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTIONS COMMISSION

Washington, D.C. 20463

In the Matter of
American Family Association
Foundation

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MUR 3176

I. INTRODUCTION

The complaint filed by the Montana Democratic Party alleges that American Family Association Foundation, Inc. (AFAF) "participated in mass mailings to influence the 1990 election against Congressman Williams." As this memorandum will demonstrate, the mailings that AFAF has distributed and the activities in which it has engaged do not fall within the category of activities that may be regulated under the Federal Election Act.

II. AMERICAN FAMILY ASSOCIATION FOUNDATION, INC.

American Family Association Foundation, Inc., is a non-profit organization incorporated under the laws of the State of Mississippi and tax exempt pursuant to Internal Revenue Code section 501(c)(4). See, Exhibit A. Pursuant to its By-laws, AFAF has as its purpose to "educate the American public and the elected officials to the negative effects various decisions have upon the family and to promote responsiveness to the needs of the

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traditional American family." See, Exhibit B.

AFAF relies on grassroots advocacy and citizen awareness of the workings of the democratic process to make its voice and that of its constituency heard. AFAF encourages individuals, through periodic mailings and other communications, to make elected officials aware of individuals' concerns and needs with respect to issues that concern their lives and their communities.

III. THE MAILING

In October, 1990, AFAF sent an information packet concerning the funding of the National Endowment for the Arts to various individuals in Montana. This mailing was one of several mailings and public statements that AFAF and its sister organization, American Family Association, Inc., have made concerning the funding of the National Endowment for the Arts. See, Exhibits C and D. This particular mailing essentially consisted of a cover letter, two information sheets, a post card addressed to Congressman Williams and a Reply Memo. See, Complaint Exhibit A.

The mailing, while self-explanatory, addressed only Congressman Williams' support for the funding of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) and his vocal opposition to those who would attempt to reduce the funding of the NEA. The mailing urged the recipient to write to Congressman Williams to express their opposition to his support for the funding of the NEA. The existence of an election or Congressman Williams' campaign for re-election were not the subject, implicit or explicit, of the

mailing.

IV. APPLICABILITY OF THE ACT

The Federal Election Act, 2 U.S.C. sec. 431 et. seq., requires that organizations that contribute to the election or campaign of a clearly identified candidate submit certain information to the Federal Election Commission. The complaint filed by the Montana Democratic Party specifically alleges that "[AFAF's] activities constitute an 'independent expenditure' opposing the election of Congressman Pat Williams." Complaint at 2.

Section 431 of the Act provides, in part:

(17) The term "independent" expenditure" means an expenditure by a person expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate which is made without cooperation or consultation with any candidate, or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate, and which is not made in concert with, or at the request or suggestion of, any candidate, or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate.

2 U.S.C. sec. 431 (1988).

As the Commission is well aware, this section was amended in 1976 to comply with the mandates of the United States Constitution as determined by the Supreme Court in Buckley v Valeo, 424 U.S. 1 (1976). In Buckley, the Court, after construing the section in a fashion that mirrors the present language, stated:

In summary, sec. 434(e) as construed imposes independent reporting requirements on individuals and groups that are not candidates or political committees only in the following circumstances: (1) when they make contributions earmarked for political purposes or

authorized or requested by a candidate or his agent, to some person other than a candidate or political committee, and (2) when they make expenditures for communications that expressly advocate the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate.

424 U.S. at 80.

Section 434(e) in its present form was reviewed by the Second Circuit in Federal Election Commission v Central Long Island Tax Reform Immediately Committee, 616 F.2d 45 (2d Cir. 1980). In that case, the court reviewed a challenge to a pamphlet listing the voting records of members of Congress that was being distributed by an organization. The court stated:

The history of secs. 434(e) and 441d thus clearly establish that, contrary to the position of the FEC, the words, "expressly advocating" means exactly what they say. The FEC, to support its position, argues that "[t]he TRIM bulletins at issue here were not disseminated for a limited purpose" as merely informing the public about the voting record of a government official. FEC Reply Brief at 4 (emphasis supplied). Rather, the purpose was to unseat "big spenders." Thus, the FEC would apparently have us read "expressly advocating the election or defeat" to mean for the purpose express or implied, of encouraging election or defeat. This would, by statutory interpretation, nullify the change in the statute ordered in Buckley v Valeo and adopted by Congress in the 1976 amendments. The position is totally meritless.

424 U.S. at 53.

The same position rejected by the Second Circuit is apparently taken by the Montana Democratic Party in its complaint against AFAF. The mailing that is the object of the complaint does not refer to, expressly or impliedly, any forthcoming election. The mailing includes a card for the recipient to send to Congressman Williams and the specific request that recipients

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write to Congressman Williams to "[t]ell him you oppose the NEA's use of your tax dollars to fund pornographic and anti-Christian 'art'. And tell him you resent his calling those who oppose government funded pornography 'right-wing evangelical cuckoos'." Complaint Exhibit A at 1.

The court in Central Long Island Tax went on to discuss the nature of the mailing in question and the applicability of the Federal Election Act. The court stated:

The CLITRIM Bulletin of Fall, 1976, contains noting which could rationally be termed express advocacy. The nearest it comes to expressly calling for action of any sort is its exhortation that "[i]f your Representative consistently votes for measures that increase taxes, let him know how you feel. And thank him when he votes for lower taxes and less government." Neither this nor the voting chart calls for anyone's election or defeat. Indeed, a reader of the pamphlet could not find any indication, express or implied, of how TRIM would have him or her vote, without knowing the positions of the incumbent's opponent. There is no reference anywhere in the Bulletin to the congressman's party, to whether he is running for re-election, to the existence of an election or the act of voting in any election; nor is there anything approaching an unambiguous statement in favor of or against the election of Congressman Ambro.

616 F.2d at 53.

The same analysis must be made of the mailing that is the subject of the present complaint. The only action that is called for by the mailing is one of writing to Congressman Williams.¹

¹The mailing makes reference several times to the act of writing to Congressman Williams. Specifically, the letter states:

"* * *. Specifically, I'm hoping you will take one major action:

Write Congressman Williams. Tell him you oppose the NEA's use of your tax dollars to fund pornographic and

anti-Christian 'art'. And tell him you resent his calling those who oppose government funded pornography 'right-wing', evangelical cuckoos'."

Complaint Exhibit A at 1.

"Congressman Williams thinks that people in Montana also support spending tax dollars to support this kind of 'art'. Do you? If not, express yourself. Congressman Williams is still answerable to the people of Montana."

Complaint Exhibit A at 1.

"It's time to end the outrages of the National Endowment for the Arts. And your postcard or letter to Congressman Williams is the perfect place to start this fight."

Complaint Exhibit A at 1.

"And one of the best ways to do that is to make Congressmen like Pat Williams see that those who oppose being forced to pay for such filth with tax dollars are not 'right-wing, evangelical cuckoos,' but ordinary citizens who work hard to earn a buck and don't like to see Congress throw it away on cheap pornographic 'art'."

Write Congressman Williams. Tell him you're upset that he would arrogantly classify you as some nut just because you don't like how the NEA spends your tax dollars.

Tell him he needs to be more sensitive to the needs and beliefs of the millions of Christians in the U.S.

Tell him he needs to be more respectful of the people in this country like you who work hard just to make ends meet.

Tell him he needs to more in touch with real, down-to-earth people, and less concerned about an 'elite' vocal minority 'arts' crowd.

This is your chance to tell Congressman Williams you resent his calling those who oppose spending tax dollars to fund pornography and anti-Christian bigotry 'right-wing, evangelical cuckoos'."

Complaint Exhibit A at 2.

9 2 0 4 0 9 0 0 6 1 6

It does not call for the election or defeat of Congressman Williams or any other member of Congress. In fact, there "is no reference anywhere in the [mailing] to the congressman's party, to whether he is running for re-election, to the existence of an election or the act of voting in any election; nor is there anything approaching an unambiguous statement in favor of or against the election of Congressman [Williams]." 616 F.2d at 52.

Congressman Williams has placed himself in the midst of a public controversy concerning the funding of the National Endowment for the Arts. The controversy has been ongoing and continuous since July 1989. See, Exhibit E. The controversy did not, nor should it be expected to, take a hiatus during the time which members of Congress, particularly those in the House of Representatives, were in an election contest.

There is nothing in the mailing that would place it within the scope of activities to be regulated by the Federal Elections Act. The mailing is nothing more than an attempt to influence Congressman William's voting on the issue of funding for the National Endowment for the Arts.

V. CONCLUSION

Clearly, the mailing that is the object of this complaint

"Write Congressman Williams. And use the enclosed sheet to help convince others to write the Congressman, too."

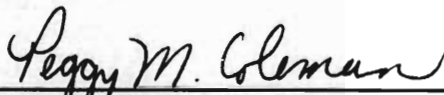
Complaint Exhibit A at 2.

was sent in an effort to influence the voting record of Congressman Williams with respect to the funding of the National Endowment for the Arts. Congressman Williams holds a key position in the House of Representatives with respect to NEA funding.

A mailing such as this is precisely the type of advocacy that an organization such AFAP may use to influence legislation. There was no attempt, express or implied, to oppose Congressman Williams in any future election. Such an allegation is spurious and without merit.

American Family Association Foundation, Inc., therefore respectfully requests that no action be taken on the complaint filed by the Montana Democratic Party against it.

Respectfully submitted,


Peggy M. Coleman
Legal Counsel
American Family Association Law
Center
Post Office Drawer 2440
107 Parkgate Drive
Tupelo, Mississippi 38803
(601) 844-5036

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI

ON

EXHIBIT A



SECRETARY OF STATE
DICK MOLPUS

Mississippi Corporation Information System

Corporation Name
AMERICAN FAMILY ASSOCIATION EDUCATION AND LEGAL DEFENSE
FOUNDATION, INC.

Corp ID: 0558794

Filed: 11/17/1988 AT 8:00 A. M.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Dick Molpus".

Dick Molpus
Secretary of State

Filing Fee Receipt: 150.00

Secretary of State
P.O. Box 136
Jackson, Ms 39205
(601) 359-1350

Internal Revenue Service
District Director

Department of the Treasury

P.O. BOX 941, RM 1112
ATLANTA, GA 30301

Date:

APR 12 1989

AMERICAN FAMILY ASSOCIATION
EDUCATION AND LEGAL DEFENSE
FOUNDATION INC
PO DRAWER 2440 107 PARKGATE DRIVE
TUPELO, MS 38803

Employer Identification Number:
57-0884937

Contact Person:
BRENDA WILCOX

Contact Telephone Number:
(404) 331-0185

Internal Revenue Code
Section 501(c)(4)
Accounting Period Ending:
6-30
Form 990 Required:
Yes
Addendum Applies:
No

Dear Applicant:

Based on information supplied, and assuming your operations will be as stated in your application for recognition of exemption, we have determined you are exempt from Federal income tax under section 501(a) of the Internal Revenue Code as an organization described in the section indicated above.

Unless specifically excepted, you are liable for taxes under the Federal Insurance Contributions Act (social security taxes) for each employee to whom you pay \$100 or more during a calendar year. And, unless excepted, you are also liable for tax under the Federal Unemployment Tax Act for each employee to whom you pay \$50 or more during a calendar quarter if, during the current or preceding calendar year, you had one or more employees at any time in each of 20 calendar weeks or you paid wages of \$1,500 or more in any calendar quarter. If you have any questions about excise, employment, or other Federal taxes, please address them to this office.

If your sources of support, or your purposes, character, or method of operation change, please let us know so we can consider the effect of the change on your exempt status. In the case of an amendment to your organizational document or bylaws, please send us a copy of the amended document or bylaws. Also, you should inform us of all changes in your name or address.

In the heading of this letter we have indicated whether you must file Form 990, Return of Organization Exempt From Income Tax. If Yes is indicated, you are required to file Form 990 only if your gross receipts each year are normally more than \$25,000. If a return is required, it must be filed by the 15th day of the fifth month after the end of your annual accounting period. A penalty of \$10 a day is charged when a return is filed late, unless there is reasonable cause for the delay. However, the maximum penalty charged cannot exceed \$5000 or 5 percent of your gross receipts for the year, whichever is less. This penalty may also be charged if a return is not complete, so please

Letter 948(DO/CG)

AMERICAN FAMILY ASSOCIATION

be sure your return is complete before you file it.

You are not required to file Federal income tax returns unless you are subject to the tax on unrelated business income under section 511 of the Code. If you are subject to this tax, you must file an income tax return on Form 990-T, Exempt Organization Business Income Tax Return. In this letter we are not determining whether any of your present or proposed activities are unrelated trade or business as defined in section 513 of the Code.

You need an employer identification number even if you have no employees. If an employer identification number was not entered on your application, a number will be assigned to you and you will be advised of it. Please use that number on all returns you file and in all correspondence with the Internal Revenue Service.

Donors may not deduct contributions to you because you are not an organization described in section 170(c) of the Code. Under section 6113, any fundraising solicitation you make must include an express statement (in a conspicuous and easily recognizable format) that contributions or gifts to you are not deductible as charitable contributions for Federal income tax purposes. This provision does not apply, however, if your annual gross receipts are normally \$100,000 or less, or if your solicitations are made to no more than ten persons during a calendar year. The law provides penalties for failure to comply with this requirement, unless failure is due to reasonable cause.

If we have indicated in the heading of this letter that an addendum applies, the enclosed addendum is an integral part of this letter.

Because this letter could help resolve any questions about your exempt status, you should keep it in your permanent records.

If you have any questions, please contact the person whose name and telephone number are shown in the heading of this letter.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Williams
District Director



Notice 835

(January 1988)

Major New Tax Law Changes Affecting Exempt Organizations

Legislation signed into law by the President on December 22, 1987, contains a number of significant provisions affecting tax-exempt organizations described in section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue Code. These provisions include new public disclosure requirements imposed on the organizations, penalties for not complying with the new requirements, and taxes on political expenditures and lobbying beyond allowable amounts by certain types of exempt organizations. Some of these provisions were effective on the date of enactment or the day following, and some become effective January 21 or February 1, 1988.

Exempt organizations need to familiarize themselves with these tax law changes in order to bring themselves into compliance. This Notice attempts to alert you to the major new provisions affecting tax-exempt organizations. In some cases, the new law requires important changes in how you conduct certain activities, such as when a noncharitable organization solicits contributions. In other instances, the new law will require changes in how you maintain accounting and other types of records, such as when a charitable organization has certain types of transactions or relationships with noncharitable organizations. Set forth below are brief descriptions of the new law's key provisions. The Service plans to provide further guidance in the near future.

Public Disclosure Requirements

Solicitations of Nondeductible Contributions.

Beginning February 1, 1988, any fundraising solicitation by or on behalf of any section 501(c) organization that is not eligible to receive contributions deductible as charitable contributions for Federal income tax purposes must include an express statement that contributions or gifts to it are not deductible as charitable contributions. The statement must be in a conspicuous and easily recognizable format whether the solicitation is made in written or printed form, by television or radio, or by telephone. However, this provision applies only to those organizations whose annual gross receipts are normally more than \$100,000. Religious and apostolic organizations described in section 501(d), as well as political organizations (including PACs) described in section 527(e), are also required to comply with this provision.

Failure to disclose that contributions are not deductible could result in a penalty of \$1,000 for each day on which a failure occurs, up to a maximum amount upon any organization of \$10,000. In cases where the failure to make the disclosure is due to intentional disregard of the law, the \$10,000 limitation does not apply and more severe penalties are applicable. No penalty will be imposed if the failure is due to reasonable cause.

Public Inspection of Annual Returns.

Any organization that files a Form 990, Return of Organization Exempt From Income Tax, for a tax year beginning after 1986 must make its return available for public inspection upon request within the 3-year period beginning with the due date of the return (including extensions, if any). All parts of the return and all required schedules and attachments other than the list of contributors to the organization must be made available. Inspection must be permitted during regular business hours at the organization's principal office and at each of its regional or district offices having 3 or more employees. This provision applies to any organization that files a Form 990, regardless of the size of the organization and whether or not it has any paid employees.

Any person who does not comply with the public inspection requirement may be assessed a penalty of \$10 for each day that inspection was not permitted, up to a maximum of \$5,000 with respect to any one return. Any person who willfully fails to comply may be subject to an additional penalty of \$1,000. No penalty will be imposed if the failure is due to reasonable cause.

Public Inspection of Exemption Applications.

Beginning January 21, 1988, any section 501(c) or 501(d) organization that submitted an application for recognition of exemption (including Forms 1023 and 1024) to the Internal Revenue Service after July 15, 1987, must make available for public inspection a copy of its application (together with a copy of any papers submitted in support of its application) and any letter or other document issued by the Service in response to the application. An organization that submitted its exemption application on or before July 15, 1987, must also comply with this requirement if it had a copy of its application on July 15, 1987. As in the case of annual returns, the copy of the application and related documents must be made available for inspection during regular business hours at the organization's principal office and at each of its regional or district offices having at least 3 employees.

The penalties for failure to comply with this provision are the same as those discussed in "Public Inspection of Annual Returns" above, except that the \$5,000 limitation does not apply. No penalty will be imposed if the failure is due to reasonable cause.

Both exempt organization returns and approved exemption applications will continue to be available for public inspection at IRS district offices and at the IRS National Office in Washington, D.C.

Disclosures Regarding Certain Information and Services Furnished.—A section 501(c) organization that offers to sell (or solicits money for) specific information or a routine service to any individual which could be readily obtained by that individual from an agency of the Federal Government free of charge or for a nominal charge must disclose that fact in a conspicuous manner when making any such offer or solicitation after January 31, 1988. Any organization that intentionally disregards this requirement will be subject to a penalty for each day on which the offers or solicitations were made. The penalty imposed for a particular day is the greater of \$1,000 or 50 percent of the aggregate cost of the offers and solicitations made on that day which lacked the required disclosure.

Disclosures Regarding Certain Transactions and Relationships.

In their annual returns on Form 990 or 990-PF for years beginning after 1987, section 501(c)(3) organizations must disclose information with respect to their direct or indirect transfers to, and other direct or indirect relationships with, other organizations described in section 501(c) (not including other section 501(c)(3) organizations) or in section 527, relating to political organizations. The purpose of this provision is to help prevent the diversion or expenditure of a section 501(c)(3) organization's funds for purposes not intended by section 501(c)(3) of the Code. Forms 990 and 990-PF for 1988 will require this additional information. All section 501(c)(3) organizations are now obliged to begin maintaining records regarding all such transfers, transactions, and relationships.

Political and Legislative Activities

Political Activities by Section 501(c)(3) Organizations.

Section 501(c)(3) has been clarified so that it now explicitly bars not only activities and expenditures "in support of" any candidate for public office, but also activities and expenditures "in opposition to" any such candidate. Other sections allowing a charitable contribution deduction for Federal income, estate, and gift tax purposes have been amended in an identical fashion. These amendments took effect on December 23, 1987.

Another amendment taking effect on the same date precludes qualification under section 501(c)(4) for any organization that lost its section 501(c)(3) status because of its intervention in a political campaign. This ensures that such an organization would be subject to Federal income tax for at least one year before its tax-exempt status under section 501(c)(3) could be reinstated. Prior to this amendment, section 504 of the Code barred section 501(c)(4) qualification only for those organizations that lost their section 501(c)(3) status because of substantial lobbying activities.

Tax on Political Expenditures by Section 501(c)(3) Organizations.—For taxable years beginning after December 22, 1987, an initial excise tax under new section 4955 is imposed on any amount paid or incurred by a section 501(c)(3) organization in connection with any intervention in a political campaign on behalf of, or in opposition to, any candidate for public

office. The tax is imposed even if the political expenditure gives rise to a revocation of the organization's section 501(c)(3) status. The initial tax on the organization is equal to 10 percent of the amount involved. An additional tax of 100 percent of the amount involved is also imposed on the organization if it fails to correct the expenditure timely. The initial tax may be abated if the organization can establish that its making of the political expenditure was not willful and flagrant.

An initial tax of 2½ percent of the amount involved (limited to \$5,000 of tax with respect to any one expenditure) is imposed on any manager of the organization who, knowing that an expenditure is a political expenditure, agrees to the making of the expenditure, unless such agreement is not willful and is due to reasonable cause. A manager who refuses to agree to part or all of the required correction of the political expenditure may also be subject to an additional tax of 50 percent of the amount involved (subject to a \$10,000 maximum).

These new taxes apply in the case of both public charities and private foundations. When tax is imposed under the new provision in the case of a private foundation, however, the expenditure in question will not be treated as a taxable expenditure under section 4945.

For purposes of this new excise tax, in the case of an organization which was formed primarily to promote the candidacy or prospective candidacy of an individual for public office (or which is effectively controlled by a candidate or prospective candidate and which is availed of primarily for such purposes), amounts paid or incurred for any of the following purposes are deemed political expenditures:

- (1) Remuneration to the individual (a candidate or prospective candidate) for speeches or other services;
- (2) Travel expenses of the individual;
- (3) Expenses of conducting polls, surveys, or other studies, or preparing papers or other material for use by the individual;
- (4) Expenses of advertising, publicity, and fundraising for such individual; and
- (5) Any other expense which has the primary effect of promoting public recognition or otherwise primarily accruing to the benefit of the individual.

Tax on Lobbying Expenditures of Former Section 501(c)(3) Organizations.—For years beginning after December 22, 1987, certain organizations whose section 501(c)(3) status is revoked because of excess lobbying activities will be subject to a new 5 percent excise tax on their lobbying expenditures. A similar tax at the same rate is also imposed on any manager of the organization who willfully and without reasonable cause consented to the making of the lobbying expenditures knowing that they would likely result in the organization's no longer qualifying under section 501(c)(3). There is no limit on the amount of this tax that may be imposed against either the organization or its managers.

These taxes are not imposed in the case of a private foundation (whose lobbying expenditures may be subject to the section 4945 tax on taxable expenditures). The new taxes also are not imposed in the case of any organization for which a section 501(h) election was in effect at the time of the lobbying expenditures or which was not eligible to make a section 501(h) election.

Injunction To Prevent Flagrant Political Expenditures.—In appropriate circumstances, the Service may seek a U.S. district court injunction barring additional political expenditures by a section 501(c)(3) organization. The Service may take this action after it has notified the organization of its intention to seek an injunction if the organization does not immediately cease making political expenditures and after the Commissioner of Internal Revenue has personally determined that the organization has flagrantly participated in a political campaign and that, under the circumstances, an injunction is appropriate to prevent further abuse. The Service may also seek (and the court may grant) such other injunctive relief as may be appropriate to ensure that the organization's funds are preserved for section 501(c)(3) purposes. This provision became effective on December 22, 1987.

Other Provisions

Form 990/990-PF Delinquency Penalty.—In the case of Forms 990 and 990-PF filed for years beginning after 1986, the \$10 per day penalty imposed on the organization for failure to file its return

timely without reasonable cause has been amended as to the maximum penalty that may be imposed. The maximum penalty for any one return is now limited to the lesser of \$5,000 or 5 percent of the organization's gross receipts for the year involved.

User Fees for Exempt Organization Ruling and Determination Requests.—Beginning February 1, 1988, the Service is required to collect a fee from any organization seeking an IRS determination of its exempt status as an organization described in section 501(c), 501(d), or 521 of the Internal Revenue Code. A fee will also be imposed in connection with any exempt organization request for a private-letter ruling.

The nonrefundable fee must be submitted with the application or ruling request. Otherwise, the request will be returned to the submitter without any action being taken on it.

The fees imposed will be reflected in Form 8718, User Fee for Exempt Organization Determination Letter Request, which will be used to transmit both the appropriate fee and the application or ruling request.

Income From Publicly Traded Partnerships.—Prior to amendment, section 512(c) provided that a section 501(c) organization's distributive share of partnership income would retain the same character as in the hands of the partnership for purposes of computing the section 501(c) partner's unrelated business taxable income. Thus, income earned by a partnership that was of a type which would not be unrelated business income if earned directly by the section 501(c) partner would not be treated as unrelated business income to that partner.

Section 512(c) has been amended to provide that this rule does not apply to income from a publicly traded partnership and that ALL such income is treated as unrelated business income to a section 501(c) partner. A publicly traded partnership is one whose partnership interests are traded on an established securities market or are readily tradable on a secondary market or substantial equivalent. This change applies to publicly traded partnership interests acquired after December 17, 1987.

Internal Revenue Service
P.O. Box 6940
Florence, KY 41042

Official Business

Penalty for Private Use, \$300
Do Not Forward

First Class

Postage and Fees Paid
Internal Revenue Service
Permit No. G-48



American Family Association
Foundation

October 17, 1989

Ms. Brenda Wilcox
Internal Revenue Service
Department of the Treasury
EO Group 721
EP/EO Division
C-1130
275 Peachtree Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

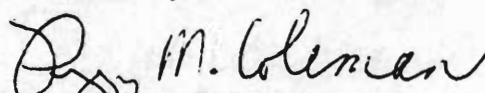
Re: American Family Association Education and Legal Defense
Foundation, Inc.; EIN 57-0884937

Dear Ms. Wilcox:

This is to notify you that American Family Association Education and Legal Defense Foundation, Inc., has changed its name to: American Family Association Foundation, Inc. The change is in name only. There has been no change in the legal or corporate structure.

Thank you for your cooperation in noting this change for your records.

Sincerely,


Peggy M. Coleman
Legal Counsel

92040900623

558794

ARTICLES OF AMENDMENT

567055

(Attach conformed copy.)

☐ PROFIT ☒ NONPROFIT
(Mark appropriate box)

242953 RECEIVED

The undersigned corporation, pursuant to Section 79-4-10.06 (If a profit corporation) or Section 79-11-305 (If a non profit corporation) of the Mississippi Code of 1972, hereby executes the following document and sets forth:

- The name of the corporation is American Family Association Education and Legal Defense Foundation, Inc.
- Set forth the text of each admendment adopted. (Attach page.) JACKSON, MS.
- If a profit amendment provides for an exchange, reclassification, or cancellation of issued shares, set forth the provisions for implementing the amendment if they are not contained in the amendment itself. (Attach page.)
- The amendment(s) was (were) adopted October 17, 1989 DATE(S)

FOR PROFIT CORPORATION

- (a) adopted by ☐ the incorporators ☐ directors without shareholder action and shareholder action was not required. (Check appropriate box.)

FOR NONPROFIT CORPORATION

- (b) adopted by ☒ board of directors ☐ incorporators without member action and member action was not required. (Check appropriate box.)

FOR PROFIT CORPORATIONS

5. If the amendment was approved by shareholders:

- (a) The designation, number of outstanding shares, number of votes entitled to be cast by each voting group entitled to vote separately on the amendment, and the number of votes of each voting group indisputably represented at the meeting was:

Designation	No. outstanding shares	No. of votes entitled to be cast	No. of votes indisputably represented
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

Time: 8:00 A.M.

- (b) Either the total number of votes cast for and against the amendment by each voting group entitled to vote separately on the amendment was:

Voting group	Total no. of votes cast FOR	Total no. of votes cast AGAINST
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

Amount Received: \$ 50.00Filed: 10-20-89

or the total number of undisputed votes cast for the amendment by each voting group was:

Voting group	Total no. of undisputed votes cast FOR the plan
_____	_____
_____	_____

Dine Morgan
Secretary of State
State of Mississippi

and the number cast for the amendment by each voting group was sufficient for approval by that voting group.

FOR NONPROFIT CORPORATIONS

6. If the amendment was approved by the members:

- (a) The designation, number of memberships outstanding, number of votes entitled to be cast by each class entitled to vote separately on the amendment, and number of votes of each class indisputably represented at the meeting was:

Designation	No. memberships outstanding	No. of votes entitled to be cast	No. of votes indisputably represented
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

- (b) Either

- (i) the total number of votes cast for and against the amendment by each class entitled to vote separately on the amendment was:

Voting class	Total no. of votes cast FOR the amendment	Total no. of votes cast AGAINST the amendment
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

This page conforms with the duplicate original filed with Secretary of State.

or

- (ii) the total number of undisputed votes cast for the amendment by each class was:

Voting group	Total no. of undisputed votes cast FOR the amendment
_____	_____
_____	_____

Dine Morgan
Secretary of State
State of Mississippi

and the number cast for the amendment by each class was sufficient for approval by that voting group.

BY Donald E. Wildmon, President
PRINTED NAME/CORPORATE TITLE

Donald E. Wildmon
SIGNATURE

RESOLVED, the Board of Directors of American Family Association Education and Legal Defense Foundation, Inc., hereby change the name of the organization to: AMERICAN FAMILY ASSOCIATION FOUNDATION, INC. Further, the legal structure and operation of said organization shall remain the same.

The By-Laws shall reflect this change immediately.

Adopted by regular meeting this 17th day of October, 1989.

D. E. Will

Tim Waldman

Bryon Coleman

Will Self

This page conforms with the duplicate
original filed with Secretary of State.

Dine McGraw

Secretary of State
State of Mississippi

92040900625

BY-LAWS

EXHIBIT B

of

AMERICAN FAMILY ASSOCIATION EDUCATION AND
LEGAL DEFENSE FOUNDATION, INC.

A Not-For-Profit Corporation Incorporated Under
the Laws of the State of Mississippi

ARTICLE I

OFFICES

Section 1. The principal office of the Corporation shall be located in the City of Tupelo, County of Lee and State of Mississippi. The Corporation may also have such offices at such other places within or without the State as the Board of Directors may from time to time determine.

ARTICLE II

STATEMENT OF FAITH

Section 1. We believe the Holy Bible contains all information necessary whereby man can be saved from his sins and live a Godly life following the will of God.

ARTICLE III

GOALS

Section 1. The American Family Association Education and Legal Defense Foundation, Inc., exists to promote the Biblical ethic of decency in the American society through the democratic process, especially--but not exclusively--in the areas of family integrity, respect for human life, and the communication media. Our purpose is to educate the American public and the elected officials to the negative effects various decisions have upon the family and to promote responsiveness to the needs of the traditional American family.

ARTICLE IV

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Section 1. The Corporation shall be managed by a Board of Directors. Each director shall be at least eighteen (18) years of age. The initial Board of Directors shall consist of three (3) persons. Thereafter, the number of directors shall be no less than three. Subject to the foregoing, the number of directors may be fixed from time to time by action of the directors. The number of directors may be increased or decreased by action of the Board of Directors, provided that any action by the Board of

92040900626

9 2 0 4 0 9 0 0 6 2 7

Directors to effect such increase or decrease shall require the vote of a majority of the entire Board of Directors. No decrease shall shorten the term of any director then in office.

Section 2. The first Board of Directors shall consist of those persons elected by the Incorporators or named as the initial Board of Directors in the Certificate of Incorporation of the Corporation, and they shall hold office until the first Annual Meeting of Members, and until their successors have been duly elected and qualify. Thereafter, at each Annual Meeting of Directors, the members of the Board shall elect directors to hold office until the next Annual Meeting. Each director shall hold office until the expiration of the term for which he was elected, and until his successor has been duly elected and qualified or until his prior resignation or removal as hereinafter provided.

Section 3. a. The Board of Directors may remove any director thereof for cause only.

b. A director may resign at any time by giving written notice to the Board of Directors or to any officer of the Corporation. Unless otherwise specified in the notice, the resignation shall take effect upon receipt thereof by the Board of Directors or such officer. Acceptance of such resignation not be necessary to make it effective.

Section 4. Newly-created directorships or vacancies in the Board of Directors may be filled by a vote of a majority of the Board of Directors then in office, although less than a quorum. Vacancies occurring by reason of removal of directors shall be filled by vote of the Board of Directors. A director elected to fill a vacancy caused by resignation, death, or removal shall be elected to hold office for the unexpired term of his predecessor.

Section 5. A regular Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors shall be held within or without the state at such time and place as the Directors shall fix. All other meetings shall be held at such time and place as shall be fixed by the Board of Directors from time to time. No notice shall be required for regular meetings of the Board of Directors for which the time and place have been fixed. Special meetings may be called by or at the direction of the President of the Board or by a majority of the directors then in office. Written, oral, or any other method of notice of the time and place shall be given for special meetings of the Board of Directors in sufficient time for the convenient assembly of the Board of Directors. The notice of any meeting need not specify the purpose of such meeting. The requirement for furnishing notice of a meeting may be waived by any director who signs a Waiver of Notice before or after the meeting or who attends the meeting without protesting the lack of notice to him.

Section 6. Except to the extent herein or in the Certificate of Incorporation of the the Corporation provided, one-third of the entire members of the Board of Directors shall constitute a quorum. Whenever a vacancy on the Board of Directors shall prevent a quorum from being present, then, in such event, the quorum shall consist of one-third of the members of the Board of Directors excluding the vacancy. One-third of the directors present, whether or not a quorum is present, may adjourn a meeting to another time and place. Except to the extent provided by law and these By-Laws, the act of the Board of

qualified. The Board of Directors may remove any officer with or without cause at any time.

Section 3. The President shall be the chief executive officer of the Corporation, shall have the responsibility for the general management of the affairs of the Corporation, and shall carry out the resolutions of the Board of Directors. The President shall, when present, preside at all meetings of the Corporation and of the Board of Directors, and affairs of the Corporation.

Section 4. During the absence or disability of the President of the Corporation, the Vice-President, or, if there be more than one, the Executive Vice-President, shall have all the powers and functions of the President. The Vice-President shall perform such duties as may be prescribed by the Board of Directors from time to time.

Section 5. The Secretary shall be ex-officio clerk of the Board of Directors; he shall attend all sessions of the Board of Directors and record all facts and minutes of all proceedings in the book for that purpose; he shall give all notices required to be the custodian of the seal of the Corporation and of all books, papers, record, etc., belonging to the Corporation, which he shall deliver only when authorized by a resolution of the Board of Directors to do, and to such person or persons as may be named in the resolution, and he shall perform such other duties as may from time to time be determined by the Board of Directors. The Secretary shall make service and publication of all notices that may be necessary or proper without command or direction from anyone. In the case of the absence, inability, or refusal or neglect of the Secretary to make service or publication of any notice, then such notice may be served and published by the President or the Vice-President or by any person thereunto authorized by either of them, by the Board of Directors or by a majority of the members.

Section 6. The Treasurer, or an Assistant Treasurer duly appointed by the Board of Directors, shall keep full and accurate accounts of all receipts and disbursements of the Corporation in proper books of accounts and shall deposit all monies or other available effects in the name and to the credit of the Corporation in such bank or banks as may from time to time be designated by the Board; he shall disburse the funds of the Corporation under the direction of the Board of Directors, taking proper vouchers therefor, or whenever required of him, an account of all his transactions as Treasurer and of the financial position of the Corporation. He shall also perform such other duties as may from time to time be determined by the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VI

MISCELLANEOUS

Section 1. The Corporation shall keep at the principal office of the Corporation, complete and correct records and books of account, and shall keep minutes of the proceedings of the Board of Directors, or any committee appointed by the Board of Directors.

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Section 2. The corporate seal shall be in such form as the Board of Directors shall from time to time prescribe.

Section 3. The fiscal year of the corporation shall be fixed by the Board of Directors from time to time, subject to applicable law.

Section 4. a. All By-Laws of the Corporation shall be subject to alteration or repeal, and new By-Laws may be made, by a majority vote of the Board of Directors, at a special meeting called for such purpose.

b. The Board of Directors shall have the power to make, alter or repeal, from time to time, By-Laws of the Corporation. If any By-Law regulating an impending election of directors is adopted, amended or repealed by the Board, there shall be set forth in the notice of the next meeting of directors the By-Law so made, amended or repealed, together with a concise statement of the changes made.

Section 5. The members shall at each Annual Meeting appoint an auditor to audit the accounts of the Corporation, to hold office until the next Annual Meeting; provided that the directors may fill any casual vacancy in the office of auditor. The remuneration of the auditor shall be fixed by the Board of Directors.

Section 6. Upon dissolution of the American Family Association Education and Legal Defense Foundation, Inc., assets shall be distributed for one or more exempt purposes within the meaning of section 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code, or corresponding section of any future federal tax code, or shall be distributed to the federal government, or to a state or local government, for a public purpose.

Section 7. No part of the net earnings of the Corporation shall inure to the benefit of, or be distributable to its members, trustees, officers, or other private persons, except that the Corporation shall be authorized and empowered to pay reasonable compensation for services rendered and to make payments and distributions in furtherance of the purposes set forth in previous Articles hereof. The Corporation shall not participate in, or intervene in (including the publishing or distributing of statements) any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office.

Notwithstanding any other provision of these articles, this Corporation shall not, except to an insubstantial degree, engage in any activities or exercise any powers that are not in furtherance of the purposes of this Corporation.

American Family Association

Donald E. Wildmon, Executive Director



P.O. Drawer 2440 ■ 107 Parkgate ■ Tupelo, Mississippi 38803

TO : Members of Gideon's Brigade and AFA Supporters
FROM : Don Wildmon, Executive Director
RE : Immediate action on NEA is critical

Dear AFA Supporter:

For more than a year now we have been fighting to stop tax-funded anti-Christian bigotry and pornography. We are at a very critical point where action is needed. It appears that some Congressmen are working on a parliamentary procedure move to re-fund the National Endowment for the Arts without reauthorizing it! I want to tell you about that, but first I want to share some GREAT NEWS!

U.S.X., which owns Marathon Oil Company, recently pulled the porn magazines from their 1700 stores! For more than a year AFA has been encouraging U.S.X. to pull the magazines. Since 1986, because of the efforts of AFA and others, approximately 25,000 stores have pulled the porn magazines! They did so because of you and your efforts! This is a great victory! Please send U.S.X. the enclosed card of thanks (or write a personal letter).

Also, Reebok has cancelled plans to sign a \$6,000,000 promotion deal with Madonna. AFA had written Reebok concerning the proposed contract and asked that they not sign. We also broadcast information on the deal on our daily radio program ISSUES AND ACTION and we included information in the AFA Journal.

Because of action by you and other AFA supporters, Reebok recently announced they would not proceed with the Madonna deal. A few days ago I was told by someone very close to the situation that hearing from AFA supporters played a major part in Reebok's decision to cancel the deal at the last minute! Another victory!

Please call Reebok at 1-800-843-4444 and thank them for their action! And you can also write a note of thanks. The address is: Chrm. Paul Fireman, Reebok International Ltd., 100 Technology Center Drive, Stoughton, MA 02072.

You may recall that last year Pepsi cancelled a reported \$10,000,000 contract with Madonna because of AFA action.

Now about the critical action needed. The vote on reauthorizing the National Endowment for the Arts has been postponed until September. It appears that an attempt may be made in Congress to continue funding the National Endowment for the Arts without actually voting to reauthorize the agency. Such a parliamentary move would allow members of the House and Senate to continue to provide tax funds for the NEA without having to vote directly on the issue. Members of Congress can then tell their constituents that they did not have an opportunity to vote on the NEA, but that the funds for the NEA were part of another bill which they had to support; and that if they had had an opportunity to do so, they would have voted against the NEA.

This is the same kind of parliamentary procedure used last year when the House voted for the Regula motion and did not allow Congressman Dana Rorhrabacher to introduce the Helms amendment. Such a parliamentary procedure would simply appropriate \$180,000,000 for the NEA without reauthorizing it!

I have already written members of Congress and the Senate explaining that if this happens, we will interpret their voting to fund the NEA without voting to reauthorize the agency as a vote to continue tax support for the NEA's anti-Christian bigotry and pornography.

To show contempt of efforts to stop tax-funding of anti-Christian bigotry and pornography, the advisory council to the NEA, meeting in Washington, voted on August 4 to remove even the relative ineffective pledge forbidding misuse of funds passed by Congress last fall. The council thus called for total, unrestricted funding of the NEA. Artists at the advisory council meeting protested efforts to stop tax funding of anti-Christian and pornographic art by disrupting the meeting with chants of "We're here, we're queer, get used to it." Much of the pornography funded by the NEA with tax dollars has been homosexual pornography. Some observers feel that the militant homosexual movement has gained control of the arts community funded by the NEA.

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I have enclosed a recent example of how the NEA continues to use your tax dollars to fund anti-Christian bigotry and pornography. Even though we have edited the enclosed material taken from the NEA-funded play "Sincerity Forever", I must warn you that you will find it extremely offensive. But I also felt you should see how the NEA uses tax money to support anti-Christian filth.

In an important test vote on the NEA, on July 26 the House voted to reduce the amount of funding to the District of Columbia by \$1,600,000. The University of D.C. had proposed to spend that amount to buy a "work of art" by Judy Chicago. The "work of art", entitled "The Dinner Party: A Symbol of Our Heritage," consists of a triangle-shaped banquet table (some 140 feet in total length) set with 39 places, one for each of the "great women" of the past. The "work of art" has 39 plates, each containing simply a vagina to represent the woman selected to honor!

Congressman Pat Williams of Montana said from the House floor that those who voted to reduce the funding by \$1.6 million would be symbolically voting against the NEA and those who voted to oppose the motion and leave in the \$1.6 million would be voting for the NEA. I have enclosed a list of the Congressmen who voted to oppose the motion, and thus approved of the use of \$1.6 million dollars to purchase the "work of art" consisting of 39 vaginas.

I desperately need you to write your Congressman and two Senators telling them that if they vote to fund the NEA without voting to reauthorize the NEA, you will interpret their vote as being in support of NEA funding of anti-Christian bigotry and pornography. They need to hear from you immediately concerning this matter! You see, the NEA refuses to stop funding anti-Christian bigotry and pornography because it feels it has enough support in Congress to get \$180,000,000 if Congressmen and Senators can avoid going on record as voting for or against the reauthorization of the NEA.

Congressmen and Senators who vote to continue government funding of the NEA are well aware of the NEA's use of tax dollars to help support anti-Christian bigotry and pornography.

Do not be misled by responses from your Congressman and Senators. The question is not whether these "artists" have the right to produce such material, but whether your tax dollars should be forced to support them in their endeavors.

The Washington Times recently reported that, despite what the NEA has told the public and despite what many Congressmen have told their constituents, the records show that the Annie Sprinkle live porn performance was funded with NEA tax dollars!

In order to stop government funding of anti-Christian bigotry and pornography, we are mailing a special "Action Package" to 178,000 pastors and churches giving them information on the NEA use of tax money to support anti-Christian bigotry and pornography and urging them to get their people involved. This special mailing, which we feel is most important, will cost approximately \$50,000. This is money which we had not budgeted. If you can help us pay the cost of mailing these "Action Packages", I would certainly appreciate it. As you well know, your prayers, involvement and financial support allow us to continue the entire ministry of AFA. Thanks for whatever help you can give.

The address for your Congressman is U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515. For your Senators it is U.S. Senate, Washington, DC 20510. The phone number for your Congressman and Senators is 202-224-3121.

Sincerely,

Donald E. Wildmon

Donald E. Wildmon
Executive Director

P.S. I don't expect you to send a financial donation each time I write. I know you will help us financially as you can. But please take the suggested action steps. Please mail your cards (or better write a personal letter) to your Congressman and Senators today! We need your help and depend on you to take the actions we suggest. Time is short. Please act today. Please return the enclosed response form and let me know you have done this! Thanks.

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Chrm. Charles A. Corry
U.S.X. Corporation
600 Grant Street
Pittsburgh, PA 15230

Congressman _____
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

Senator _____
U.S. Senate
Washington, DC 20510

Senator _____
U.S. Senate
Washington, DC 20510

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Dear Mr. Corry:

Please accept my deep appreciation for the action by Marathon Oil Company in pulling the porn magazines from your stores. I most definitely will remember your actions in future trading. I understand that Marathon owned Gastown, Bonded, Starvin' Marvin, Ecol, Cheker, Port Speedway and Value gas marts.

Your action will mean that the sexual abuse of women and children will decrease. Thanks again for your actions. May God bless you.

Dear Congressman _____ :

I understand that some members of Congress are considering a parliamentary procedure to fund the National Endowment for the Arts without voting to reauthorize the agency. I want you to know that I consider such a procedure an attempt to bypass the normal legislative process and will consider a vote to fund the NEA without reauthorizing it as a vote of endorsement for the NEA's funding of anti-Christian bigotry and pornography.

I don't want my tax money used to support anti-Christian bigotry and pornography. I feel strongly about this issue, and it will very much be a part of my voting decisions in the future.

Dear Senator _____ :

I understand that some members of Congress are considering a parliamentary procedure to fund the National Endowment for the Arts without voting to reauthorize the agency. I want you to know that I consider such a procedure an attempt to bypass the normal legislative process and will consider a vote to fund the NEA without reauthorizing it as a vote of endorsement for the NEA's funding of anti-Christian bigotry and pornography.

I don't want my tax money used to support anti-Christian bigotry and pornography. I feel strongly about this issue, and it will very much be a part of my voting decisions in the future.

Dear Senator _____ :

I understand that some members of Congress are considering a parliamentary procedure to fund the National Endowment for the Arts without voting to reauthorize the agency. I want you to know that I consider such a procedure an attempt to bypass the normal legislative process and will consider a vote to fund the NEA without reauthorizing it as a vote of endorsement for the NEA's funding of anti-Christian bigotry and pornography.

I don't want my tax money used to support anti-Christian bigotry and pornography. I feel strongly about this issue, and it will very much be a part of my voting decisions in the future.

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123 Congressmen vote to support NEA on obscene art "test" vote

In an important "test" vote on the NEA, on July 26 the House voted to reduce the amount of funding to the District of Columbia by \$1,600,000. The University of D.C. has proposed to spend that amount to buy a "work of art" by Judy Chicago. The "work of art", entitled "The Dinner Party: A Symbol of Our Heritage", consists of a triangle-shaped banquet table (some 140 feet in total length) set with 39 places, one for each of the "great women" of the past. The "work of art" has 39 plates, each containing simply a vagina to represent the woman selected to honor!

Congressman Pat Williams of Montana said from the House floor that those who voted to reduce the funding by \$1.6 million would be symbolically voting against the NEA and those who voted to leave in the \$1.6 million would be voting for the NEA. The House approved cutting the funding by \$1,600,000. The Congressmen below voted to oppose the motion, and thus voted for the use of \$1.6 million dollars to purchase the "work of art" consisting of 39 vaginas.

The address: House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515.

AR - Beryl Anthony
CA - Glenn Anderson
CA - Jim Bates
CA - Anthony C. Beilenson
CA - Howard Berman
CA - Douglas H. Bosco
CA - Barbara Boxer
CA - George E. Brown, Jr.
CA - Tom Campbell
CA - Ronald Dellums
CA - Julian Dixon
CA - Mervyn Dymally
CA - Don Edwards
CA - Victor Fazio
CA - Augustus F. Hawkins
CA - Tom Lantos
CA - Mel Levine
CA - Jerry Lewis
CA - Matthew Martinez
CA - Robert T. Matsui
CA - George Miller
CA - Norman Mineta
CA - Nancy Pelosi
CA - Edward Roybal
CA - Fortney (Pete) Stark
CA - Henry A. Waxman
CO - Patricia Schroeder
CO - David E. Skaggs
CT - Sam Gejdenson
CT - Barbara B. Kennelly
FL - Dante Fascell
FL - Harry A. Johnston
FL - William Lehman
GA - John Lewis
IA - Neal Smith
IL - Cardiss Collins
IL - Lane Evans
IL - Charles A. Hayes
IL - Gus Savage
IL - Sidney Yates
IN - Andrew Jacobs, Jr.

IN - Jim Jontz
IN - Frank McCloskey
KY - Romano L. Mazzoli
LA - Lindy Boggs
MA - Chester Atkins
MA - Silvio Conte
MA - Barney Frank
MA - Joseph Kennedy II
MA - Edward J. Markey
MA - Nicholas Mavroules
MA - Gerry E. Studds
MD - Benjamin L. Cardin
MD - Steny Hoyer
MD - Kweisi Mfume
MD - Constance Morella
MI - David E. Bonior
MI - Bob Carr
MI - John Conyers, Jr.
MI - George W. Crockett
MI - William D. Ford
MI - Dennis M. Hertel
MI - Dale E. Kildee
MI - Sander Levin
MI - Howard Wolpe
MN - Bill Frenzel
MN - James L. Oberstar
MN - Martin Sabo
MN - Gerry Sikorski
MN - Bruce Vento
MO - William Clay
MO - Richard A. Gephardt
MO - Alan Wheat
MS - Mike Espy
MT - Pat Williams
NC - Walter B. Jones
NJ - Bernard J. Dwyer
NJ - Dean Gallo
NJ - Donald M. Payne
NY - Gary Ackerman
NY - Thomas J. Downey
NY - Eliot L. Engel

NY - Hamilton Fish, Jr.
NY - Floyd H. Flake
NY - Benjamin Gilman II
NY - Bill Green
NY - John LaFalce
NY - Thomas J. Manton
NY - Matthew McHugh
NY - Robert J. Mrazek
NY - Major Owens
NY - Charles B. Rangel
NY - James H. Scheuer
NY - Charles Schumer
NY - Jose E. Serrano
NY - Louise Slaughter
NY - Stephen Solarz
NY - Eldolphus Towns
NY - Ted Weiss
OH - Mary Rose Oaker
OH - Donald J. Pease
OH - Thomas Sawyer
OH - Louis Stokes
OK - Michael Synar
OR - Les AuCoin
OR - Ron Wyden
PA - William J. Coyne
PA - Thomas Foglietta
PA - William H. Gray III
PA - Peter Kostmayer
PA - John P. Murtha
PA - Thomas J. Ridge
RI - Ronald K. Machtley
RI - Claudine Schneider
TN - Harold E. Ford
TX - Henry B. Gonzalez
TX - Solomom P. Ortiz
VA - James R. Olin
WA - Norman D. Dicks
WA - Jim McDermott
WA - Al Swift
WI - Robert Kastenmeier
WI - Jim Moody

WARNING! THIS EXCERPT OF A NEA FUNDED PLAY IS EXTREMELY OFFENSIVE

NEA funded play depicts Jesus as a foul-mouth bigot

On July 13, Mac Wellman sent via Federal Express to Donald E. Wildmon and Senator Jesse Helms copies of a play he had written entitled "Sincerity Forever". In his letter to Rev. Wildmon, Mr. Wellman wrote: "Since the enclosed play, SINCERITY FOREVER, is dedicated to you (and Senator Helms) I felt you ought to have a copy. With my compliments, for the fine job you are doing of destroying civil liberties in These States. Save the Republic! Mac Wellman (1990 NEA Recipient)."

Among the characters in the play is one "Jesus H. Christ." Mr. Wellman says that "Sincerity Forever was made possible by generous support of the NEA, NYFA, the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation, and is the first flower of the Roger Nathan Hirshl Playwriting Award. This one's for Jesse and the Wildman." The NEA gave Mr. Wellman a \$15,500 grant to support his writing of "Sincerity Forever."

The play, filled with obscenities and profanities, is only the latest example of anti-Christian bigotry funded by this government agency supported by your tax dollars. Below is an excerpt from the final scene in the play. In order to lessen the offensiveness of the script, we have edited the obscenities in Mr. Wellman's play.

Scene eight. CHRIST speaks to the company, assembled at his feet, including the FURBALLS.

CHRIST: Do you think I came here to reconcile you, brother to sister, father to son, mother to mother-in-law, second cousin twice-removed to step-aunt from out of state, Cincinnati maybe? Furball to furball? Sh----- no! I came here to raise bad---, obstreperous, antisocial, pestiferous, brutalitarian, loud-mouthed and chaotic, bloody h---. The roaring kind! You swinish, mealy-mouthed bunch of hypocrites wouldn't know the Lord God of Hosts if he swope down and bit you on the a--. All you care about is what you look like, what you look like in a mirror, a mirror some monster furball dreamt up for you to look at to make you blind. America, you got your eyes open so wide you can't see a f----- thing. America, you're crazy if you think your limpd---, milksop, harebrained Christianity has anything whatsoever to do with Jesus H. Christ, because that's who's standing here in the dusty ruination of the open road, because the whole point of what I am about is to shake up belief, to shake up belief and make people stop being so goshdarned pleased with themselves (sic), and take a good look at what a sorry place this world is, what with all the jive as bullslinging, and endless justifying. And mudslinging. And monumental cheapness of heart, and moral stinginess. Furthermore, whosoever puts words in my mouth concerning they (sic) fears of the so-called cabal of international faggotry, the scourge of the children of Ham, and the Hebrew contagion—different folks who ought to be viewed with a skeptical eye as total washouts at maintaining correct (sic) social decorum and avoidance of the misnormal—; all those who put words in my mouth concerning these things I

have no use for. What the f--- do I care who f---- with who? They (sic) f----- is they (sic) own concern; and may they use it wisely, and well. Furthermore, whosoever puts words in my mouth, he too f---- with me in the abstrack (sic) sense; therefore, I do not like him, because... Because, you go figure: if'n I Jesus H. Christ, had any desire to speak your language, the debased patois of late capitalism, I woulda done so roundabout here likemost, right from the start; but I didn't, so I don't; I won't give you the satisfaction. Because I got nothing to say to you, America. America, I have nothing to say. I prefer the language of furballs, although they are a wicked awful bunch, and spirits of negation, and the mere sight of 'em like to make my skin crawl. I prefer their language because you so much despise it... No, all I wanted, pure and simply, was to create a context for something powerfully human, great and beautiful; it being the state of nature to leave off with telling who to do what, X in the name of Y, for no other reason than general cussidness. The door opens on your side, I always say—I can't open it! I mean, the handle's on your side and if you don't want to see that, tough s---, it's your problem and none of mine. Face it, you (sic) a sleazy, lying, conniving bunch of d-----. If you f--- up, it's your fault, not mine. And if I had to do it all over again, I'd give the whole matter serious thought. Because of doubts I now possess about the entire enterprise..."

The NEA should demand that Wellman return the \$15,500. In 1988, Red Bass magazine published an entire issue "For Palestine". Shortly thereafter, the Jewish Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith protested the anti-Israel stance of the publication. The NEA ordered Red Bass to return the \$4,483 grant. If the NEA does not require Mr. Wellman to return his grant, it is clear that the NEA opposes bigotry against some groups but not against others.

In another NEA-related incident, the "Third Annual Lavender Art & Craft Exhibit: Contradictions," financially supported by the NEA with tax dollars, recently displayed at the Artswatch in Louisville. The homosexual community has adopted lavender as their symbolic color. The brochure promoting the exhibit read: "Recommended for mature audiences. The exhibit contains adult subject matter and viewer discretion is advised."

One of the exhibits, a bronze statue, is titled "The Fundamental Dream Girl." The description of the art by its creators says: "The Fundamental Dream Girl rests on her back, legs spread wide, intimate parts open for inspection and easy access." The girl's pubic area is exposed; however it "has been sewn together with silvery metal thread."

Another exhibit is comprised of two photographs by Joe Smoke who describes his art as "gay male activity-sex" which include two men kissing, with one homosexual man holding another nude man's penis. Smoke says: "For many, homosexuality remains an ok idea but not a visualized activity. I am proud to make people gasp (and laugh) with these works."

NEA "ACTION NOW" RESPONSE MEMO

TO: Donald E. Wildmon, Executive Director
American Family Association
107 Parkgate - P.O. Drawer 2440
Tupelo, MS 38803

FROM:



Reverend Wildmon:

Thank you for the good news about Reebok and Madonna. And thanks for the information revealing that the NEA did use tax money to help fund porn star Annie Sprinkle's performance.

I want you to know that I have taken action at this critical point in our fight to stop government funding of anti-Christian bigotry and pornography by the National Endowment for the Arts. Here is what I have done for your "ACTION NOW" project for this month:

- ☐ I have called/will call Reebok to thank them for not signing a contract with Madonna.
- ☐ I have mailed/will mail my card to U.S.X. to thank them for pulling the porn magazines.
- ☐ I have mailed/will mail the post cards to my Congressman and Senators regarding the NEA. (Better yet, write a personal letter.)
- ☐ I want to help with the cost of mailing the special "Action Package" to 178,000 pastors and churches urging them to get involved. Enclosed find my gift to help support the cost. My gift is:

☐ \$25 ☐ \$35 ☐ \$50 ☐ \$100
☐ \$250 ☐ \$500 ☐ \$1000 ☐ Other \$ _____

(NOTE: Thank you for your contribution. Remember, when writing out your contribution amount, please make your tax-deductible check payable to: American Family Association; or simply AFA. Thank you again.)

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By affixing your own 25¢ stamp on this
envelope, you can help us save much needed funds.

Can you help?



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NECESSARY
IF MAILED
IN THE
UNITED STATES



BUSINESS REPLY MAIL

FIRST CLASS PERMIT NO. 287 TUPELO, MS

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

DONALD E. WILDMON
AMERICAN FAMILY ASSOCIATION
107 PARKGATE
P.O. DRAWER 2440
TUPELO MS 38803-9988



American Family Association

Donald E. Wildmon, Executive Director

P.O. Drawer 2440 ■ 107 Parkgate ■ Tupelo, Mississippi 38803

TO : Members of Gideon's Brigade and other AFA supporters
FROM : Don Wildmon
RE : Norman Lear's "People for the American Way" declares war on AFA and our battle against taxpayer supported pornography

Dear Friend:

I'm angry. And when you read what I've got to share with you, you are going to be angry.

During the past 13 years of ministry with the AFA I have seen many injustices. But I have never seen one to match the one which is being foisted on the American taxpayer by Congressman Pat Williams (D-MT) and the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA).

On March 21, Congressman Williams (D-MT) held "hearings" on the NEA. It was the second hearing which has been held. Twenty-one witnesses have testified in the "hearings". All 21 supported forced taxpayer funding of pro-homosexual, anti-Christian, pornographic arts. Congressman Williams did not have a single opponent to testify in behalf of our stand—that we don't want our tax dollars to go to support government supported pornography.

At the hearing one of the major witnesses, Gordon Davidson of the Mark Taper Forum in Los Angeles, compared me with Hitler. Why? Because he saw a quote of mine in a newspaper in which I said art should be uplifting! Imagine that. I'm Hitler because I say art should be uplifting!

At the hearings Congressman Williams pounded the table and said of the information we have sent you concerning taxpayer funded "art": "There are lies, da-- lies, and right-wing religious zealots who believe if they tell big enough lies at a fast enough pace, they can anesthetize America to the truth."

Did he say where we lied? No. Did he allow us the opportunity to respond to his charges? No. Instead, he had 21 people from his side to back up his charges and 0 from our side to defend what we said.

Congressman Williams, an avid arts supporter and chairman of the House subcommittee that oversees the NEA's reauthorization process, told Knight-Ridder News Service: "If we can convince the members of the House and Senate that the issue is not funding of pornographic art, but Big Brother censorship, then I win." He warned, however, that if people like you and me could keep the discussion centered on sexual images (the kind our tax dollars have paid for), then "I (speaking of himself) lose."

The NEA must be renewed by Congress this year to continue to receive tax funding. That's what has Congressman Williams and the NEA worried. We have been telling people how their tax dollars are being spent. Williams and the NEA don't like the message, so they attack the messenger!

What kinds of "art" are we talking about?

Annie Sprinkle's live porn act at New York's Kitchen Theater. During her "art exhibit", Ms. Sprinkle said, "Usually I get paid a lot of money for this; but tonight it's government-funded."

An "exhibit" which included the photo of Christ as a drug addict shooting up.

Andres Serrano's photo of Christ on a cross submerged in Serrano's urine named Pi-- Christ.

Robert Mapplethorpe's exhibit including pornographic homosexual photos and photos of little children so offensive that Time magazine said, had his "art" not been supported by the NEA, the exhibitor would probably have been charged with distribution of child pornography.

An exhibit in Phoenix featuring Cactus Jack's "Pi-- Helms," a photo of Senator Jesse Helms in a large jar of what appears to be urine.

Support to the Sunshine Press to publish sexually explicit homosexual stories and \$25,000 to the Panjandrum Press for the same purpose.

Support to help fund the annual San Francisco Lesbian and Gay Film Festival. The film festival features films for and about homosexual lifestyles, sexual activities and practices.

The list goes on and on and on.

And, with no one to testify from our side, President Bush agreed not only to continue funding these "artists" (who are accountable to no one as to how they spend their NEA taxpayer funds), but actually raised the amount they should receive \$4,000,000 to \$175,000,000 and agreed that there should be no restrictions on what the "artists" do with those tax funds!

People for the American Way, Norman Lear's powerful, ultra-liberal, left-wing political organization, has joined Congressman Williams in his efforts to force you to help pay for this trash.

The Los Angeles Times reports PFAW plans to mobilize a crusade in defense of NEA taxpayer funded "art". PFAW said they plan to use the same strategy they used to defeat Supreme Court nominee Robert Bork—an advertising blitz using television and movie stars.

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Hudson:

"The campaign against artistic expression is being orchestrated by far right groups including Rev. Donald Wildmon's American Family Association. It is these right-wing organizations who are putting political pressure on Congress. . . . They have touched off a flood of mail to Congress by citizens taken in by Religious Right propaganda."

He's talking about you. He says you've been taken in. That you really don't mind the government using your tax dollars to pay "artists" to put photos of Jesus Christ hanging on the cross in jars of urine. That you really don't mind the government using your tax dollars to promote the sado-masochistic lifestyle of homosexuals as healthy and normal.

Our opponents are rich and powerful. They have money and government power and many in the liberal, secular media behind them to frame the debate and censor us.

That is why I'm asking you to take action—today!

We are being told that the NEA has set up guidelines for "artists" to get grants. But the NEA has not set up any enforcement policy of those guidelines. In fact, NEA spokesperson Virginia Falck told those who get the tax money: "Don't let this (guideline) intimidate you. Feel free to create as you wish."

Mark Richard, a New York novelist, is typical of the "artists" who are taking the NEA at their word. Richard said: "I would never let anything dictate my work. Ever. But for 20 grand, I sign even if I were a heroin addict. Let them come after me."

The battle lines have been drawn. One side or the other will win this fight. It will either be you and me and, in the final analysis, our children. Or it will be Congressman Williams, Norman Lear and the "artists" who want to force you to fund their taxpayer supported "art", such as Jesus being a dope addict.

Today I urge you:

1. If you haven't already done so, write your two U.S. Senators and your U.S. Congressman. Write them your own personal letter.
Do this today. The address is: U.S. Senate, Washington, DC 20510 and House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515.
2. If you haven't already done so, call your lawmakers in Washington.
Register your protest. Let them know how you feel. The phone number for the main switchboard is: 202-224-3121. *Do this today.*
3. Mail the two enclosed postcards. They go to:
 - a. Mr. John Sununu, President Bush's chief of staff.
Mr. Sununu is a good man. He will relay your concerns to the President.
 - b. President Bush himself. President Bush needs to hear from you that he has made a mistake, that he should eliminate all funding for the NEA.

Your actions today are critical. Get involved today, please. You have done so much for America's children already. Go the extra mile with us today. We need all Christians to stand as one in this fight. But none so much as you . . . a dedicated veteran of many such battles.

Also, your financial help at this time is greatly needed. The only way your fellow Americans and fellow Christians will learn the truth about the kinds of "art" their tax dollars are funding is if we go directly to them and tell them.

We need the financial resources to:


- prepare and mail 3,000,000 action kits detailing "art" the NEA funds and asking people to write their Congressman and Senators.
- buying space in newspapers and magazines to run factual ads detailing NEA abuses and calling on readers to contact their Congressman and Senators.
- sending petitions to 175,000 pastors and church leaders asking them to urge their members to sign the petition and send them to their Congressman and Senators.
- producing special radio and television programs urging listeners to contact their lawmakers and protest the NEA's abuse.

These are not projects we had planned on. And these projects are expensive. That's why your financial help is critical. A vote on the NEA will be coming up soon. Unless we get people to express their opinions, the NEA will go on giving your tax dollars to "artists" who produce anti-Christian, pro-homosexual, pornographic "art".

Take the steps I outlined above. Don't let Congress give your hard-earned tax dollars to people who will produce hate-filled, bigoted, anti-Christian and obscene "art".

The battle lines are drawn. It's time for action. I'm counting on you! Together we have won so many battles. Together let us fight still another one.

Sincerely,


Donald E. Wildmon



P.S. Congressman Dana Rohrabacher is taking a lot of heat for the lead he's taken in this fight to end government-funding of anti-Christian, pornographic "art". He could use some moral support. Please send him the enclosed postcard. Say an extra prayer for him, and for me and our A.F.A. ministry. God bless you.

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**Chief of Staff John Sununu
The White House
Washington, DC 20500**

**President George Bush
The White House
Washington, DC 20500**

**Congressman Dana Rohrabacher
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515**

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Dear Mr. Sununu,

Reverend Wildmon of the American Family Association suggested I write you.

The National Endowment for the Arts is giving my tax dollars to so-called "artists" who produce blatantly anti-Christian, obscene, pornographic and homoerotic "art". I understand Reverend Wildmon is sending you a list describing the kinds of "art" exhibits the NEA has funded.

Please do all you can to encourage President Bush to end all funding of the NEA. I work hard for my money. And I don't like the NEA giving it away to people who want to destroy the moral values of our children. Thank you for your help in this matter.

Sincerely,

Dear Mr. President,

I understand you not only asked Congress to increase the size of its authorization for the National Endowment for the Arts from \$171,000,000 to \$175,000,000, but that you asked Congress to refrain from putting any restrictions on how the NEA spends my tax dollars. Why?

The NEA has given our precious tax dollars to "artists" who produced hate-filled, anti-Christian, pro-homosexual "works of art" with my tax dollars. And I resent it. These "works of art" do not help make our's a "kinder, gentler" nation.

Please, Mr. President, I work hard for a living. Don't let the NEA continue giving my tax dollars to "artists" so they can insult me and ridicule me and destroy the moral values of our children. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Dear Congressman Rohrabacher,

God bless you for the stand you're taking against the NEA's funding of anti-Christian, pornographic, obscene and homoerotic "art".

I know you are coming under heavy attack for your courageous stand. Please know that I appreciate your work and am praying for you. Don't despair. We need champions like you working hard to make sure America stays on the solid moral foundation our Founding Fathers built her on. Again, God Bless you, and be assured of my prayers for you.

Sincerely,

ACTION MEMO REPLY

TO: Donald E. Wildmon, Executive Director
American Family Association
107 Parkgate - P.O. Drawer 2440
Tupelo, MS 38803

FROM:

Reverend Wildmon:

You can count on me in the battle against People for the American Way, the NEA, Congressman Williams and others who seek to have my tax dollars fund their filth. Count on me to:

- ☐ Sign and mail my postcard to Mr. John Sununu, chief of staff for President Bush.
- ☐ Sign and mail my postcard to President Bush himself at the White House.
- ☐ Sign my "Thank You and Prayers" postcard to California Congressman Dana Rohrabacher for being such a stalwart in this fight against the NEA.
- ☐ Help our American Family Association contact more Americans and Christians in an effort to rally them to join this fight. Here is my contribution for:

☐ \$20 ☐ \$50 ☐ \$100
☐ \$500 ☐ \$1000 ☐ \$_____ Other

Thank you for your timely help today. Please make your check payable to: American Family Association; or simply, AFA. God bless you.

If possible, write your Congressman and U.S. Senators a personal letter.



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By affixing your own 25¢ stamp on this
envelope, you can help us save much needed funds.

Can you help?

n1b

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AMERICAN FAMILY ASSOCIATION
107 PARKGATE
P.O. DRAWER 2440
TUPELO MS 38803-9988**



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UNITED STATES**



Director
Mississippi
2440
30803

American Family Association Foundation

P.O. Box 3206 ■ 107 Parkgate ■ Tupelo, Mississippi 38803

Dear Friend of the Family,

A government agency, the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), is using your tax dollars to pay "artists" to create pornographic and anti-Christian "art." Its budget for this year is \$171,000,000.

Some members of Congress openly and whole-heartedly approve of this abusive waste of your tax dollars. These Congressmen, led by Congressman Pat Williams of Montana, are attacking those who oppose the NEA's use of your tax dollars to fund hateful, obscene and blasphemous "art."

Congressman Williams, the powerful chairman of the House committee which oversees the NEA, calls those who oppose being forced to fund pornographic and anti-Christian "art" with their tax dollars "right-wing, evangelical cuckoos."

Are you a "cuckoo?" Do you like paying for works of "art" ...

- ...which show Jesus nailed to the cross in a jar of urine?
- ...which depict Jesus as a drug addict complete with a syringe in his arm?
- ...which have a play featuring Jesus as a foul-mouthed bigot?
- ...which feature homosexual men performing sodomy?
- ...which feature children in sexual poses?

Well, you are already paying for such works of "art" through your tax dollars. Congressman Williams says anyone who disagrees with him and objects to such blatant misuses of tax dollars is a "right-wing, evangelical cuckoo."

I thought I'd give you the chance to see the kind of "art" Congressman Williams supports spending your tax dollars on. So I've enclosed a sheet of images contained in an NEA-sponsored "art" exhibit.

But BEWARE! The images are terribly offensive. They are so offensive that we put them inside a sealed envelope. And your tax dollars help support their exhibition.

I'm writing you today to ask your help in ending this outrage. Specifically, I'm hoping you will take one major action:

Write Congressman Williams. Tell him you oppose the NEA's use of your tax dollars to fund pornographic and anti-Christian "art." And tell him you resent his calling those who oppose government funded pornography "right-wing, evangelical cuckoos."

As I told you, Congressman Williams is chairman of the House committee which oversees the NEA. If he wanted to stop government funding of this so-called "art," he could do it almost single-handedly.

But Congressman Williams refuses to do so. He supports the NEA's use of tax dollars to pay for such "art."

Congressman Williams thinks that people in Montana also support spending tax dollars to support this kind of "art." Do you? If not, express yourself. Congressman Williams is still answerable to the people of Montana.

On the House floor this summer, Congressman Williams showed how much he supports the NEA and the arts community. Here's what happened.

The University of the District of Columbia had proposed to spend \$1,600,000 to buy a work of "art" produced by "artist" Judy Chicago. The work of "art," entitled "The Dinner Party: A Symbol of Our Heritage," consists of a triangle-shaped banquet table (some 140-feet in total length) set with 39 places, one for each of the "great women" of the past.

Each of the 39 plates at the place-settings had a sculpture of a vagina on it to represent the woman who had been selected to honor!

This move caused Congressman Stan Parris of Virginia to offer an amendment to the D.C. funding measure. If D.C. wanted to spend \$1,600,000 on this work of "art," that was fine. But the government shouldn't pay for it. So he offered an amendment to reduce the amount of federal money given D.C. by \$1,600,000.

During debate over Congressman Parris' amendment, Pat Williams said from the House floor that those who voted to reduce the funding by \$1.6 million would be voting against the NEA. And those who voted to leave in the \$1.6 million would be voting for the NEA.

Congressman Williams voted for the NEA. He voted for spending \$1.6 million of tax money to pay for the "work of art."

Congressman Williams thinks it's good use of tax money to force you to pay for pornographic, hate-filled, anti-Christian works of "art" with tax dollars. And those who disagree with him are "right-wing, evangelical cuckoos."

Well, I'm no "right-wing, evangelical cuckoo." And I don't think you are either. It's high time we ordinary, hard-working, tax-paying, God-fearing citizens took a stand. Enough is enough.

It's time to end the outrages of the National Endowment for the Arts. And your postcard or letter to Congressman Williams is the perfect place to start this fight.

As Executive Director of the American Family Association Foundation, I was the one who first brought to light the abuses of the NEA. That was almost two years ago. I have personally debated NEA Chairman John Frohnmeier on TV. I helped

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rally thousands of concerned taxpayers to contact Congress with letters and phone calls of protest over the NEA. I helped bring to the public's attention the grotesque "art" funded by the NEA.

I'm not telling you all this to brag. I just want you to know that I know what I'm talking about.

Congressman Williams put the debate in proper focus himself when he told the Knight-Ridder news service:

"If we can convince the members of the House and Senate that the issue is not funding of pornographic art, but Big Brother censorship, then I win." He warned, however, that if the debate centers on pornography, "I lose."

And that's the whole point.

We're not saying every NEA grant goes to create blasphemous, hate-filled, obscene, anti-Christian "art." And we're not saying "artists" can't create whatever they want to on their own time and money. But you should not be forced to pay for it with your tax dollars.

But Congressman Williams thinks you should be forced to pay for it. And he has been leading the battle in Congress to make sure you are forced to help pay for it.

Not all Congressmen feel like Congressman Williams does. Not all Congressmen think you should be forced to pay for such "art." Congressman Dana Rohrabacher, said: "If the NEA can't hold itself responsible to the U.S. taxpayer, it's our job to make them responsible."

That's what I'm asking you to help us do today. Help us make Congress take the responsibility for what the NEA does.

And one of the best ways to do that is to make Congressmen like Pat Williams see that those who oppose being forced to pay for such filth with tax dollars are not "right-wing, evangelical cuckoos," but ordinary citizens who work hard to earn a buck and don't like to see Congress throw it away on cheap pornographic "art."

Write Congressman Williams. Tell him you're upset that he would arrogantly classify you as some nut just because you don't like how the NEA spends your tax dollars.

Tell him he needs to be more sensitive to the needs and beliefs of the millions of Christians in the U.S.

Tell him he needs to be more respectful of the people of this country like you who work hard just to make ends meet.

Tell him he needs to be more in touch with real, down-to-earth people, and less concerned about an "elite" vocal minority "arts" crowd.

This is your chance to tell Congressman Williams you resent his calling those who oppose spending tax dollars to fund pornography and anti-Christian bigotry "right-wing, evangelical cuckoos."

And in so doing, if enough of us act together, we can, perhaps, convince Congressman Williams to change his support for government funded pornography and anti-Christian bigotry.

Write Congressman Williams. And use the enclosed sheet to help convince others to write the Congressman, too.

Finally, if you can, send a contribution to our American Family Association Foundation. This campaign to expose the kinds of "art" your tax dollars pay for is expensive.

But we're going up against the combined power and wealth of the arts community, some powerful members of Congress and the NEA itself. We are out-manned and heavily out-financed.

If you can help pay the costs of this fight against government funding of pornography and anti-Christian bigotry, please do. Whatever you send today, whether it be \$2,000 or \$20, will help us carry on our work. Thank you for your help.

Sincerely,

Donald E. Wildmon, Executive Director
American Family Association Foundation

P.S. Needless to say, I am not one of Congressman Williams' dearest friends. It is unlikely he will tell me how many people contacted him as a result of this effort. Please send me your "Williams Postcard Verification" slip so I will know just how many people contacted him. Thank you.

Congressman Williams Postcard Verification and REPLY MEMO

TO: Mr. Donald E. Wildmon, Executive Director
American Family Association Foundation
P.O. Box 3206
Tupelo, MS 38803

FROM:

Don:

Count me in. I oppose the NEA's using my hard-earned tax dollars to fund "artists" who produce pornographic, obscene hate-filled and anti-Christian "art." And I am not a "right-wing, evangelical cuckoo."

I applaud your effort to tell Americans the truth about the NEA and about Congressman Pat Williams of Montana. I will get involved, too. Specifically, I will:

☐ Register my protest with Congressman Williams.

(Please check off appropriate action you will take.)

☐ Sign and mail enclosed postcard.

☐ Write and mail personal letter.

And, ...

☐ Help pay the costs of the American Family Association Foundation's campaign to end the NEA's funding of pornographic and anti-Christian "art." My gift is for:

☐ \$20 ☐ \$35 ☐ \$50 ☐ \$100

☐ \$500 ☐ \$1,000 ☐ Other \$ _____

Thank you for your help in this project. It's time to get the NEA under control. And Congressman Williams is the key to this fight. When writing out your contribution amount to help pay the costs of this fight, please make your check payable to: American Family Association Foundation; or simply, AFA Foundation. Thank you again.

American Family Association Foundation is a nonprofit corporation under section 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code. Contributions are not tax-deductible.

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AMERICAN FAMILY ASSOCIATION FOUNDATION

107 PARKGATE

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TUPELO MS 38803-3206

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IS THIS HOW YOU WANT YOUR TAX DOLLARS SPENT?

Warning: Some material on this sheet is extremely offensive.

Here are only a few examples of how the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), a government agency funded with your tax dollars, is spending those tax dollars. This is the kind of "art" Congressman Pat Williams (D-MT), chairman of the NEA House oversight committee, feels taxpayers should be forced to pay for. Congressman Williams has been a leading spokesman for the use of tax money to fund the kind of "art" described on this sheet. Currently the NEA receives \$171,000,000 of tax funds yearly.

If you don't want to be forced to help pay for such projects with your tax dollars, you can write Congressman Williams. His address is House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515.

Make copies of this sheet and pass on to others.

The NEA gave \$15,500 to "playwright" Mac Wellman to help fund a play Wellman wrote which depicts Jesus as a foul-mouth bigot. In the play, SINCERITY FOREVER, Wellman says one of the characters in the play is one "Jesus H. Christ." Mr. Wellman has Jesus saying: "What the f— do I care who f—s with who? They (sic) f—ing is they (sic) own concern; and may they use it wisely, and well."

The "Third Annual Lavender Art & Craft Exhibit: Contradictions", financially supported in part by the NEA with tax dollars, recently exhibited at the Artswatch in Louisville, KY. The homosexual community has adopted lavender as their symbolic color. The brochure promoting the exhibit read: "Recommended for mature audiences. The exhibit contains adult subject matter and viewer discretion is advised."

One of the exhibits, a bronze statue, is titled "The Fundamentalist Dream Girl." The description of the art by its creators says: "The Fundamentalist Dream Girl rests on her back, legs spread wide, intimate parts open for inspection and easy access." The girl's pubic area is exposed; however it "has been sewn together with silvery metal thread."

Another exhibit consists of two photographs by Joe Smoke who describes his art as "gay male activity-sex" which shows two men kissing, with one homosexual man holding another nude man's penis. Smoke says: "For many, homosexuality remains an ok idea but not a visualized activity. I am proud to make people gasp (and laugh) with these works."

The NEA gave the Los Angeles Contemporary Exhibitions, Inc. (LACE) \$85,000 to help support their program, including a performance by "Father Larry". Here is how the Los Angeles Reader described "Father Larry's" performance: "The bleeding naked man leapt into the audience as the drag queen speed-metal band backing him thrashed to disjointed climax. His prey were two longhairs seated among a stunned and leering crowd of three hundred art-nihilists. Father Larry threw the pair to the ground, tore their clothes off and used his considerable girth to immobilize and a large dildo to impale the two while orally copulating them. Some spectators loved it and it seemed a perverse orgy would break out, especially when a porn-queen fellated a comely six-foot-plus transexual."

• The NEA helped honor Andres Serrano with tax dollars in competition sponsored by the NEA. Serrano's winning work of art included a photo of Christ on a cross submerged in Serrano's urine. Serrano named the "work of art" Piss Christ. He won \$15,000 in the competition.

• The NEA spent \$30,000 to help fund an exhibit of the homosexual photographs of Robert Mapplethorpe. Mapplethorpe's tax-funded exhibit included these photos: "Honey," a little girl about four years old with a sad, scared face, with the focus of the camera on the child's genitals below her uplifted dress; a man crouched over,

his penis on a block, named "Mr. 10½"; for pedophile homosexuals a shot of a nude little boy, about eight, proudly displaying his penis; a man dressed in a three piece suit entitled "Man in Polyester Suit" which focuses on his exposed sexual organ; a man standing nude with an erection; one man urinating in another man's mouth (homosexuals call it "golden showers"); and one man with his fist and forearm up another man's rectum (homosexuals call it "fisting"). In Cincinnati, those showing this exhibit have been indicted on obscenity charges.

• In Phoenix, Arizona, MARS Artspace, with financial support from the NEA, helped fund an exhibit featuring Cactus Jack's "Piss Helms," a photo of Senator Jesse Helms in a large jar of what appears to be urine.

• The organizers of the annual San Francisco Lesbian and Gay Film Festival received \$9,000 from the NEA for their 1990 showing. The NEA gave them \$10,000 in 1989 and \$6,300 in 1988 to support their Lesbian and Gay Film Festival. The film festival featured explicit films for and about homosexual lifestyles, sexual activities and practices.

• In January 1990, the NEA gave \$60,000 to three lesbian writers to help fund their homoerotic writings about their lesbian lifestyle. One writer, Minnie Bruce Pratt, submitted her poem "Crimes Against Nature" with her application. The poem reads in part: "For my methods, indecent and unnatural/of gratifying a depraved and perverted sexual instinct..."

• The NEA helped fund the exhibit "Degenerate with a Capital D" in New York. The exhibit included posters depicting Senator Jesse Helms nailed to a cross. (Exhibitor Shawn Eichman even sent several of the posters to Helms' home state.) The exhibit also included Dread Scott's "Proper Way to Display a U.S. Flag" which encouraged gallery-goers to walk on the flag, and a china cabinet that contained a coat hanger placed next to a vial containing fetal tissue from an abortion which "artist" Eichman underwent.

• The NEA recently gave \$15,000 to the University Galleries at Illinois State University to help fund David Wojnarowicz's "Tongues of Flame" exhibit. Included in the exhibit was an image of Christ in the process of injecting drugs into his arm using a needle and a syringe, an image of the Christ child wielding a pistol, scenes of men performing oral and anal sex on each other, and scenes of men having sex with animals. Congressman Dana Rohrabacher called the exhibit "sickeningly violent, sexually explicit, homoerotic, anti-religious and nihilistic."

In the exhibition catalog, which the NEA helped fund with tax money, radical homosexual activist David Wojnarowicz denounced Catholic clergyman John Cardinal O'Connor, calling him a "fat cannibal" and a "creep in black skirts" while St. Patrick's Cathedral was promoted as the "house of walking swastikas on Fifth Avenue." Wojnarowicz also wrote in the catalog: "At least in my ungoverned imagination I can f— somebody without a rubber or I can, in the privacy of my own skull, douse (Senator) Helms with a bucket of gasoline and set his putrid a— on fire or throw (Congressman) William Dannemeyer off the Empire State Building."

• Another exhibit NEA helped fund was entitled "Annie Sprinkle: Post-Porn Modernist". Annie Sprinkle is a porn movie "star" who has appeared in more than 150 hardcore pornographic movies. While the NEA initially denied that it helped fund this exhibit, the Washington Times said that research showed that the government agency did help fund the exhibit.

The art exhibit included Annie Sprinkle's live performances at the

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**Congressman Pat Williams
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515**

Yours Tax Dollars Helped Pay For These Images

The images appearing on this sheet are small fragments of larger "artworks" published in the David Wojnarowicz "Tongues of Flame" exhibit catalog. The images do not constitute the entire work. (The black circle spots were not used in the catalog or exhibit, but were added to the images herein to make them less offensive.) The University Galleries at Illinois State University recently exhibited "Tongues of Flame". The National Endowment for the Arts, a federal agency funded by tax dollars, awarded the University Galleries \$15,000 to help pay for the exhibit.

This is the kind of material which Congressman Pat Williams, D-MT, thinks the American taxpayer should be forced to pay for. Congressman Williams is the Chairman of the House oversight committee of the NEA and has vigorously defended the NEA's use of tax dollars to support this kind of "art". In fact, Congressman Williams says that if the NEA refuses to use tax dollars to support this kind of art, that is censorship.

At a hearing earlier this year, Congressman Williams asked NEA Chairman John Frohnmyer if the NEA should permit grants for support of this kind of "art". Mr. Frohnmyer responded: "I would say yes." Congressman Williams praised the chairman for his attitude, saying: "It shows real determination that the NEA not be used as a censorship agency."

Congressman Williams is badly confused. The NEA refusing government funding for such material would not infringe on the artists' right to produce it, but would not force taxpayers to fund such material. The First Amendment provides for freedom of expression, but it does not compel government funding for blasphemous and pornographic expression.

Congressman Williams expressed what many considered an anti-Christian bias when he called those who oppose NEA funding of such material "right-wing evangelical cuckoos."

Congressman Williams has been a leader in Congress in the

fight to oppose restrictions that would keep the NEA from using \$171,000,000 of your tax dollars to help fund such "art". He told Knight-Ridder News Service: "If we can convince the members of the House and Senate that the issue is not funding of pornographic art [such as appears on this sheet], but Big Brother censorship, then I win." He warned, however, that if the discussion centers on pornography, "I lose."

In an important test vote on the NEA, on July 26 the House voted to reduce the amount of funding to the District of Columbia by \$1,600,000. The University of D.C. had proposed to spend that amount to buy a "work of art" by Judy Chicago. The "work of art", entitled "The Dinner Party: A Symbol of Our Heritage," consists of a triangle-shaped banquet table (some 140 feet in total length) set with 39 places, one for each of the "great women" of the past. The "work of art" has 39 plates, each containing simply a sculpture of vagina to represent the woman selected to honor!

Congressman Williams said from the House floor that those who voted to reduce the funding by \$1.6 million would be voting against the NEA and those who voted to leave in the \$1.6 million would be voting for the NEA. The House approved cutting the funding by \$1,600,000. Congressman Williams voted to fund the "work of art", consisting of 39 vaginas, with \$1.6 million tax dollars.

For years efforts have been made to stop the NEA from funding such sexually explicit and blasphemous imagery. But because the NEA has friends such as Congressman Williams in key positions in Congress, it has been unwilling to stop funding pornography and anti-Christian bigotry supported by the NEA.

If you disagree with Congressman Williams and don't think that you should be forced to help pay for this kind of "artistic" imagery with your tax dollars, write Congressman Williams. His address is House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515. You can also share this information with others.

This information provided by American Family Association Foundation.



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WARNING!

This envelope contains extremely offensive material
the exhibition of which was funded in part with your
tax dollars by the National Endowment for the Arts.

afe

Taxpayers supported sexually explicit material enclosed.

afc

Congress continues funding pornographic, anti-Christian 'art' with tax dollars

By Congressman Dana Rohrabacher
California

If Members of Congress are telling constituents that they did not get a chance to vote on the Helms amendment to prohibit the funding of obscene and indecent art, they're intentionally misleading you.

In August, Senator Helms was able to attach his amendment to the Interior Appropriations bill. On September 13, 1989, I attempted to do the same thing in regard to the House Interior Appropriations bill.

What happened?

- My proposal called for the House to instruct its conferees to adopt the precise language of the Helms amendment during their negotiations with Senate conferees on the bill.

- House rules dictate that only one motion of instruction can take place on each bill and the ranking minority Member on the authorizing committee will be recognized first.

- Congressman Regula (R-OH) offered a motion to instruct the conferees that ignored the Helms amendment and he refused to yield to me to offer the Helms language as an amendment.

- The "previous question" was moved in an attempt to cut off debate and prevent the Helms language from coming to the floor for a vote.

- 264 Members of Congress voted to pass the "previous question," thus preventing me from offering the Helms amendment on the floor of the House. 153 Members voted to defeat the previous question and thus supported the Helms amendment.

In short, the vote on the "previous question" was a vote on whether to block me from offering the Helms Amendment [Roll Call Number 229].

What can you do? Don't let your Congressman forget his vote. (See list of those who voted to continue funding below.) Send the American Family Association copies of letters you have received from you Congressman on this subject.

According to the Congressional Record, "[M]any Members did not want to cast a vote on the politically charged issue. So opponents of the Helms amendment, led by Yates, used a parliamentary maneuver to block it.

"Rohrabacher planned to offer a motion instructing House conferees to agree to the Helms amendment. House rules allow only one such "motion to instruct," so opponents of the Helms amendment stepped forward with a motion of their own to preclude Rohrabacher's, putting the emphasis instead on popular Senate crafted lobbying restrictions. They also made sure the motion would be offered by a member of the Interior Subcommittee—ranking Republican Ralph Regula of Ohio, who would receive precedence over Rohrabacher under House rules.

"Rohrabacher had no choice but to try and defeat a procedural vote on whether the House could consider the Regula motion."

The Congressmen listed below voted to "pass the previous question," thus voting to continue tax support for such pornographic "art works" as Andres Sorreno's "P--s Christ" and Robert Mapplethorpe's homosexual photographs. In fact, the NEA just recently granted a \$10,000 tax-payer funded grant to support such "art works" for an exhibition in New York City. NEA Chairman John Frohn-mayer at first pulled the \$10,000 grant, but when pressure was applied by the members of the government funded art community, he caved in and sent the money. The exhibition funded by the NEA included the following:

- AIDS patient David Wojnarowicz writes, in the exhibition catalog, "At least in my ungoverned imagination I can f... somebody without a rubber or I can, in the privacy of my own skull, douse (Senator) Helms with a bucket of gasoline and set his putrid a.. on fire or throw (Congressman) William Dannemeyer off the Empire State Building."

- Writing about Cardinal John O'Connor, he says, "This fat cannibal from that house of walking swastikas up on Fifth Avenue should lose his church tax-exempt status and pay retroactive taxes from the last couple centuries. Shut down our clinics and we will shut down your church."

- One of the pieces of "art" in the exhibition was a bust of Jesus in drag, with a crown of thorns on His head, make-up around the eyes and having breasts.

The art community, which includes a strong element of radical homosexuals, has vowed to coerce Congress to continue providing tax dollars to support their "works of art."

Below are listed the Congressmen who voted to continue using your tax dollars to fund pornographic, anti-Christian "works of art." A strong personal letter from you objecting to his support for tax payer-funded art would help. The address is: House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515.

AL - Ben Erdreich(D), Tom Beville(D), Claude Harris(D).

AR - Bill Alexander(D), Beryl Anthony(D).

AZ - Morris K. Udall(D), John J. Rhodes III(R), Jim Kolbe(R).

CA - Henry A. Waxman(D), Edward Roybal(D), Leon P. Panetta(D), George Miller(D), Norman Mineta(D), Matthew Martinez(D), Robert T. Matsui(D), Mel Levine(D), Augustus F. Hawkins(D), Victor Fazio(D), Don Edwards(D), Ronald Dellums(D), Barbara Boxer(D), George E. Brown, Jr.(D), Howard Berman(D), Douglas H. Bosco(D), Esteban Torres(D), Fortney (Pete) Stark(D), Tom Lantos(D), Richard Lehman(D), Mervyn Dymally(D), Nancy Pelosi(D), Jim Bates(D), Anthony C. Beilenson(D), William M. Thomas(R), Bill Lowery(R), Al McCandless(R), Jerry Lewis(R), Tom Campbell(R).

CO - David E. Skaggs(D), Ben Nighthorse Campbell(D).

CT - Bruce A. Morrison(D), Barbara B. Kennelly(D), Sam Gejdenson(D), Christopher Shays(R), Nancy Johnson(R).

DE - Thomas R. Carper(D).

FL - Lawrence J. Smith(D), Bill Nelson(D), Harry A. Johnston(D), William Lehman(D), Sam Gibbons(D), Dante Fascell(D), Porter Goss(R).

GA - Robert Lindsay Thomas(D), J. Roy Rowland(D), Richard Ray(D), John Lewis(D), Charles F. Hatcher(D), George Darden(D), Ben Jones(D).

HI - Daniel K. Akaka(D), Patricia Saiki(R).

IA - Neal Smith(D), Dave Nagle(D), Jim Leach(R), Jim Lightfoot(R), Fred Grandy(R).

ID - Richard H. Stallings(D).

IL - Sidney Yates(D), Dan Rostenkowski(D), Marty A. Russo(D), Jerry F. Costello(D), Frank Annunzio(D), Glenn Poshard(D), Lane Evans(D), Richard J. Durbin(D), Cardiss Collins(D), Terry Bruce(D), Gus Savage(D), William O. Lipinski(D), Charles A. Hayes(D), Edward R. Madigan(R), John E. Porter(R), George E. Sangmeister(D).

IN - Peter J. Visclosky(D), Philip R. Sharp(D), Frank McCloskey(D), Lee H. Hamilton(D), Jim Jontz(D).

KS - Jim Slattery(D), Dan Glickman(D), Jan Meyers(R).

KY - William H. Natcher(D), Romano L. Mazzoli(D), Carl C. Perkins(D), Harold Rogers(R), Larry J. Hopkins(R).

LA - Lindy Boggs(D), Richard Baker(R).

MA - Joe Moakley(D), Edward J. Markey(D), Nicholas Mavroules(D), Joseph D. Early(D), Richard E. Neal(D), Chester Atkins(D), Gerry E.

Studds(D), Joseph Kennedy II(D), Barney Frank(D), Silvio Conte(R).
 MD - Benjamin L. Cardin(D), Beverly Byron(D), Kweisi Mfume(D),
 Thomas McMillen(D), Steny Hoyer(D), Constance Morella(R).
 ME - Joseph Brennan(D).
 MI - Bob Traxler(D), Sander Levin(D), Dale E. Kildee(D), Dennis M.
 Hertel(D), William D. Ford(D), John Dingell(D), Bob Carr(D), David E.
 Bonior(D), Howard Wolpe(D), George W. Crockett(D), Paul B. Henry(R).
 MN - Bruce Vento(D), Gerry Sikorski(D), Martin Sabo(D), Timothy J.
 Penny(D), James L. Oberstar(D), Bill Frenzel(R).
 MO - Harold L. Volkmer(D), William Clay(D), Alan Wheat(D), Richard
 A. Gephardt(D), E. Thomas Coleman(R), Jack Buechner(R).
 MS - Jamie Whitten(D), Mike Espy(D).
 MT - Pat Williams(D).
 NC - Charles Rose(D), Stephen Neal(D), David Price(D), Martin
 Lancaster(D).
 ND - Byron L. Dorgan(D).
 NE - Virginia Smith(R), Doug Bereuter(R), Peter Hoagland(D).
 NJ - Robert G. Torricelli(D), Donald M. Payne(D), Robert A. Roe(D).
 Frank Pallone, Jr.(D), Frank J. Guarini(D), William Hughes(D), Bernard J.
 Dwyer(D), Jim Saxton(R), Dean Gallo(R).
 NM - Bill Richardson(D).
 NV - James H. Bilbray(D).

NY - Ted Weiss(D), James H. Scheuer(D), Charles Schumer(D), Charles
 B. Rangel(D), Major Owens(D), Robert J. Mrazek(D), Henry J. Nowak(D),
 Matthew McHugh(D), Thomas J. Manton(D), John LaFalce(D), Thomas J.
 Downey(D), Eliot L. Engel(D), Eldolphus Towns(D), Stephen Solarz(D),
 Louise Slaughter(D), George Hochbrueckner(D), Gary Ackerman(D),
 Floyd H. Flake(D), James T. Walsh(R), Raymond J. McGrath(R), Norman
 Lent(R), L. William Paxon(R), Frank Horton(R), Benjamin Gilman II(R).

Hamilton Fish, Jr.(R), Rita M. Lowey(D), Amory Houghton(R), Bill
 Green(R), Sherwood Boehlert(R).
 OH - Louis Stokes(D), Mary Rose Oakar(D), Thomas A. Luken(D),
 Tony P. Hall(D), Thomas Sawyer(D), Donald J. Pease(D), Marcy
 Kaptur(D), Edward F. Feighan(D), Dennis Eckart(D), Ralph Regula(R),
 Willis D. Gradison(R), Michael Oxley(R).
 OK - Wes Watkins(D), Michael Synar(D), Dave McCurdy(D).
 OR - Les AuCoin(D), Ron Wyden(D), Peter A. De Fazio(D).
 PA - Doug Walgren(D), John P. Murtha(D), Peter Kostmayer(D),
 William H. Gray III(D), Thomas Foglietta(D), William J. Coyne(D),
 Robert A. Borski(D), Paul E. Kanjorski(D), Joseph McDade(R), Lawrence
 Coughlin(R), William F. Clinger, Jr.(R).
 RI - Ronald K. Machtley(R), Claudine Schneider(R).
 SC - Robin Tallon(D), John Spratt(D).
 SD - Tim Johnson(D).
 TN - Harold E. Ford(D), Jim Cooper(D), Bob Clement(D), Bart
 Gordon(D).
 TX - J.J. Pickle(D), Michael Andrews(D), Martin Frost(D), Henry B.
 Gonzalez(D), Ronald Coleman(D), Jack Brooks(D), John Bryant(D),
 Charles Stenholm(D), E. (KiKa) de la Garza(D), Albert Bustamante(D), Bill
 Sarpalius(D), Greg H. Laughlin(D).
 UT - Wayne Owens(D).
 VA - Norman Sisisky(D), L.F. Payne(D), Frederick Boucher(D), Owen B.
 Pickett(D), James R. Olin(D), Herbert H. Bateman(R).
 WA - Jim McDermott(D), Norman D. Dicks(D), Jolene Unsoeld(D), Al
 Swift(D), Sid Morrison(R), John R. Miller(R).
 WI - David R. Obey(D), Robert Kastenmeier(D), Gerald D. Kleczka(D),
 Les Aspin(D), Jim Moody(D), Steven Gunderson(R).
 WV - Nick Joe Rahall(D), Allan Mollohan(D), Robert Wise(D), Harley
 O. Staggers, Jr.(D).

TV stations censor pro-life ads in governor's race

Recently pro-abortion candidate Doug Wilder won the governor's race in Virginia by about 5,000 votes, less than one-half of one percent of the votes. Many credit Wilder's victory with the fact that television stations in Virginia refused to run ads showing the pro-abortion stance of Wilder.

Nine television stations, including every network affiliate in the Washington, DC, area, refused to run the ads by the National Right to Life Committee PAC and its affiliate, the Virginia Society for Human Life PAC. However, many of these same stations ran ads for the pro-abortion National Abortion Rights Action League.

Dr. David O'Steen, executive director of the National Right to Life Committee, said, "It's nothing short of television censorship. These stations have a double standard—one for NARAL and one for pro-life groups. And because the race was so close, it clearly affected the outcome of the election."

Taxpayers support campus porn

Some things set Ellen Murray's Human Sexual Deviance class apart from other sociology classes at Wright State University in Ohio. One is her practice of showing her students hard-core sex films like *Deep Throat*.

Then there are Murray's homework assignments, which send her students into some of the sleaziest establishments in the Miami Valley.

When it comes to sexually explicit books, magazines and movies, Murray thinks to the

Congress refuses to charge homosexual congressman who admits to hiring a homosexual prostitute

Barney Frank, a Congressman from Massachusetts, recently admitted that he had hired a homosexual prostitute and had sexual relations with him, according to reports in the *Washington Times*. Hardly any publicity concerning this incident has appeared in the national news media.

Frank acknowledged that he did pay for and commit sodomy at his townhouse apartment on April 1, 1985, and, reports indicate, apparently at many other times thereafter, with a person known by him to be a male prostitute.

The homosexual prostitute moved into Frank's house, where Frank paid him a salary and regularly engaged in homosexual acts with the man. In addition, the man continued to offer his services to other males, running a homosexual house of prostitution from Congressman Frank's house with Frank's knowledge.

Frank knew that the homosexual prostitute had a previous record of running a homosexual house of prostitution before he employed him. Frank also wrote letters to a probation officer on his official congressional stationery to help the homosexual prostitute remain in the District of Columbia.

beat of a different drummer. While others decry pornography, she contends these publications and films are good for people.

And she never misses a chance to blast those who claim pornography is degrading to women. Murray says, "Child pornography, of course, is harmful. So are books,

Frank admitted that he failed to report to the Internal Revenue Service payments he made to the male prostitute, and likewise failed to withhold Social Security tax as required by law.

Mr. Frank says he chose the homosexual prostitute from an announcement in a homosexual newspaper which advertised "hot bottom plus large endowment." In the initial telephone conversation, he asked whether the prostitute was "versatile," i.e., "willing to assume either a male or female sex role."

Mr. Frank admits that he solicited for purposes of prostitution; that he violated the tax laws; and that he sent letters on his official stationery so that he could retain the services of this male prostitute.

Congressman William Dannemeyer has begun efforts to get Mr. Frank expelled from Congress, but Congress thus far has refused to act on Congressman Dannemeyer's request.

To let your Congressman know how you feel about this issue, call and/or write your Congressman. The address is House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515 and the phone number is 202-224-3121.

magazines and films which promote violence. Porn films don't create sexual deviates. The deviations are already there. The only thing obscene about adult bookstores are the prices."

Taxpayers are paying her to teach her pro-pornography attitudes to her students.

Tax dollars continue to fund anti-Christian, pornographic, pro-homosexual 'art' works

Editor's note: The following article contains material which some readers will find offensive. This article was reviewed by staff members at AFA, much explicit language was removed, and the decision was made that the content should remain in the article so that readers would know precisely how their tax dollars are being spent.

The National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) is a federal agency which provides taxpayer funded grants, many of which support pornographic, anti-Christian "works of art". The NEA makes the grants available to members of the "arts" community and they are free to spend it without accountability to anyone for how it is spent.

The NEA has a current budget of \$171,000,000, which comes from your tax dollars. The list below is a sampling of "art" projects which the NEA has supported with funding.

- The NEA honored Andres Serrano with \$15,000 in tax dollars in competition sponsored by the NEA. Serrano's entry included a photo of Christ on a cross submerged in Serrano's urine. He named the "work of art" Pi-- Christ.

- The NEA spent \$30,000 to fund the homosexual photographs of Robert Mapplethorpe. The exhibit included these photos: "Honey"—a girl about four years old with a sad, scared face, the focus of the camera is on the child's genitals below her uplifted dress; "Mr. 10 1/2"—a man crouched over, his sexual organ on a block; "Jesse McBride"—a shot of a nude boy, about eight, proudly displaying his sexual organ; one man urinating into another man's mouth; and one man with his fist and forearm up another man's rectum. *Time* magazine said that, had this not been supported by the NEA, the exhibitor could have been charged with distribution of child pornography.

- In Phoenix, Arizona, the NEA gave MARS Artspace \$20,000 to help fund an exhibit featuring Cactus Jack's "Pi-- Helms," a photo of Senator Jesse Helms in a large jar of what appeared to be urine.

- The NEA gave a grant to the Sunshine Press to publish sexually explicit homosexual stories and a similar grant to the Panjandrum Press for the same purpose.

- In January 1990, three lesbian writers were awarded NEA Creative Writing Fellowships to fund their homoerotic writing.

- In New York, NEA funds helped pay for an exhibit which included booklets depicting one lesbian inserting an object into another, a photo album of group sex, a collection of crude drawings including one titled "Jesus Sucks" in which a woman is breast-feeding an infant. Another photo is of a man asking, "Is it a sin to f--- a priest?"

- With NEA help, PADD (Political Art Documentation Distribution) and Carnival Knowledge co-sponsored entertainment including a number called "Tapping and Talking Dirty" in which two women casually chat about various oral and deviant sexual behaviors.

- The organizers of the annual San Francisco Lesbian and Gay Film Festival expect to be given \$20,000 by the NEA for their 1990 showing. The NEA gave them \$10,000 in 1989 and \$6,300 in 1988. The film festival features films for and about homosexual lifestyles, sexual activities and practices.

- In Houston, the NEA helped fund the exhibit "At Home with Themselves: Gay and Lesbian Couples" at the Houston Center for Photography.

- The NEA helped fund the exhibit "Degenerate with a capital D" in New York. The exhibit included posters that depict Senator Jesse Helms nailed to a cross (Exhibitor Shawn Eichman said several of the posters were sent to Helms' home.); Dread Scott's "Proper Way to Display a U.S. Flag" which encouraged gallery-goers to walk on the flag.

- In New York, the NEA provided \$10,000 to help pay for an art exhibit in which angry homosexuals denounced Catholic clergyman John Cardinal O'Connor, calling him a "fat cannibal" and a "creep in

black skirts" while St. Patrick's Cathedral was promoted as the "house of walking swastikas on Fifth Avenue."

- NEA helped fund an exhibition including a bust of Jesus with a crown of thorns on His head, long eye lashes, ruby red lips and female breasts.

- One of the latest exhibits funded with \$25,000 of tax funds was entitled "Annie Sprinkle: Post-Porn Modernist". Annie Sprinkle is a porn movie star who has appeared in more than 150 X-rated, pornographic movies.

The art exhibit included Annie Sprinkle's live performances at the Kitchen theater in New York and consisted of, among other things, the "artist" spreading her legs and inviting the audience to inspect her vagina and cervix with the aid of a flashlight. As part of her federally-funded art exhibit, Annie did the following:

- Masturbated with various "sex toys" until she supposedly experienced orgasms.

- Invoked the spirits of "ancient, sacred temple prostitutes" into the theater. "I like to evoke spirits," she told the crowd. "They love having sex."

- Performed oral sex on herself using various "sex toys," and invited the audience to massage her breasts and photograph her scantily clad body. At the beginning of her tax-dollar funded exhibit she did a skit, called "100 Blow Jobs".

At one point during Annie Sprinkle's "art exhibit"—after inducing the first orgasm with her favorite "sex toys"—she smiles and says to the audience, "Usually I get paid a lot of money for this, but tonight it's government-funded!"

Annie's main writer and only actor in the tax-dollar funded exhibit was Annie Sprinkle. A "Post-Porn Modernist Manifesto," printed in the show's program and signed by more than 20 people, states, "We embrace our genitals as part, not separate, from our spirits. We utilize sexually explicit words, pictures and performances to communicate our ideas and emotions."

The NEA makes the grants from their \$171,000,000 taxpayer funded budget without any accountability from those who receive it. NEA spokesman Josh Dare said that the NEA does not plan to set into place any accountability procedures in providing grants. "We have no power to suggest anything to them (artists) or to exercise any control over what they do with the money we've given them," Dare said.

Last year Senator Jesse Helms introduced an amendment in the Senate which would have prohibited the NEA from using your tax dollars to support such exhibits as those listed above. The Senate passed it overwhelmingly. However, when the amendment was brought up in the House of Representatives by Congressman Dana Rohrabacher (R-CA), Congressman Ralph Regula (R-OH) offered a motion which refused to allow the House to vote on the Rohrabacher amendment. By using a tactical parliamentary move, Rep. Regula refused to yield the floor to Rep. Rohrabacher and thus kept the amendment from being voted on. Rep. Regula's action succeeded in its intent, that of allowing the NEA to continue to receive their millions of tax dollars to fund such "works of art".

On the following page are 262 Congressmen who voted for Regula's motion, thus supporting the NEA in its abuse and misuse of tax dollars. We urge you to contact your Senators and Congressmen and ask that they vote against funding for the NEA. Their direct phone number is listed. Their address is: House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515 and U.S. Senate, Washington, DC 20510.

We urge you to contact your Senators and Congressman and ask that they stop all funds to the NEA. It would help if you would make copies of this article and distribute them among your friends, Sunday School class members, church members, etc.

Congressmen listed below voted to continue funding the National Endowment for the Arts after learning how the NEA spends tax dollars.

Alabama

Ben Erdreich, 202-225-4921
Tom Beville, 202-225-4876
Claude Harris, 202-225-2665

Arizona

Morris K. Udall, 202-225-4065
John J. Rhodes III, 202-225-2635
Jim Kolbe, 202-225-2542

Arkansas

Bill Alexander, 202-225-4076
Beryl Anthony, 202-225-3772

California

Henry A. Waxman, 202-225-3976
Edward Roybal, 202-225-6235
Leon P. Panetta, 202-225-2861
George Miller, 202-225-2095
Norman Mineta, 202-225-2631
Matthew Martinez, 202-225-5464
Robert T. Matsui, 202-225-7136
Mel Levine, 202-225-6451
Augustus F. Hawkins, 202-225-2201
Victor Fazio, 202-225-5716
Don Edwards, 202-225-3072
Ronald Dellums, 202-225-2661
Barbara Boxer, 202-225-5161
George E. Brown, Jr., 202-225-6161
Howard Berman, 202-225-4695
Douglas H. Bosco, 202-225-3311
Esteban Torres, 202-225-5256
Fortney (Pete) Stark, 202-225-5065
Tom Lantos, 202-225-3531
Richard Lehman, 202-225-4540
Mervyn Dymally, 202-225-5425
Nancy Pelosi, 202-225-4965
Jim Bates, 202-225-5452
Anthony C. Beilenson, 202-225-5911
William M. Thomas, 202-225-2915
Bill Lowery, 202-225-3201
Al McCandless, 202-225-5330
Jerry Lewis, 202-225-5861
Tom Campbell, 202-225-5411

Colorado

David E. Skaggs, 202-225-2161
Ben Nighthorse Campbell, 202-225-4761

Connecticut

Bruce A. Morrison, 202-225-3661
Barbara B. Kennelly, 202-225-2265
Sam Gejdenson, 202-225-2076
Christopher Shays, 202-225-5541
Nancy Johnson, 202-225-4476

Delaware

Thomas R. Carper, 202-225-4165

Florida

Lawrence J. Smith, 202-225-7931
Bill Nelson, 202-225-3671
Harry A. Johnston, 202-225-3001
William Lehman, 202-225-4211
Sam Gibbons, 202-225-3376
Dante Fascell, 202-225-4506
Porter Goss, 202-225-2536

Georgia

Robert Lindsay Thomas, 202-225-5831
J. Roy Rowland, 202-225-6531

Richard Ray, 202-225-5901
John Lewis, 202-225-3801
Charles F. Hatcher, 202-225-3631
George Darden, 202-225-2931
Ben Jones, 202-225-4272

Hawaii

Daniel K. Akaka, 202-225-4906
Patricia Saiki, 202-225-2726

Idaho

Richard H. Stallings, 202-225-5531

Illinois

Sidney Yates, 202-225-2111
Dan Rostenkowski, 202-225-4061
Marty A. Russo, 202-225-5736
Jerry F. Costello, 202-225-5661
Frank Annunzio, 202-225-6661
Glenn Poshard, 202-225-5201
Lane Evans, 202-225-5905
Richard J. Durbin, 202-225-5271
Cardiss Collins, 202-225-5006
Terry Bruce, 202-225-5001
Gus Savage, 202-225-0773
William O. Lipinski, 202-225-5701
Charles A. Hayes, 202-225-4372
Edward R. Madigan, 202-225-2371
John E. Porter, 202-225-4835
George E. Sangmeister, 202-225-3635

Indiana

Peter J. Visclosky, 202-225-2461
Philip R. Sharp, 202-225-3021
Frank McCloskey, 202-225-4636
Lee H. Hamilton, 202-225-5315
Jim Jontz, 202-225-5037

Iowa

Neal Smith, 202-225-4426
Dave Nagle, 202-225-3301
Jim Leach, 202-225-6576
Jim Lightfoot, 202-225-3806
Fred Grandy, 202-225-5476

Kansas

Jim Slattery, 202-225-6601
Dan Glickman, 202-225-6212
Jan Meyers, 202-225-2865

Kentucky

William H. Natcher, 202-225-3501
Romano L. Mazzoli, 202-225-5401
Carl C. Perkins, 202-225-4935
Harold Rogers, 202-225-4601
Larry J. Hopkins, 202-225-4706

Louisiana

Lindy Boggs, 202-225-6636

Richard Baker, 202-225-3901

Maine

Joseph Brennan, 202-225-6116

Maryland

Benjamin L. Cardin, 202-225-4016
Beverly Byron, 202-225-2721
Kweisi Mfume, 202-225-4741
Thomas McMillen, 202-225-8090
Steny Hoyer, 202-225-4131
Constance Morella, 202-225-5341

Massachusetts

Joe Moakley, 202-225-8273
Edward J. Markey, 202-225-2836
Nicholas Mavroules, 202-225-8020
Joseph D. Early, 202-225-6101
Richard E. Neal, 202-225-5601
Chester Atkins, 202-225-3411
Gerry E. Studds, 202-225-3111
Joseph Kennedy II, 202-225-5111
Barney Frank, 202-225-5931
Silvio Conte, 202-225-5335

Michigan

Bob Traxler, 202-225-2806
Sander Levin, 202-225-4961
Dale E. Kildee, 202-225-3611
Dennis M. Hertel, 202-225-6276
William D. Ford, 202-225-6261
John Dingell, 202-225-4071
Bob Carr, 202-225-4872
David E. Bonior, 202-225-2106
Howard Wolpe, 202-225-5011
George W. Crockett, 202-225-2261
Paul B. Henry, 202-225-3831

Minnesota

Bruce Vento, 202-225-6631
Gerry Sikorski, 202-225-2271
Martin Sabo, 202-225-4755
Timothy J. Penny, 202-225-2472
James L. Oberstar, 202-225-6211
Bill Frenzel, 202-225-2871

Mississippi

Jamie Whitten, 202-225-4306
Mike Espy, 202-225-5776

Missouri

Harold L. Volkmer, 202-225-2956
William Clay, 202-225-2406
Alan Wheat, 202-225-4535
Richard A. Gephardt, 202-225-2671
E. Thomas Coleman, 202-225-7041
Jack Buechner, 202-225-2561

Montana

Pat Williams, 202-225-3211

Nebraska

Virginia Smith, 202-225-6435
Doug Bereuter, 202-225-4806
Peter Hoagland, 202-225-4155

Nevada

James H. Bilbray, 202-225-5965

New Jersey

Robert G. Torricelli, 202-225-5061
Donald M. Payne, 202-225-3436
Robert A. Roe, 202-225-5751
Frank Pallone, Jr., 202-225-4671
Frank J. Guarini, 202-225-2765
Bernard J. Dwyer, 202-225-6301
Jim Saxton, 202-225-4765
Dean Gallo, 202-225-5034
William J. Hughes, 202-225-6572

New Mexico

Bill Richardson, 202-225-6190

New York

Ted Weiss, 202-225-5635
James H. Scheuer, 202-225-5471
Charles Schumer, 202-225-6616

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May 1990

Journal

of the American Family Association

NEA continues funding anti-Christian art, pornography with tax dollars

Editor's note: Because of much misunderstanding concerning the funding of pornography and anti-Christian literature by the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), on March 28 Donald E. Wildmon sent the following fax to NEA Chairman John Frohnmayer and Congressman Pat Williams (D-MT).

"I invite you to debate the NEA issue with me on any live national

television program. I feel that the best interests of the American taxpayer would be served by such a debate. I await your response."

Wildmon asked for the public debate in order to clear up misunderstandings regarding NEA supported art. On April 12, Mr. Frohnmayer accepted. At press time, however, Congressman Williams had not responded to Mr. Wildmon's invitation.

The National Endowment for the Arts is a government agency supported by tax dollars. This year its budget is \$171,000,000. President Bush has requested \$175,000,000 for the NEA during the coming year. Its chairman says that to do what they really want to do they need \$300,000,000.

The fact that our government hands out millions of tax dollars is

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Attention Pastors

Christians & Society TODAY, pages 3 and 4, is designed to be reproduced as a supplement, bulletin insert or for newsletters.

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Cal Thomas
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Dr. Paul Vitz
Dr. Wayne House

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ALL-MEMBERSHIP PLAN

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Copies of this issue are available at \$12.50 for 50 copies. Enclose check with order.

President of K mart subsidiary denies his stores sell pornography

Waldenbooks President Harry Hoffman has publicly denied that his company sells pornography. Waldenbooks is owned by K mart.

In a letter to the editor of the Augusta, Georgia *Chronicle* on March 20, Hoffman wrote: "Re

Important! Call K mart and tell them you are joining the boycott. The toll free number is 1-800-63K-mart (1-800-635-6278).

the March 19 letter from Rev. Bill Rice 'Calls for boycott of pornography backers.' Waldenbooks does not sell pornography." Hoffman does not deny that the K mart owned stores sell magazines such as *Playboy* and *Penthouse*, but he does not consider such magazines pornography.

In his letter, he continued: "The real question is: Do Americans have the right to buy—and stores the right to sell—constitutionally-protected material? We believe they do.

"We (Waldenbooks and K mart) agreed to be one of the partners in the lawsuit against the American Family Association because it pitted us firmly and unequivocally against what we view as an attempted abridgement of

Continued on page 16

Circle K near bankruptcy, distributor pulls magazines in Florida

Circle K is near bankruptcy, according to the *Wall Street Journal*. In Florida, the distributor which supplies Circle K with magazines—including the porn publications—has stop supplying all magazines to Circle K. Reports place the number of stores affected at over 600. The magazines were pulled from all Circle K stores around Tampa and in other parts of the state. "When the porn magazines are pulled for any reason, it certainly helps in the battle against pornography," said Donald E. Wildmon, executive director of AFA.

According to the *Wall Street Journal*, Circle K's store operations are now being run by the company's new president, Robert Dearth, a former aide to the concern's largest stockholder, Cincinnati investor Carl Lindner, who owns 38% of Circle K's stock.

AFA is again asking that requests that Circle K discontinue selling the porn publications go to Mr. Lindner. Forbes 400 called Mr. Lindner a "strict Baptist". Kind letters requesting Mr. Lindner to pull the pornography might be beneficial should he assume control of the company. The address is: Chrm. Carl Lindner, Great American Communications Company, One East 4th Street, Cincinnati, OH 45202, phone 513-579-2177.

Individuals who desire to contact Circle K directly can do so by writing Pres. Robert Dearth, The Circle K Corporation, P.O. Box 52084, Phoenix, AZ 85072, phone 602-253-9600.

Continue boycotting Circle K until they pull the pornography.

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ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED

A Petition to Congress to Stop Tax Funding of Pornographic, Anti-Christian 'Works of Art' by the National Endowment for the Arts

We, the undersigned, oppose the use of tax dollars to help fund pornographic, anti-Christian "works of art" by the National Endowment for the Arts, a federal agency supported by taxes. Specific examples of NEA funded art include, but are not limited to, a photo by Andres Serrano of Christ on the cross submerged in Serrano's own urine entitled "P— Christ", a photo by David Wojnarowicz of Christ depicted as a drug addict with a needle in his arm, and explicit, graphic photos of homosexual sex by Robert Mapplethorpe and David Wojnarowicz.

When Congressman Pat Williams (D-MT) asked NEA Chairman John Frohnmayer if the NEA would continue using tax dollars to fund such "art"

in the future, Mr. Frohnmayer responded: "I would say yes." Congressman Williams praised Mr. Frohnmayer for his positive answer, saying: "It shows real determination that the NEA not be used as a censorship agency."

The refusal of government to fund such pornographic, anti-Christian "works of art" is not censorship. The artists are still free to produce their "works of art", but let them compete in the marketplace. Tax dollars should not be used to fund such "works of art".

Since the NEA says it will continue to use tax dollars to fund such pornographic and anti-Christian "works of art" in the future, we ask that you vote against all funding for the NEA.

NAME**ADDRESS**

CITY

STATE/ZIPThis image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal blue or grey ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There is no handwriting or other markings on the paper.

Make copies of this petition and distribute among your friends, church members, Sunday School class, etc. Run the petition as an ad in your local paper. When complete, mail this petition to your Congressman at U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515.

The Annie Sprinkle shell game

By James F. Cooper, Editor
American Arts Quarterly

The national Endowment for the Arts is playing a shell game with the truth when it denies responsibility for awarding grants to Andres Serrano's "P--s Christ," Robert Mapplethorpe's homoerotic photographs and Annie Sprinkle's live-sex performances at the Kitchen Theater.

The NEA did fund these, as well as many anti-Christian, obscene and ugly works—while they rejected grant applications for religious and representational art.

Chairman John Frohnmayer advised his critics to look at the work of Serrano, Mapplethorpe and Sprinkle, before they condemned it. They have. When asked about these works during a *USA Today* interview, he admitted "I haven't seen these exhibitions and can't comment on them." The catalogs and videos from these exhibitions could be on his desk in five minutes.

The NEA awarded a flat grant of \$60,000 to the Kitchen Theater (Haleakala, Inc.) in 1989 for operating expenses. No restrictions were put on the allocation.

The New York State Council on the Arts (NYSCA), which received a flat annual grant of \$853,000 from the NEA, awarded \$146,200 to the Kitchen Theater for the year 1988-89. \$57,000 was allocated for production, services and artist expenses. The \$203,200 received from these two agencies (redoubled by matching grants), came with no restrictions on scheduled performances.

There is no documentation—nothing in the contracts of the Kitchen Theater, or any other records produced by these two agencies—to support claims that the NYSCA or NEA specified that the Annie Sprinkle live-sex performances were to be denied a portion of that \$203,000. (Other live-sex performances at the Kitchen were also funded by NEA and NYSCA.)

Executive director of the Kitchen Theater, Barbara Tsumagari, when first interviewed, said a list of Kitchen programming was submitted to NYSCA, which "represented in fact what we were doing this year. The NYSCA could have easily chosen not to fund Annie Sprinkle" if they wanted.

NYSCA spokesman Jim Mulligan said "I can't say one way or the other" if the Sprinkle performance was specifically excluded from funding. (Requests for documentation have been called "censorship" by NYSCA.)

Annie Sprinkle, herself, announced while masturbating with sex toys in full view of the audience: "I usually get paid a lot of money for this, but tonight it's government funded."

For the NEA and the NYSCA to attack its critics, while denying

documentation to members of congress and the press to support their claims, is in the opinion of many of the 106 congressmen who sent letters of protest to the NEA, a "moral outrage" and the height of "arrogance."

The chairman says only 25 out of 85,000 grants have raised objections. The truth is, thousands of these grants are objectionable—because of their obscene, anti-Judeo-Christian, anti-American, pro-Marxist, ugly and confrontational ideology.

Spokesmen talk much about the "creative" goals of the NEA, but the truth is, charges Congressman Mel Hancock (R-MO), "the NEA is in deliberate defiance of Congress and the American people for its obscene waste of taxpayers' funds" and NEA panelists "feathering their own nests and neglecting legitimate art projects."

At the April 4, 1990 House hearings on NEA reauthorization, Congressmen Dana Rohrabacher (R-CA), Bob McEwen (R-OH), William Dannemeyer (R-CA), Richard Armey (R-TX) and Wally Herger (R-CA) denounced the NEA for funding "pornography...and obscenity."

But the greatest outrage against the bewildered taxpayers who fund this junk, is the absence of beautiful and spiritual works the NEA refuses to fund. In the words of sculptor Frederick Hart (Washington's National Cathedral): "The flaw is not with a public that refuses to nourish the arts. Rather it is with a practice of art that refuses to nourish the public."

Taxpayers, indeed, all Americans, deserve better than they are getting from government-funded arts endowments. John Frohnmayer boasts the NEA has funded one million images, paintings, photographs during the last 24 years. Where are they? During all the heated debates over NEA funding, the chairman has neglected to show the American public ONE image that reflects the "excellence" the NEA is mandated to seek. We are prepared to produce hundreds, if not thousands, of ugly, objectionable artworks funded by the NEA.

It is the NEA that is guilty of censorship. The real issue is whether the American people are going to get a culture that will nourish their souls, or will they continue to be forced-fed the pornographic, ugly, troglodyte art that is slowly destroying the American style.

I believe the public is ready for a renaissance in American culture. Public-funded art could play a vital role in fulfilling John F. Kennedy's vision to seek "artistic excellence...that can nourish and sustain a rich cultural life...for all our citizens." But first the NEA must open up the review panels to those who seek excellence and beauty.

NEA...

Continued from page 1

not news. What is news is that the recipients of NEA funds are accountable to no one.

Just how are these tax dollars spent? Here are a few examples.

- Gave \$15,000 to Andres Serrano to honor him for his exhibit which included a photo of Christ on a cross submerged in Serrano's urine, entitled *Pi-- Christ*.

- Gave \$30,000 to fund an exhibition of the homoerotic photographs of Robert Mapplethorpe. Much of Mapplethorpe's exhibit is too offensive to describe in this article. One photo, entitled "Honey", was of a little girl about four years old with a sad, scared face, but the focus of the camera is on

the child's genitals below her uplifted dress. Other photos included a man urinating in another man's mouth and a man with his fist and forearm up another man's rectum. *Time* magazine said that "...some of Mapplethorpe's work is so graphic that if authorities had chosen to do so, they could have prosecuted him for child pornography." A grand jury in Cincinnati recently indicted an arts center and its director on misdemeanor obscenity charges when the Mapplethorpe exhibit opened in that city.

- Gave \$60,000 to three lesbian writers to help fund their homoerotic writings about their lesbian lifestyle. One writer, Minnie Bruce Pratt, entered her poem "Crimes Against Nature" in her application. The poem reads in part: "For my methods, indecent and unnatural/of gratifying a de-

praved and perverted sexual instinct..."

- Gave Illinois State University \$15,000 to fund an exhibit of the photos and writings of David Wojnarowicz. It included a photo of Christ injecting drugs into his arm using a needle and a syringe, scenes of men performing perverted sex on each other, and scenes of men having sex with animals. Funded by tax dollars, Wojnarowicz wrote: "At least in my ungoverned imagination I can f--- somebody without a ru--er or I can, in the privacy of my own skull, douse [Senator] Helms with a bucket of gasoline and set his putrid a-- on fire or throw [Congressman] William Dannemeyer off the Empire State Building."

- Supported an exhibit at New York's Kitchen Theater of a live porn show by Annie Sprinkle, star of more than 150 X-

rated movies. At one point in her "exhibit" Ms. Sprinkle told her audience: "Usually, I get paid a lot of money for this, but tonight it's government-funded!"

(For additional examples see the March issue of the *AFA Journal*.)

NEA Chairman John Frohnmayer was questioned about NEA funding of obscenity, which has always been declared illegal by the Supreme Court. In an interview in *USA Today*, Mr. Frohnmayer was asked: "The question was, do you consider obscene some of the more extreme pieces by Mapplethorpe and Serrano?"

He responded: "There were 120 photographs in the Mapplethorpe show. If you were to take four or five of those and say, 'Are these obscene?' the answer is probably yes. If you take the whole show...the answer is probably no. Because the Supreme Court requires that the item be taken as a whole."

In fact, the Supreme Court has never ruled that a collection of photographs must be taken as a whole when determining whether one or more is obscene.

On March 6, Chairman Frohnmayer told the Orange County, California *Register*: "What I'm saying in terms of the endowment is we are looking for artistic quality. And if a panel finds there is serious artistic intent and quality in a particular piece of work, then by definition that is not going to be obscene." Thus, because a panel found "serious artistic intent and quality" in the work of artists such as Mapplethorpe, Serrano, Annie Sprinkle and Wojnarowicz, the NEA gave taxpayer money to fund them.

Because of taxpayer funding of such art by the NEA, there have been many complaints over the years. In 1985 Congressmen Tom Delay (R-TX) and Dick Armey (R-TX) tried to cut \$10,000,000 from NEA appropriations. Their proposal was killed in committee, but observers thought the move would send a clear signal to the NEA. The NEA ignored the signal. Last year, under pressure from angry taxpayers because of the Serrano and Mapplethorpe exhibitions, Congress passed a law supposedly to prevent government funding for such exhibits.

The law was so weak that Rep. Sidney Yates (D-IL), who helped pass the law, said it did not prohibit taxpayer funding of even obscene artwork. Allan Parachini, staff writer of the *Los Angeles Times*, wrote that in a confrontation with Congressman Dana Rohrabacher (R-CA), Yates "repeatedly and emphatically...told Rohrabacher that 'obscene' arts projects in a variety of media could receive federal financial support if they had exemplary artistic or literary merit. Endowment sources, speaking on the condition they would not be named, said the wording appeared to be so vague that virtually no artistic subject matter would be taboo."

After the law was passed, recipients of government grants had to sign a pledge saying they would not create works which would violate the law. But the NEA gave the government-funded artists the green light to continue with business as usual. NEA spokeswoman Virginia Falck said to those receiving grants and signing pledges to honor the law: "Don't let this [the pledge not to do works violating the new law] intimidate you...Feel free to create as you wish." The NEA did not establish any procedure for checking up on the recipients to see if they complied with the new law, which expires September 30.

The NEA elected to simply ignore the law. Congressman Jamie Whitten (D-MS), who voted for the law, said he voted for the law because he felt the NEA would honor it. "I voted to strike all funds which were used for the pornographic language and pictures. We were assured it would not happen again. I am told they [NEA] have not lived up to such understanding."

Chairman Frohnmayer stated publicly that the NEA would continue to use tax dollars to support similar "works of art" in the future. Syndicated columnist James J. Kilpatrick, in his column on March 16, 1990, confirmed this. He wrote: "John Frohnmayer, chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts, was in Los Angeles for a public hearing on reauthorization of NEA funding. Among the spectators was Rep. Pat Williams, D-Mont. Everything was going smoothly (only friendly witnesses were on hand) when Williams asked a tough question. He asked if the NEA should permit grants for the creation of 'offensive' works of art."

"Frohnmayer tried to duck. Williams persisted. Finally Frohnmayer responded: 'I would say yes.' He would not approve a grant for anything whose sole purpose is to be offensive, but he willingly would give the taxpayers' money to an artist who created 'rough stuff'. As the hearing continued...Williams praised the chairman for his attitude: 'It shows real determination that the NEA not be used as a censorship agency.'"

Contrary to what Congressman Williams wants the American public to believe, the refusal of government to provide funding for an individual's First Amendment rights is not a violation of those First Amendment rights. The individual is free to produce any work of art he desires, but the First Amendment in no way mandates government to provide funding.

Reinforcing the fact that those who receive NEA grants are accountable to no one, NEA spokesman Josh Dare said: "We have no power to suggest anything to them [artists] or to exercise any control over what they do with the money we've given them." Using what has become typical NEA double-speak, Dare even

denied that the NEA funded the Wojnarowicz "Tongues of Flame" exhibit at Illinois State earlier this year, which featured explicit and obscene homosexual photos, explaining: "Illinois State applied for a grant to support a retrospective of this particular artist's work. We approved the money for them. They are the ones providing money for Wojnarowicz (Tongues of Flame)." The NEA gave Illinois State \$15,000 in tax funds for the exhibit.

The *Rancho Santa Fe Times* in San Diego County, California, a consortium of five newspapers, reported on March 29 that "Endowment spokesman Josh Dare said that what has been enacted [the law passed by Congress last fall] will not change things much except to sensitize the minds of the panel judges."

Who has most benefitted from the millions of tax dollars the NEA has spent? The rich. Randy Fitzgerald, writing in the *Readers Digest*, said: "Government surveys have found that arts-related events are attended primarily by people in upper education and income groups—much as before the Endowment existed." Hilton Kramer, former chief art critic for the *New York Times*, stated: "The Endowment has had absolutely no discernible effect on the creative side of art. The greatest benefit has been enjoyed by the administrative officers of the arts bureaucracy."

Pulitzer Prize-winning literary critic Jonathan Yardley told the *Washington Post*: "Much of it is reverse Robin Hood discrimination. Money is taken from middle and lower income taxpayers and turned over to the enterprises that largely benefit the well-to-do."

Why have artists been singled out for special funding by Congress? Why hasn't Congress established a National Endowment for Carpenters, a National Endowment for Truck Drivers, or a National Endowment for Sales Clerks? These people contribute as much to society as do the "artists" who receive tax dollars supporting such trash as the examples listed. Why? The arts community has powerful friends in high places, such as Congressmen Williams and Yates, and therein lies the difference.

The NEA says that the government should not be involved in determining what is and what is not worthy art, that the artist should be free to create as he desires. I agree. And the only way to keep government out of the business of determining worthy art is for government to get out of the business of funding art. When government funds some works of art and not others, the government is acting as a censor—something which the First Amendment clearly prohibits.

Stopping government funding of the NEA will not prohibit artists from producing any works of art they desire. Their art must stand on its own merit in the marketplace, as it

should do in a capitalistic society. And taxpayers will not be required to fund private works for private gain.

Concerning President Bush's request for NEA funding of \$175,000,000 next year, Congressman Williams, aggressively pushing to keep tax dollars flowing to the NEA, told Knight-Ridder News Service: "If we can convince the members of the House and Senate that the issue is not funding of pornographic art, but Big Brother censorship, then I win." He warned, however, that if the discussion centered on sexual images, "I lose."

Congressman Williams is right about that statement. He is fully aware that the government is currently involved in "Big Brother censorship" by funding NEA approved artists while refusing to fund non-NEA approved artists. He has turned the argument on its head in order to secure tax funding for NEA-approved artists.

However, the truth about "Big Brother censorship" is exactly the opposite. As long as government funds some artists, based on the merit of their work, and refuses to fund others based on the merit of their work, that is Big Brother censorship.

The NEA and artists' groups say that allowing the government to determine what art is worthy of funding and what art is not amounts to censorship. But that is precisely what the NEA has been doing for 25 years—deciding what art the government considers worthy of funding at taxpayer expense and what art it does not.

By the artists' own logic, the NEA has been acting as a government censor for the past 25 years and the only way to get the government completely out of the "censorship" business—as they have termed it—is to abolish the NEA. Stopping government funding of the NEA will not prohibit artists from producing any works of art they desire, but it will stop the "censorship" of artists the NEA's elitist arts panels have refused to approve for 25 years.

It is obvious that if the government is going to get involved in funding art, it will by necessity have to use a standard to pick and choose among applicants. So the real issue in subsidizing art is not a matter of whether a standard will be used, but whose standard—the taxpayer's or the NEA's elitist panels of so-called art experts?

As Chairman Frohnmayer has said, "If a [NEA] panel finds there is serious artistic intent and quality in a particular piece of work, then by definition that [work] is not going to be obscene." According to Chairman Frohnmayer's own words, the NEA does not consider the explicit, graphic, depraved photos which were included in "Tongues of Flame" obscene, regardless of what taxpayers say. The NEA's art panel said they had artistic

merit and deserved government funding.

The NEA has been insulated from mainstream American values for so long that it has become captive to a morally decadent minority which ridicules and mocks decent, moral taxpayers while demanding taxpayer subsidies.

Before you vote in the upcoming Congressional and Senatorial races, find out if

your Congressman and Senators voted to reauthorize the NEA and thus continue funding such "works of art".

We suggest you write your Congressman and Senators and urge them to vote to end all funding of the NEA. The addresses: House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515 and U.S. Senate, Washington, DC 20510. The phone number is 202-224-3121.

Congressmen try to defend pro-NEA vote

Editor's Note: Both the previous article and the following are by Don Wildmon.

Some Congressmen and Senators are defending their vote on the motion last year concerning the National Endowment for the Arts. Because it is not possible to respond to letters from every Congressman and Senator, I have elected to use this article to give the information concerning that vote.

The amendment which Congress passed reads: "None of the funds authorized to be appropriated for the National Endowment for the Arts or the National Endowment for the Humanities may be used to promote, disseminate, or produce materials which in the judgment of the National Endowment for the Arts or National Endowment for the Humanities may be considered obscene, including but not limited to, depictions of sadomasochism, homo-eroticism, the sexual exploitation of children, or individuals engaged in sex acts and which, when taken as a whole, do not have serious literary, artistic, political or scientific value." (Emphases added.)

Notice the wording which appears in boldface carefully. It is left to the NEA and the NEA alone to determine if a work of art is obscene. The law passed by Congress changed absolutely nothing. The final determination on whether or not to fund an exhibit has always been left up to the NEA. The amendment did nothing to correct the original problem. It simply left the fox to guard the chicken house.

The amendment which Congress passed did not address, and thus left open for taxpayer funding "works of art" of indecent materials, materials which denigrate the objects or beliefs of Christians and other religious bodies, and materials which denigrate, debase, or revile a person, group, or class of citizens on the basis of race, creed, sex, handicap, age or religion.

The amendment which passed was much weaker than that offered by Senator Jesse Helms. In fact, two leading liberal publications, *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*, both call the amendment which passed weaker. The *Post* and *Times*, incidentally, are strong supporters of the NEA and opposed the Helms amendment.

On March 28, 1990, *The Washington Post* wrote, "Last summer's arts conflict led

to an attempt by Sen. Jesse Helms to impose severe restrictions on the content of federally funded art. Helms' legislative language was eventually watered down to a provision that prevents the NEA from funding art it deems to be obscene and without artistic merit."

The New York Times, in an editorial on March 24, 1990, in support of NEA funding, wrote: "Last summer Mr. Helms decided to insure that the endowment would never again subsidize art that offended public (i.e., his) taste. Congress rejected his proposal to bar Federal money to 'promote, disseminate or produce obscene or indecent material' and to prohibit grants for artwork that 'denigrates, debases or reviles a person, group or class of persons...' But it also introduced the well-known camel's nose.

"This was a mild but potentially mischievous law barring funding for material that 'may be considered obscene...and which, when taken as a whole, does not have serious literary, artistic, political or scientific value.' Just how mischievous was shown a few months later when the new NEA Director, John Frohnmayer, rescinded and then reawarded a grant to a New York art show that focused on AIDS."

The Newark, New Jersey *Star-Ledger* also said that the amendment which Congress passed was weaker. In an article by Robert Cohen on March 21, 1990, the *Star-Ledger* said of the amendment which passed: "The language, which was watered down from earlier versions [the Helms amendment], bans funding for 'depictions of sadomasochism, homoeroticism, the sexual exploitation of children, or individuals engaged in sex acts.'"

The *Miami Herald* also said the amendment which passed was weaker. In an article by Joel Achenbach, the *Herald* said: "After much fuss, the Helms bill was passed in a watered-down version." (In reality, the Helms amendment did not pass. The other amendment passed.)

Allan Parachini, a writer for *The Los Angeles Times* who has been a strong supporter of the NEA and a strong opponent of those opposing the NEA, called the amendment which Congress passed "comparatively benign".

Even the *Congressional Quarterly* (March 24, 1990) agreed that the amendment

June 1990



Journal

of the American Family Association

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Copies of this issue are available at \$12.50 for 50 copies. Enclose check with order.

NEA funds homosexual film festival, writer who submitted homoerotic writings

National Endowment for the Arts Chairman John Frohnmayer recently approved grants of \$20,000 to lesbian writer Minnie Bruce Pratt and \$9,000 to the San Francisco Lesbian and Gay Film Festival.

According to the homosexual publication *Washington Blade*, Pratt said she "had submitted some explicitly 'homoerotic'

passages as part of her original application, but was approved for an award [by Frohnmayer] anyway. Pratt and other authors have asserted that they will not make changes in their work despite the new regulations."

Mr. Frohnmayer told Pratt, in awarding the grant, that the grant will "play some small part in nurturing a literature that truly

reflects the immense diversity of the United States."

Mr. Frohnmayer also approved the grant of \$9,000 to the San Francisco Lesbian and Gay Film Festival. The *Blade* says the film festival "usually includes some homoerotic [homosexual pornography] scenes." The festival is scheduled for June 15-24 in two

Continued on page 23

TV monitoring complete, results to be announced soon

Christian Leaders for Responsible Television (CLear-TV) has completed monitoring of network prime-time television programs for the spring sweeps. The monitoring was done from April 26 through May 23.

Results of the monitoring will be available in late June. A boycott of one or more of the leading sponsors of sex, violence, profanity and anti-Christian stereotyping will be announced by CLear-TV probably in July.

CLear-TV's efforts last year brought a decrease of 32% in the amount of sex, violence and profanity between the spring and fall monitoring periods.

"The results of the sweeps this year will let us know if the networks are increasing sex, violence and profanity again," said Dr. Billy A. Melvin, Chairman of CLear-TV.

"Our boycott of Clorox and Mennen has had a positive impact on television programs. We urge those who worked so hard to make that boycott a success to continue to work together to make the next one equally successful," Melvin said.

Melvin encouraged people to continue boycotting Mennen through July.

Eller out at Circle K, opens door for removal of porn

In a major move which could open the door for the removal of porn from Circle K, Karl Eller has resigned as chairman. Eller had arrogantly refused to pull the pornography. He has been replaced by Robert A. Dearth Jr., described as a "lieutenant" of Carl Linder, the largest stockholder. Circle K, which is having severe financial problems, is near bankruptcy. The chain is the largest retailer of porn magazines in America.

Mr. Linder has been a major financial supporter of anti-pornography groups in the past. AFA urges kind letters requesting Mr. Linder seek to remove the porn magazines. The address: Chrm. Carl Linder, Great American Communications Company, One East 4th Street, Cincinnati, OH 45202, phone 513-579-2177.

Several groups around the nation picketed Circle K stores on April 27. They joined approximately 300 other groups picketing stores which sell pornography in their local communities.

AFA has set June 23 as the next day of nationwide picketing of stores which sell pornography. Churches, groups and individuals are urged to organize a picket of stores selling pornography in their respective communities. For a free Picket Packet explaining how to organize a successful picket, contact AFA.

Individuals who desire to contact Circle K directly can do so by writing Pres. Robert Dearth, The Circle K Corporation, P.O. Box 52084, Phoenix, AZ 85072, phone 602-253-9600.

Continue boycotting Circle K until they pull the pornography.

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ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED

of hours to come over and show his support for the pro-life people who came from Alaska, California, Texas and all over this great land to address this very important issue of protecting human life? He would have still had time to go fishing.

I voted for President Bush and I generally support him but I think the hundreds of thousands of pro lifers deserved more than a phone call from a President who, by his actions, wanted to fish more than he wanted to stand with pro-lifers.

NEA...

Continued from page 1

theatres in San Francisco's Castro section.

According to the *San Francisco Sentinel*, last year's "art" at the festival included *Johanna d'Arc of Mongolia*, "a lesbian fantasy about travelers kidnapped by the Mongolian equivalent of Amazons. Horny lesbians will want to see Susie Bright's presentation of lesbian erotica.... Horny gay men will be primed for another peek at Bobby Kendall's buns in the classic 'Pink Narcissus.'" The NEA gave \$10,000 to the San Francisco Lesbian and Gay Film Festival in 1989 to help promote the movies which "horny lesbians" and "horny gay men" viewed last year. In 1988, the NEA gave the festival \$6,800 for the same purpose.

Last year Congress passed a law which prohibited the NEA from funding "materials which in the judgment of the NEA may be considered obscene, including but not limited to depictions of sadomasochism, homoeroticism, the sexual exploitation of children or individuals engaged in sex acts and which, taken as a whole, do not have serious literary merit, artistic, political or scientific value."

Mr. Frohnmayer was aware of that law and committed to uphold it when he reviewed Ms. Pratt's application containing the "explicit homoerotic passages." Yet, he ignored that law when he granted her 20,000 tax dollars, and again when he gave \$9,000 to the San Francisco Lesbian and Gay Film Festival.

The NEA told festival organizers that the money was for "administrative support work." The NEA can now say they didn't fund any of the San Francisco Lesbian and Gay Film Festival homoerotic material, that their money was specifically earmarked for "administrative" purposes. It is a book-keeping tactic that will keep the NEA tax dollars flowing to support homosexual pornography while denying responsibility.

Mr. Frohnmayer's action indicates that the National Endowment for the Arts has no intention of ceasing the funding of pornographic material.

In fact, Mr. Frohnmayer told *Reader's Digest* that "...the law in question [the one passed by Congress last year] does not bar

taxpayer support for obscene work." Mr. Frohnmayer is saying that the law does not do what Congressmen and Senators have told the taxpayers it does, prohibit the funding of obscene "art."

Mr. Frohnmayer has blamed previous NEA people for making use of taxpayers' money to fund pornography. This time he was the one who made the grants.

How does the NEA decide to fund exhibits, including the Serrano exhibit which included a photo of Christ in urine and the Mapplethorpe exhibit which contained homosexual pornography? Mr. Frohnmayer told *Reader's Digest*: "Panelists spend countless hours conscientiously reviewing applications, supporting materials (scores, tapes, slides, catalogues, etcetera), site visits reports, and bringing to bear their own professional judgments. They absolutely do base their recommendations on quality and merit." He went on to say: "Anything that comes through our panels is deemed to have artistic significance by the people who look at it."

Chairman Frohnmayer said, "If a [NEA] panel finds there is serious artistic intent and quality in a particular piece of work, then by definition that [work] is not going to be obscene."

Ted Potter, director of the Southeastern Center for Contemporary Art which displayed the photo of Christ in urine, confirmed that the NEA panels select art works to support with tax dollars on the basis of "quality and merit." Potter said, "The process of nominating artists from around the country, and these nominations going forward to a national jury, is really carefully done and really impeccable. The juries here have always been the top echelon of American contemporary art, and this was no exception, and they did an outstanding job."

The NEA panel which Mr. Potter referred to as being "carefully done," "impeccable," having done "an outstanding job," and being "the top echelon of American contemporary art" is the one which honored Andres Serrano with \$15,000 in tax dollars for his "P--- Christ" photo of Christ submerged in urine.

Mr. Potter refused to display a videotape that was "grossly racist" to both the black and the Jewish populations. Mr. Potter said: "It was just a straightforward case of racial slurs and bigotry, and I'm not interested in that, so we didn't show it." It is interesting that Mr. Potter, who says he is against censorship, did not hesitate to show "P--- Christ" and its anti-Christian bigotry, but refused to show a racist and anti-Semitic exhibit.

In 1988, *Red Bass* published an entire issue "For Palestine." Shortly afterward, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith protested the anti-Israel stance of the publication. The NEA ordered *Red Bass* to return the \$4,483 grant. But when Chris-

tians protested the "P--- Christ" "work of art," the NEA refused to order any funds returned. They responded by saying that, according to the law, they had no power to suggest anything to the artists they fund.

Samuel Lipman, publisher of the *New Criterion* and a member of the National Council on the Arts (the advisory board of the National Endowment for the Arts) from 1982-1988, recently wrote: "The simple fact is that this cutting-edge art, flagrantly exemplified in the Serrano, Mapplethorpe, Artists Space and Sprinkle cases, more subtly presented in the genre as a whole, is concerned not with art but with advocacy, not with the creation of permanent beauty but with the imposition of hitherto rejected modes of behavior and ways of living. At a conference just this past March on culture and democracy, art critic Donald Kuspit put it well: the Mapplethorpe photographs, he remarked approvingly, for all their classicizing, half-ironic aspects, serve the purpose of 'ultimately sanctifying the perverse subject matter.' That being so, it was inevitable that cutting-edge grants would come to be defended by the arts establishment not in terms of artistic achievement but in terms of free speech."

Concerning the NEA-funded photos of David Wojnarowicz's "Tongues of Flame" which contained photos of hardcore homosexual acts, Mr. Wojnarowicz told the *Washington Post* that people who complain about those photos of graphic, hardcore homosexual pornography are "a bunch of repressed five-year-olds."

Robert J. Samuelson, writing in *Newsweek*, said: "In 1987 only a quarter of the public attended opera or musical theater, reports pollster Louis Harris. But half of those with incomes exceeding \$50,000 attended." Thus the \$175,000,000 requested for the NEA next year will, if approved, be taken from the needs of the poor to entertain the rich. It could be that those who have complained that the Bush administration favors the rich over the needy have a valid point.

Congressman Pat Williams (D-MT), chairman of the House sub-committee that oversees the agency's re-authorization, speaking about funding for the NEA: "I knew once this box was open we were going to have trouble." To retain funding, the NEA must be reauthorized by Congress this year. Congressman Williams is strongly pushing for NEA funding.

Congressmen and Senators have been supplied with some photos taken from the Mapplethorpe, Serrano and Wojnarowicz exhibits. Most of the lawmakers were not aware of what tax dollars were funding.

The addresses to contact your Congressman and Senators: House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515 and U.S. Senate, Washington, DC 20510. The phone number is 202-224-3121.

Christians & Society TODAY

July 1990

A supplement for local bulletins and newsletters

Congressman Williams says those who oppose NEA porn are 'evangelical cuckoos'

Congressman Pat Williams (D-MT), chairman of the House Committee with oversight of the National Endowment for the Arts, recently called those who oppose taxpayer funding of pornography and anti-Christian art by the NEA "right-wing evangelical cuckoos."

The NEA is a government agency funded by tax dollars. The NEA has come under criticism during the last year for helping support pornographic and anti-Christian "art" with tax money. Williams strongly defends the NEA's use of tax dollars to support such "art" and has worked closely with the NEA and the arts community to secure continued funding for such projects. The NEA currently receives \$171,000,000 yearly in tax money.

Sources in Washington believe that Williams is attacking those opposing tax funding of pornography and anti-Christian bigotry in an effort to divert attention away from the misuse of tax dollars by the NEA.

A few of the "works of art" the NEA has used tax money to support and which Congressman Williams approves the use of tax money for include Andres Serrano's photo of Christ on a cross submerged in Serrano's urine, entitled Pi-- Christ; Robert Mapplethorpe's explicit homosexual photographs; the San Francisco Lesbian and

Gay Film Festival; Lesbian Minnie Bruce Pratt's homoerotic writings; and the explicit homosexual photographs of David Wojnarowicz.

When porn movie star Annie Sprinkle gave a live porn performance at New York's NEA supported Kitchen Theater, she told her audience: "Usually I get paid a lot of money for this, but tonight it's government-funded!"

When NEA Chairman John Frohn-mayer told Williams the NEA would continue to use tax dollars to support similar "works of art" in the future, Williams applauded him, saying: "It shows real determination that the NEA not be used as a censorship agency."

Williams told Knight-Ridder News Service: "If we can convince the members of the House and Senate that the issue is not funding of pornographic art, but Big Brother censorship, then I win." He warned, however, that if the discussion centers on the pornography, "I lose."

Williams' derisive comments about "right-wing evangelical cuckoos" were made at an official hearing in Washington, D.C.

Congressman Williams address: House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515. His phone number is 202-225-3211 and his fax number 202-225-1257.

Paper fires journalists for involvement in pro-life movement

Two Iowa journalists have been fired for their involvement in the pro-life movement. The Rutherford Institute, a non-profit legal defense organization specializing in religious liberty cases, is helping the journalists file religious discrimination complaints.

The *Fairfield Ledger*, a daily newspaper in Fairfield, Iowa, fired general assignment reporter Terri Lambertsen and news editor John Kennedy. The two were dismissed for meeting at their church with other pro-life activists and helping form a group called Southeast Iowa Pro-Lifers.

Ledger Publisher Byron Kimble and Editor Jan Nierling claim that Lambertsen and Kennedy violated the newspaper's policy on

outside activities and threatened its reputation for objective reporting on the abortion issue. But Lambertsen and Kennedy say their activities spring from their Christian convictions and that the newspaper forced them to choose between their livelihood and their sincere personal and private religious beliefs.

Lambertsen and Kennedy are members of a church that teaches that Christians have a moral duty to oppose abortion.

Rutherford Institute President John Whitehead said he respects a newspaper's desire to guard its reputation. But, he said, "no employer, in the news industry or elsewhere, can claim a veto power over the free speech, free association, and religious freedom rights of its employees. To hold otherwise would be unconstitutional, un-American and dangerous to democracy."

Lambertsen and Kennedy are seeking

employment. Readers are also urged to write letters of support. The address is: John W. Kennedy, 1501 Woodside Circle, Fairfield, Iowa 52556, phone 515-472-8543. Although neither asked AFA to mention it, some financial support would help as they search for other work. *Evangelical Press*

Doctors say let babies die

It is often better to let extremely small premature babies die—despite fears of lawsuits or public outcry, say Stanford University researchers David K. Stevenson and Ernie W.D. Young in the *May American Journal of Diseases of Children*. Life-saving efforts cost an average of \$158,800 per infant, and it's likely the babies will suffer lifelong health problems, say the researchers. It is more cost-effective, they say, to address "the root causes of prematurity—lack of prenatal care, poor nutrition in pregnant women, homelessness, and drug or alcohol addiction." *USA TODAY, 5/16/90*

Porn Awareness Week

Pornography Awareness Week 1990 will be observed October 28 through November 4. PAW is an annual event and serves to raise public awareness to the problem of pornography in local communities all over the country.

Many groups across the nation will be participating in the White Ribbon Campaign Against Pornography (WRAP 1990). Morality in Media estimates that over 5 million people participated in all 50 states in 1989. WRAP has proven to be a very successful way of bringing entire communities together to oppose pornography. The white ribbon is used to symbolize the war against pornography and obscenity.

Many people continue to be victims of pornography through rape, incest and child molestation. Also many men are victims as well through an addiction to pornography.

American Family Association strongly urges participation in WRAP 1990. For a complete WRAP packet of "how to" information, including how to get local government officials involved, how to get a proclamation from your mayor or governor, etc., send \$5 to Morality In Media, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10115 or call (212) 870-3222 and ask for Patty McEntee.

A Petition to Congress to Stop Tax Funding of Pornographic, Anti-Christian 'Works of Art' by the National Endowment for the Arts

We, the undersigned, oppose the use of tax dollars to help fund pornographic, anti-Christian "works of art" by the National Endowment for the Arts, a federal agency supported by taxes. Specific examples of NEA funded art include, but are not limited to, a photo by Andres Serrano of Christ on the cross submerged in Serrano's own urine entitled "P— Christ", a photo by David Wojnarowicz of Christ depicted as a drug addict with a needle in his arm, and explicit, graphic photos of homosexual sex by Robert Mapplethorpe and David Wojnarowicz.

When Congressman Pat Williams (D-MT) asked NEA Chairman John Frohnmaier if the NEA would continue using tax dollars to fund such "art"

in the future, Mr. Frohnmayer responded: "I would say yes." Congressman Williams praised Mr. Frohnmayer for his positive answer, saying: "It shows real determination that the NEA not be used as a censorship agency."

The refusal of government to fund such pornographic, anti-Christian "works of art" is not censorship. The artists are still free to produce their "works of art", but let them compete in the marketplace. Tax dollars should not be used to fund such "works of art".

Since the NEA says it will continue to use tax dollars to fund such pornographic and anti-Christian "works of art" in the future, we ask that you vote against all funding for the NEA.

NAME**ADDRESS**

CITY

STATE/ZIP

This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There is no handwriting or other markings on the paper.

Make copies of this petition and distribute among your friends, church members, Sunday School class, etc. Run the petition as an ad in your local paper. When complete, mail this petition to your Congressman at U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515.

123 Congressmen vote to support NEA on \$1.6 million funding of obscene art

In an important test vote on the NEA, on July 26 the House voted to reduce the amount of funding to the District of Columbia by \$1,600,000. The University of D.C. had proposed to spend that amount to buy a "work of art" by Judy Chicago. The "work of art", entitled "The Dinner Party: A Symbol of Our Heritage", consists of a triangle-shaped banquet table (some 140 feet in total length) set with 39 places, one for each of the "great women" of the past. The "work of art" has 39 plates, each containing simply a sculpture of a vagina to represent the woman selected to honor!

AR - Beryl Anthony
CA - Glenn Anderson
CA - Jim Bates
CA - Anthony C. Bellenson
CA - Howard Berman
CA - Douglas H. Bosco
CA - Barbara Boxer
CA - George E. Brown, Jr.
CA - Tom Campbell
CA - Ronald Dellums
CA - Julian Dixon
CA - Mervyn Dymally
CA - Don Edwards
CA - Victor Fazio
CA - Augustus F. Hawkins
CA - Tom Lantos
CA - Mel Levine
CA - Jerry Lewis
CA - Matthew Martinez
CA - Robert T. Matsui
CA - George Miller
CA - Norman Mineta
CA - Nancy Pelosi
CA - Edward Roybal
CA - Fortney (Pete) Stark
CA - Henry A. Waxman
CO - Patricia Schroeder
CO - David E. Skaggs
CT - Sam Gejdenson
CT - Barbara B. Kennelly
FL - Dante Fascell
FL - Harry A. Johnston
FL - William Lehman
GA - John Lewis
IA - Neal Smith
IL - Cardiss Collins
IL - Lane Evans
IL - Charles A. Hayes
IL - Gus Savage
IL - Sidney Yates
IN - Andrew Jacobs, Jr.

IN - Jim Jontz
IN - Frank McCloskey
KY - Romano L. Mazzoli
LA - Lindy Boggs
MA - Chester Atkins
MA - Silvio Conte
MA - Barney Frank
MA - Joseph Kennedy II
MA - Edward J. Markey
MA - Nicholas Mavroules
MA - Gerry E. Studds
MD - Benjamin L. Cardin
MD - Steny Hoyer
MD - Kweisi Mfume
MD - Constance Morella
MI - David E. Bonior
MI - Bob Carr
MI - John Conyers, Jr.
MI - George W. Crockett
MI - William D. Ford
MI - Dennis M. Hertel
MI - Dale E. Kildee
MI - Sander Levin
MI - Howard Wolpe
MN - Bill Frenzel
MN - James L. Oberstar
MN - Martin Sabo
MN - Gerry Sikorski
MN - Bruce Vento
MO - William Clay
MO - Richard A. Gephardt
MO - Alan Wheat
MS - Mike Espy
MT - Pat Williams
NC - Walter B. Jones
NJ - Bernard J. Dwyer
NJ - Dean Gallo
NJ - Donald M. Payne
NY - Gary Ackerman
NY - Thomas J. Downey
NY - Eliot L. Engel

Congressman Pat Williams of Montana said from the House floor that those who voted to reduce the funding by \$1.6 million would be voting against the NEA and those who voted to leave in the \$1.6 million would be voting for the NEA. The House approved cutting the funding by \$1,600,000. The Congressmen below voted to oppose the motion, and thus voted for the use of \$1.6 million dollars to purchase the "work of art".

The address: House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515.

NY - Hamilton Fish, Jr.
NY - Floyd H. Flake
NY - Benjamin Gilman II
NY - Bill Green
NY - John LaFalce
NY - Thomas J. Manton
NY - Matthew McHugh
NY - Robert J. Mrazek
NY - Major Owens
NY - Charles B. Rangel
NY - James H. Scheuer
NY - Charles Schumer
NY - Jose E. Serrano
NY - Louise Slaughter
NY - Stephen Solarz
NY - Eldolphus Towns
NY - Ted Weiss
OH - Mary Rose Oaker
OH - Donald J. Pease
OH - Thomas Sawyer
OH - Louis Stokes
OK - Michael Synar
OR - Les AuCoin
OR - Ron Wyden
PA - William J. Coyne
PA - Thomas Foglietta
PA - William H. Gray III
PA - Peter Kostmayer
PA - John P. Murtha
PA - Thomas J. Ridge
RI - Ronald K. Machtley
RI - Claudine Schneider
TN - Harold E. Ford
TX - Henry B. Gonzalez
TX - Solomon P. Ortiz
VA - James R. Olin
WA - Norman D. Dicks
WA - Jim McDermott
WA - Al Swift
WI - Robert Kastenmeier
WI - Jim Moody

obstacle in their quest to reform society into their image.

After a sobering look at what *Sneak Previews* movie critic Michael Medved (featured each week on The Public Broadcasting Network) calls the "overt and pervasive hostility to religion and religious values that has taken root in Hollywood," this hard-hitting, tell-it-like-it-is book concludes by calling Christians to prayer, fasting and action. "I want no part of a Christian message which does not call me to involvement, requires of me no sacrifice, takes from me no comfort, requires of me less than the best I have to give," Don Wildmon writes.

Highly recommended by numerous Christian leaders, *Don Wildmon: The Man the Networks Love to Hate* (Bristol Books) is available at Christian bookstores nationwide. It can also be ordered at most secular bookstores.

CBS upset with ratings

A CBS executive said his network has decided to seek a "better television measurement system" because A.C. Nielsen Co. was unable to explain the sudden decline in national television viewing it has reported.

Nielsen has reported that the number of homes using television has decreased more than four percent since mid-January. The drop has been described as unprecedented by network and Nielsen executives.

Nielsen told television-industry organizations, including the three television networks and large advertising agencies, that it found no flaws in its national ratings system to explain the decline.

David F. Poltrack, senior vice president of research for CBS, said his network's priority was to work with Nielsen to improve the system, but he added, "we are also willing to work with anyone else who can provide a better system."

Mr. Poltrack is upset because the drop is not what he wanted to find. CBS doesn't like the message, so they blame the messenger.

New York Times

Paper says educators

have new 10 Commandments

Below, according to the *Virginia Beach Beacon*, are the Ten Commandments as revised by public school educators.

1. Thou shalt worship human wisdom (stay tuned for latest developments) and that only shalt thou serve.

2. Thou shalt not hold any other viewpoint than moral relativism...for thine educators are jealous of their own opinions, and will visit the report cards of any who dare to believe otherwise.

3. Thou shalt not take the name of "tolerance" in vain, for thine educators will not hold him guiltless who believeth that sodomy is sin.

4. Remember the 11th and 12th grades to keep them holy. Ten years shalt thou labor

Electronic Media said, "that the Rev. Donald Wildmon of Tupelo, Miss., has had more impact on the electronic media in the 1980s than any other person outside the industry."

Nevertheless, Don Wildmon's riveting memoir does much more than graphically tell The American Family Association story. The book, which was featured this summer as a Conservative Book Club special selection, is designed to be perhaps the best tool ever written to help concerned Christians understand:

a. Why TV came to be such a negative influence on society.

b. How TV is being used to lead a generation away from God.

c. The responsibility individuals and churches must take in the struggle to secure quality, constructive television programming.

In plain, simple English Don Wildmon explains why those who control the entertainment business tend to view Christians as the enemy and Christianity as the one major

Congress votes to continue NEA funding for pornographic, anti-Christian art

Congressmen and Senators recently voted to continue using tax dollars to fund pornographic and anti-Christian art. The House voted against an amendment offered by Rep. Dana Rohrabacher which would have prohibited the use of tax dollars by the National Endowment for the Arts to fund such "art." And the Senate voted down a similar amendment offered by Sen. Jesse Helms.

The new action removes even the weak restrictions that Congress placed on the NEA last year and left the NEA with no restrictions on the kind of art they can support with tax dollars.

Rep. Ron Marlenee (R-MT) said the action by the House "allows the junkies to continue to peddle their depraved sadistic wares with impunity."

Rep. Robert Walker (R-PA) tried to get permission to let his House colleagues see examples of Robert Mapplethorpe's "art" which taxes have supported, but he was not allowed to show the pornographic photographs on the House floor, the very photographs the House voted to continue funding. Rep. Pat Williams (D-MT) and Rep. Tom Coleman (R-MO) led the fight opposing the Rohrabacher amendment and to continue government funding for pornography and anti-Christian bigotry. Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-UT) led the battle opposing Sen. Helms' amendment in the Senate.

The amendments by Rohrabacher and Helms would have prohibited the NEA from funding child pornography, obscenity and indecency, attacks on religion, racism and bigotry, desecration of the flag, or using an aborted fetus in a work of art.

Congress did pass a resolution favored by Williams, Coleman and Hatch. The new law changes nothing about what the NEA can and cannot fund. The new law requires that any artist who uses an NEA grant to produce a "work of art" found obscene by a court would, if the NEA requested, have to return his grant. The law means that the artist would first have to be prosecuted and found guilty and would have to exhaust all his appeals before the NEA would even consider asking for a refund of his grant. The new law will not stop the NEA from funding a single offensive "exhibit" such as they have funded in the past—Mapplethorpe, Serrano, etc.

"Voters should not be confused when their Congressman or Senator tells them he voted to stop the NEA from funding obscenity," said Donald E. Wildmon, executive director of AFA. "The new law does not stop the NEA from funding obscenity, it only offers a means by which the NEA can ask for the grant to be returned. The law allows the NEA to continue to use tax dollars to fund pornography which is not found to be legally obscene and anti-Christian bigotry. If voters are told otherwise, they are not being told the truth."

And while Congress was approving the continued use of tax dollars to support pornography and anti-Christian bigotry, misuse of tax money by the NEA continued. The November issue of *Spy Magazine* reported that the National Endowment for the Arts gave Donald Baechler a grant for \$15,000 last year. Baechler is an established artist who makes a six digit income. What did Baechler do with the \$15,000 in tax money granted him by the NEA? According to *Spy*, Baechler said, "I paid about a quarter of my taxes with my NEA grant."

Using money from a National Endowment for the Arts grant, the Brooklyn Museum recently opened "The Play of the Unmentionable." What did our tax dollars go to support? The following: a small photograph of a teenage boy, sitting in a chair with his zipper down and his penis exposed; a painting of a man urinating in someone's mouth; graphic depictions from 18th century Japan showing explicit intercourse; a photo of a nude man with a nude woman holding his aroused genitalia in her hand; a photo of a nude woman bending over

to make oral contact with the genitalia of a nude man; a photo of a man and woman having intercourse, with another nude man masturbating; a photo of a nude man with aroused genitalia, kneeling over a nude woman whose hands, legs and feet are bound.

In July, the NEA helped fund the first National Gay & Lesbian Theatre Festival at the Alice B. Theatre in Seattle. The Theatre Festival was part of the Goodwill Arts Festival. "It was a coup for them (NEA) to approve our festival," said Susan Finque, associate artistic director of the Alice B. "The NEA granted the Goodwill Arts Festival \$700,000 and we received \$10,000." The Alice B. Theatre calls itself "A Gay and Lesbian Theatre For All People."

And, according to *Newswatch*, the NEA granted \$35,000 to Alternative Media Information Center for its project "Deep Dish TV." *Newswatch* said that Deep Dish, according to an NEA staffer, is "Fidel Castro's propaganda arm in the United States."

The Los Angeles Contemporary Exhibitions, Inc. (LACE) received \$85,000 from the NEA this year. The following review from the *Los Angeles Reader* (July 27, 1990) describes a performance by "Father Larry," supported by NEA funds: "The bleeding naked man leapt into the audience as the drag queen speed-metal band backing him thrashed to disjointed climax. His prey were two longhairs seated among a stunned and leering crowd of three hundred art-nihilists. Father Larry threw the pair to the ground, tore their clothes off and used his considerable girth to immobilize and a large dildo to impale the two while orally copulating them. Some spectators loved it and it seemed a perverse orgy would break out, especially when a porn-queen felled a comely six-foot-plus transexual.

"This July 7th performance was not out of the quaalude/Village People heyday of the late seventies but was yet another provocative and lewd event at LACE, considered a cutting edge in the downtown art vortex. It's surprising to see in these overcautious and reactionary times that a gallery such as LACE, dependent upon more than \$150,000 a year in local and NEA funding, is daring enough to host such 'balls-out' events.

"Father Larry's insolent endeavors have literally upended the alternative art milieu. Combine explicit and deliberately sickening public exploits, an unhealthy obsession with the McMartin child molestation case, scores of his fellow artists, and an unabashed eco-fascist agenda, and you have the gory gospel according to Father Larry. Some want him stopped, others clamor for even more grandiose expressions from the pompous sexual provocateur."

According to the *New York City Tribune*, a recent study has shown how those who approve the grants at the NEA take care of each other through a pork-barrel of potentially illegal politics. The study of 85,000 grants awarded by the National Endowment for the Arts reveals a pattern of financial corruption and cronyism.

The article stated that NEA staff and panelists have been guilty of conflict-of-interest in awarding grants to their friends, business partners and themselves. Now, new evidence, some of it obtained under the Freedom of Information act, reveals more behind-the-scenes details.

Two-thirds of those who serve on NEA peer panels work for the same museums, orchestras, theaters and other arts groups that receive the grants. A study of 730 NEA panelists in 1988 reveals that 130 served on panels that gave their own organizations NEA grants.

Funding for the live sex performances of Annie Sprinkle at the Kitchen Theater, for instance, was approved by Barbara Tsumagari, a former staff member of the NEA. In 1986 Tsumagari left the NEA to become director of the Kitchen Theater at double her salary. With Tsumagari as director, the Kitchen's grants from the NEA jumped

from \$158,200 to \$324,400. Fifty percent of her present salary is paid with taxpayers' money. The NEA denied that any of their funds were used to fund the Annie Sprinkle performance, but research by *The Washington Times* showed otherwise. The Kitchen Theater has refused access to their records which could substantiate the NEA claim.

Karen Finley, who appears nude on stage smeared with chocolate and screams, "God is dead," has been the recipient of several NEA grants. It has been revealed that Sprinkle's business partner Jerry Hunt was a member of the NEA panel that approved a \$25,000 grant for Finley's performance at the Kitchen Theater.

The NEA helped fund the Southeastern Center for Contemporary Art for an exhibition of Andres Serrano's *P--- Christ, P--- God, and P--- Pope*. The panelist who approved the exhibit and subsequently authored the catalog (at NEA expense) was an NEA consultant and an NEA grant recipient.

Hilton Kramer, former NEA consultant and editor of *The New Criterion*, says, "The very least that can be said of the NEA system is

that it is very much a buddy system. You give me a grant, I give you a grant...professionals jockey among themselves (about) how it works."

Another study reveals that half of the NEA reviewers sitting on six separate panels that recommended grants for museums, theaters and orchestras were administrators or trustees of organizations approved for grants by their own panels.

Heinz Poll, director of the Ohio Chamber Ballet, sat on an NEA panel which approved \$60,900 for the ballet directed by Heinz Poll. Theater artist Robbie MacCauley sat on an inter-arts panel that approved a \$12,000 grant to the Kitchen Theater that would produce a work by Robbie MacCauley.

Some of the members of the president's special commission to investigate the funding policies of the NEA were directors of large agencies that receive substantial block grants from the NEA. That panel recommended that the NEA continue with business as usual, with a few minor cosmetic changes. And Congressmen Williams and Coleman, along with Senator Hatch, agreed and were able to put their recommendations into law.

How the House voted on the Rohrabacher amendment

The Congressmen listed below voted to continue using government tax dollars to fund pornographic and anti-Christian art. They voted against an amendment offered by Rep. Dana Rohrabacher which would have prohibited the use of tax dollars by the National Endowment for the Arts to fund such "art."

Because some Congressmen will try to confuse the issue, should you write your Congressman be sure to ask him or her if he or she

voted against the Rohrabacher amendment and to request a yes or no answer. If the Congressman voted against the Rohrabacher amendment, he or she voted against prohibiting taxes being used to fund anti-Christian, pornographic "art." Congressmen listed below voted against the Rohrabacher amendment. Congressmen not listed either voted for the Rohrabacher amendment or did not vote.

The address is House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515.

AR - Bill Alexander	FL - Lawrence J. Smith	ME - Joseph Brennan	NY - Sherwood Boehlert	PA - Thomas Foglietta
AR - Beryl Anthony	GA - Charles F. Hatcher	ME - Olympia J. Snowe	NY - Thomas J. Downey	PA - Joseph M. Gaydos
AZ - Jim Kolbe	GA - Ben Jones	MI - David E. Bonior	NY - Eliot L. Engel	PA - William F. Goodling
AZ - John J. Rhodes III	GA - John Lewis	MI - William Broomfield	NY - Hamilton Fish, Jr.	PA - William H. Gray III
AZ - Morris K. Udall	HI - Patricia Saiki	MI - Bob Carr	NY - Floyd H. Flake	PA - Paul E. Kanjorski
CA - Glenn Anderson	IA - Fred Grandy	MI - John Conyers, Jr.	NY - Benjamin Gilman II	PA - Peter Kostmayer
CA - Jim Bates	IA - Jim Leach	MI - George W. Crockett	NY - Bill Green	PA - Joseph McDade
CA - Anthony C. Beilenson	IA - Dave Nagle	MI - Robert W. Davis	NY - George Hochbrueckner	PA - John P. Murtha
CA - Howard Berman	IA - Neal Smith	MI - John Dingell	NY - Frank Horton	PA - Thomas J. Ridge
CA - Douglas H. Bosco	IA - Thomas J. Tauke	MI - William D. Ford	NY - Amo Houghton	PA - Richard T. Schulze
CA - Barbara Boxer	ID - Richard H. Stallings	MI - Paul B. Henry	NY - John LaFalce	PA - Doug Walgren
CA - George E. Brown, Jr.	IL - Terry Bruce	MI - Dennis M. Hertel	NY - Norman Lent	RI - Ronald K. Machtley
CA - Tom Campbell	IL - Cardiss Collins	MI - Dale E. Kildee	NY - Nita M. Lowey	RI - Claudine Schneider
CA - Gary Condit	IL - Richard J. Durbin	MI - Sander Levin	NY - Thomas J. Manton	SC - Butler Derrick
CA - Christopher Cox	IL - Lane Evans	MI - Carl D. Pursell	NY - David O'B. Martin	SD - Tim Johnson
CA - Ronald Dellums	IL - Charles A. Hayes	MI - Bob Traxler	NY - Raymond J. McGrath	TN - Jim Cooper
CA - Julian Dixon	IL - Robert Michel	MI - Howard Wolpe	NY - Matthew McHugh	TN - Bart Gordon
CA - David Dreier	IL - John E. Porter	MN - Bill Frenzel	NY - Michael R. McNulty	TX - Michael Andrews
CA - Mervyn Dymally	IL - Dan Rostenkowski	MN - James L. Oberstar	NY - Susan Molinari	TX - Jack Brooks
CA - Don Edwards	IL - Marty A. Russo	MN - Martin Sabo	NY - Robert J. Mrazek	TX - John Bryant
CA - Victor Fazio	IL - Gus Savage	MN - Gerry Sikorski	NY - Henry J. Nowak	TX - Albert Bustamante
CA - Augustus F. Hawkins	IL - Sidney Yates	MN - Bruce Vento	NY - Major Owens	TX - Ronald Coleman
CA - Tom Lantos	IN - Lee H. Hamilton	MO - Jack Buechner	NY - Charles B. Rangel	TX - Martin Frost
CA - Richard Lehman	IN - Andrew Jacobs, Jr.	MO - William Clay	NY - James H. Scheuer	TX - Pete Geren
CA - Mel Levine	IN - Jim Jontz	MO - E. Thomas Coleman	NY - Charles Schumer	TX - Henry B. Gonzalez
CA - Jerry Lewis	IN - Frank McCloskey	MO - Richard A. Gephardt	NY - Jose' E. Serrano	TX - Solomon P. Ortiz
CA - Bill Lowery	IN - Philip R. Sharp	MO - Alan Wheat	NY - Louise Slaughter	TX - J.J. Pickle
CA - Matthew Martinez	KS - Dan Glickman	MS - Mike Espy	NY - Stephen Solarz	TX - Craig A. Washington
CA - Robert T. Matsui	KS - Jan Meyers	MT - Pat Williams	NY - Eldolphus Towns	UT - Wayne Owens
CA - George Miller	KS - Pat Roberts	NC - James McClure Clarke	NY - James T. Walsh	VA - Frederick Boucher
CA - Norman Mineta	KS - Jim Slattery	NC - Martin Lancaster	NY - Ted Weiss	VA - James R. Olin
CA - Leon P. Panetta	KS - Robert Whittaker	NC - J. Alex McMullan	OH - Dennis Eckart	VA - L.F. Payne
CA - Nancy Pelosi	KY - Romano L. Mazzoli	NC - Stephen Neal	OH - Edward F. Feighan	VT - Peter Smith
CA - Edward Roybal	KY - Carl C. Perkins	NC - David Price	OH - Tony P. Hall	WA - Rod Chandler
CA - Fortney (Pete) Stark	MA - Chester Atkins	NC - Charles Rose	OH - Marcy Kaptur	WA - Norman D. Dicks
CA - Esteban Torres	MA - Silvio Conte	ND - Byron L. Dorgan	OH - Thomas A. Luken	WA - Jim McDermott
CA - Henry A. Waxman	MA - Brian Donnelly	NE - Doug Bereuter	OH - Mary Rose Oaker	WA - John R. Miller
CO - Ben Nighthorse Campbell	MA - Joseph D. Early	NE - Peter Hoagland	OH - Donald J. Pease	WA - Sid Morsmon
CO - Patricia Schroeder	MA - Barney Frank	NJ - Bernard J. Dwyer	OH - Thomas Sawyer	WA - Al Swift
CO - David E. Skaggs	MA - Joseph Kennedy II	NJ - Dean Gallo	OH - Louis Stokes	WA - Jolene Unsoeld
CT - Sam Gejdenson	MA - Edward J. Markey	NJ - Frank J. Guanni	OH - James A. Traficant, Jr.	WI - Les Aspin
CT - Nancy Johnson	MA - Nicholas Mavroules	NJ - William J. Hughes	OK - Dave McCurdy	WI - Steven Gunderson
CT - Barbara B. Kennelly	MA - Joe Moakley	NJ - Donald M. Payne	OK - Michael Synar	WI - Robert Kastenmeier
CT - Christopher Shays	MA - Richard E. Neal	NJ - Jim Saxton	OR - Les AuCoin	WI - Gerald D. Kleczka
DE - Thomas R. Carper	MA - Gerry E. Studds	NJ - Robert G. Torricelli	OR - Peter A. De Fazio	WI - Jim Moody
FL - Dante Fascell	MD - Benjamin L. Cardin	NM - Bill Richardson	OR - Ron Wyden	WI - David R. Obey
FL - Porter Goss	MD - Steny Hoyer	NM - Steven H. Schiff	PA - Robert A. Borski	WV - Alan Mollohan
FL - Harry A. Johnston	MD - Thomas McMillen	NM - Joe Skeen	PA - William F. Clinger, Jr.	WV - Harley O. Staggers, Jr.
FL - William Lehman	MD - Kweisi Mfume	NV - James H. Bilbray	PA - William J. Coyne	WV - Robert Wise
FL - Bill Nelson	MD - Constance Morella	NY - Gary Ackerman		

See Senate Vote, page 29

Congress continues funding pornographic, anti-Christian 'art' with tax dollars

By Congressman Dana Rohrabacher
California

If Members of Congress are telling constituents that they did not get a chance to vote on the Helms amendment to prohibit the funding of obscene and indecent art, they're intentionally misleading you.

In August, Senator Helms was able to attach his amendment to the Interior Appropriations bill. On September 13, 1989, I attempted to do the same thing in regard to the House Interior Appropriations bill. What happened?

- My proposal called for the House to instruct its conferees to adopt the precise language of the Helms amendment during their negotiations with Senate conferees on the bill.

- House rules dictate that only one motion of instruction can take place on each bill and the ranking minority Member on the authorizing committee will be recognized first.

- Congressman Regula (R-OH) offered a motion to instruct the conferees that ignored the Helms amendment and he refused to yield to me to offer the Helms language as an amendment.

- The "previous question" was moved in an attempt to cut off debate and prevent the Helms language from coming to the floor for a vote.

- 264 Members of Congress voted to pass the "previous question," thus preventing me from offering the Helms amendment on the floor of the House. 153 Members voted to defeat the previous question and thus supported the Helms amendment.

In short, the vote on the "previous question" was a vote on whether to block me from offering the Helms Amendment [Roll Call Number 229].

What can you do? Don't let your Congressman forget his vote. (See list of those who voted to continue funding below.) Send the American Family Association copies of letters you have received from you Congressman on this subject.

According to the Congressional Record, "[M]any Members did not want to cast a vote on the politically charged issue. So opponents of the Helms amendment, led by Yates, used a parliamentary maneuver to block it.

"Rohrabacher planned to offer a motion instructing House conferees to agree to the Helms amendment. House rules allow only one such "motion to instruct," so opponents of the Helms amendment stepped forward with a motion of their own to preclude Rohrabacher's, putting the emphasis instead on popular Senate crafted lobbying restrictions. They also made sure the motion would be offered by a member of the Interior Subcommittee—ranking Republican Ralph Regula of Ohio, who would receive precedence over Rohrabacher under House rules.

"Rohrabacher had no choice but to try and defeat a procedural vote on whether the House could consider the Regula motion."

The Congressmen listed below voted to "pass the previous question," thus voting to continue tax support for such pornographic "art works" as Andres Sorreno's "P--s Christ" and Robert Mapplethorpe's homosexual photographs. In fact, the NEA just recently granted a \$10,000 tax-payer funded grant to support such "art works" for an exhibition in New York City. NEA Chairman John Frohn-mayer at first pulled the \$10,000 grant, but when pressure was applied by the members of the government funded art community, he caved in and sent the money. The exhibition funded by the NEA included the following:

- AIDS patient David Wojnarowicz writes, in the exhibition catalog, "At least in my ungoverned imagination I can f... somebody without a rubber or I can, in the privacy of my own skull, douse (Senator) Helms with a bucket of gasoline and set his putrid a... on fire or throw (Congressman) William Dannemeyer off the Empire State Building."

- Writing about Cardinal John O'Conner, he says, "This fat cannibal from that house of walking swastikas up on Fifth Avenue should lose his church tax-exempt status and pay retroactive taxes from the last couple centuries. Shut down our clinics and we will shut down your church."

- One of the pieces of "art" in the exhibition was a bust of Jesus in drag, with a crown of thorns on His head, make-up around the eyes and having breasts.

The art community, which includes a strong element of radical homosexuals, has vowed to coerce Congress to continue providing tax dollars to support their "works of art."

Below are listed the Congressmen who voted to continue using your tax dollars to fund pornographic, anti-Christian "works of art." A strong personal letter from you objecting to his support for tax payer-funded art would help. The address is: House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515.

AL - Ben Erdreich(D), Tom Beville(D), Claude Harris(D).

AR - Bill Alexander(D), Beryl Anthony(D).

AZ - Morris K. Udall(D), John J. Rhodes III(R), Jim Kolbe(R).

CA - Henry A. Waxman(D), Edward Roybal(D), Leon P. Panetta(D), George Miller(D), Norman Mineta(D), Matthew Martinez(D), Robert T. Matsui(D), Mel Levine(D), Augustus F. Hawkins(D), Victor Fazio(D), Don Edwards(D), Ronald Dellums(D), Barbara Boxer(D), George E. Brown, Jr.(D), Howard Berman(D), Douglas H. Bosco(D), Esteban Torres(D), Fortney (Pete) Stark(D), Tom Lantos(D), Richard Lehman(D), Mervyn Dymally(D), Nancy Pelosi(D), Jim Bates(D), Anthony C. Beilenson(D), William M. Thomas(R), Bill Lowery(R), Al McCandless(R), Jerry Lewis(R), Tom Campbell(R).

CO - David E. Skaggs(D), Ben Nighthorse Campbell(D).

CT - Bruce A. Morrison(D), Barbara B. Kennelly(D), Sam Gejdenson(D), Christopher Shays(R), Nancy Johnson(R).

DE - Thomas R. Carper(D).

FL - Lawrence J. Smith(D), Bill Nelson(D), Harry A. Johnston(D), William Lehman(D), Sam Gibbons(D), Dante Fascell(D), Porter Goss(R).

GA - Robert Lindsay Thomas(D), J. Roy Rowland(D), Richard Ray(D), John Lewis(D), Charles F. Hatcher(D), George Darden(D), Ben Jones(D).

HI - Daniel K. Akaka(D), Patricia Saiki(R).

IA - Neal Smith(D), Dave Nagle(D), Jim Leach(R), Jim Lightfoot(R), Fred Grandy(R).

ID - Richard H. Stallings(D).

IL - Sidney Yates(D), Dan Rostenkowski(D), Marty A. Russo(D), Jerry F. Costello(D), Frank Annunzio(D), Glenn Poshard(D), Lane Evans(D), Richard J. Durbin(D), Cardiss Collins(D), Terry Bruce(D), Gus Savage(D), William O. Lipinski(D), Charles A. Hayes(D), Edward R. Madigan(R), John E. Porter(R), George E. Sangmeister(D).

IN - Peter J. Visclosky(D), Philip R. Sharp(D), Frank McCloskey(D), Lee H. Hamilton(D), Jim Jontz(D).

KS - Jim Slattery(D), Dan Glickman(D), Jan Meyers(R).

KY - William H. Natcher(D), Romano L. Mazzoli(D), Carl C. Perkins(D), Harold Rogers(R), Larry J. Hopkins(R).

LA - Lindy Boggs(D), Richard Baker(R).

MA - Joe Moakley(D), Edward J. Markey(D), Nicholas Mavroules(D), Joseph D. Early(D), Richard E. Neal(D), Chester Atkins(D), Gerry E.

Studds(D), Joseph Kennedy II(D), Barney Frank(D), Silvio Conte(R).
 MD - Benjamin L. Cardin(D), Beverly Byron(D), Kweisi Mfume(D), Thomas McMillen(D), Steay Hoyer(D), Constance Morella(R).
 ME - Joseph Brennan(D).
 MI - Bob Traxler(D), Sander Levin(D), Dale E. Kildee(D), Dennis M. Hertel(D), William D. Ford(D), John Dingell(D), Bob Carr(D), David E. Bonior(D), Howard Wolpe(D), George W. Crockett(D), Paul B. Henry(R).
 MN - Bruce Vento(D), Gerry Sikorski(D), Martin Sabo(D), Timothy J. Penny(D), James L. Oberstar(D), Bill Frenzel(R).
 MO - Harold L. Volkmer(D), William Clay(D), Alan Wheat(D), Richard A. Gephardt(D), E. Thomas Coleman(R), Jack Buechner(R).
 MS - Jamie Whitten(D), Mike Espy(D).
 MT - Pat Williams(D).
 NC - Charles Rose(D), Stephen Neal(D), David Price(D), Martin Lancaster(D).
 ND - Byron L. Dorgan(D).
 NE - Virginia Smith(R), Doug Bereuter(R), Peter Hoagland(D).
 NJ - Robert G. Torricelli(D), Donald M. Payne(D), Robert A. Roe(D), Frank Pallone, Jr.(D), Frank J. Guarini(D), William Hughes(D), Bernard J. Dwyer(D), Jim Saxton(R), Dean Gallo(R).
 NM - Bill Richardson(D).
 NV - James H. Bilbray(D).

NY - Ted Weiss(D), James H. Scheuer(D), Charles Schumer(D), Charles B. Rangel(D), Major Owens(D), Robert J. Mrazek(D), Henry J. Nowak(D), Matthew McHugh(D), Thomas J. Manton(D), John LaFalce(D), Thomas J. Downey(D), Eliot L. Engel(D), Eldolphus Towns(D), Stephen Solarz(D), Louise Slaughter(D), George Hochbrueckner(D), Gary Ackerman(D), Floyd H. Flake(D), James T. Walsh(R), Raymond J. McGrath(R), Norman Lent(R), L. William Paxon(R), Frank Horton(R), Benjamin Gilman II(R).

Hamilton Fish, Jr.(R), Nita M. Lowey(D), Amory Houghton(R), Bill Green(R), Sherwood Boehlert(R).
 OH - Louis Stokes(D), Mary Rose Oakar(D), Thomas A. Luken(D), Tony P. Hall(D), Thomas Sawyer(D), Donald J. Pease(D), Marcy Kaptur(D), Edward F. Feighan(D), Dennis Eckart(D), Ralph Regula(R), Willis D. Gradison(R), Michael Oxley(R).
 OK - Wes Watkins(D), Michael Synar(D), Dave McCurdy(D).
 OR - Les AuCoin(D), Ron Wyden(D), Peter A. De Fazio(D).
 PA - Doug Walgren(D), John P. Murtha(D), Peter Kostmayer(D), William H. Gray III(D), Thomas Foglietta(D), William J. Coyne(D), Robert A. Borski(D), Paul E. Kanjorski(D), Joseph McDade(R), Lawrence Coughlin(R), William F. Clinger, Jr.(R).
 RI - Ronald K. Machtley(R), Claudine Schneider(R).
 SC - Robin Tallon(D), John Spratt(D).
 SD - Tim Johnson(D).
 TN - Harold E. Ford(D), Jim Cooper(D), Bob Clement(D), Bart Gordon(D).
 TX - J.J. Pickle(D), Michael Andrews(D), Martin Frost(D), Henry B. Gonzalez(D), Ronald Coleman(D), Jack Brooks(D), John Bryant(D), Charles Stenholm(D), E. (KiKa) de la Garza(D), Albert Bustamante(D), Bill Sarpalius(D), Greg H. Laughlin(D).
 UT - Wayne Owens(D).
 VA - Norman Sisisky(D), L.F. Payne(D), Frederick Boucher(D), Owen B. Pickett(D), James R. Olin(D), Herbert H. Bateman(R).
 WA - Jim McDermott(D), Norman D. Dicks(D), Jolene Unsoeld(D), Al Swift(D), Sid Morrison(R), John R. Miller(R).
 WI - David R. Obey(D), Robert Kastenmeier(D), Gerald D. Kleczka(D), Les Aspin(D), Jim Moody(D), Steven Gunderson(R).
 WV - Nick Joe Rahall(D), Allan Mollohan(D), Robert Wise(D), Harley O. Staggers, Jr.(D).

TV stations censor pro-life

ads in governor's race

Recently pro-abortion candidate Doug Wilder won the governor's race in Virginia by about 5,000 votes, less than one-half of one percent of the votes. Many credit Wilder's victory with the fact that television stations in Virginia refused to run ads showing the pro-abortion stance of Wilder.

Nine television stations, including every network affiliate in the Washington, DC, area, refused to run the ads by the National Right to Life Committee PAC and its affiliate, the Virginia Society for Human Life PAC. However, many of these same stations ran ads for the pro-abortion National Abortion Rights Action League.

Dr. David O'Steen, executive director of the National Right to Life Committee, said, "It's nothing short of television censorship. These stations have a double standard—one for NARAL and one for pro-life groups. And because the race was so close, it clearly affected the outcome of the election."

Taxpayers support campus porn

Some things set Ellen Murray's Human Sexual Deviance class apart from other sociology classes at Wright State University in Ohio. One is her practice of showing her students hard-core sex films like *Deep Throat*.

Then there are Murray's homework assignments, which send her students into some of the sleaziest establishments in the Miami Valley.

When it comes to sexually explicit books, magazines and movies, Murray thinks to the

Congress refuses to charge homosexual congressman who admits to hiring a homosexual prostitute

Barney Frank, a Congressman from Massachusetts, recently admitted that he had hired a homosexual prostitute and had sexual relations with him, according to reports in the *Washington Times*. Hardly any publicity concerning this incident has appeared in the national news media.

Frank acknowledged that he did pay for and commit sodomy at his townhouse apartment on April 1, 1985, and, reports indicate, apparently at many other times thereafter, with a person known by him to be a male prostitute.

The homosexual prostitute moved into Frank's house, where Frank paid him a salary and regularly engaged in homosexual acts with the man. In addition, the man continued to offer his services to other males, running a homosexual house of prostitution from Congressman Frank's house with Frank's knowledge.

Frank knew that the homosexual prostitute had a previous record of running a homosexual house of prostitution before he employed him. Frank also wrote letters to a probation officer on his official congressional stationery to help the homosexual prostitute remain in the District of Columbia.

beat of a different drummer. While others decry pornography, she contends these publications and films are good for people.

And she never misses a chance to blast those who claim pornography is degrading to women. Murray says, "Child pornography, of course, is harmful. So are books,

Frank admitted that he failed to report to the Internal Revenue Service payments he made to the male prostitute, and likewise failed to withhold Social Security tax as required by law.

Mr. Frank says he chose the homosexual prostitute from an announcement in a homosexual newspaper which advertised "hot bottom plus large endowment." In the initial telephone conversation, he asked whether the prostitute was "versatile," i.e., "willing to assume either a male or female sex role."

Mr. Frank admits that he solicited for purposes of prostitution; that he violated the tax laws; and that he sent letters on his official stationery so that he could retain the services of this male prostitute.

Congressman William Dannemeyer has begun efforts to get Mr. Frank expelled from Congress, but Congress thus far has refused to act on Congressman Dannemeyer's request.

To let your Congressman know how you feel about this issue, call and/or write your Congressman. The address is House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515 and the phone number is 202-224-3121.

magazines and films which promote violence. Porn films don't create sexual deviates. The deviations are already there. The only thing obscene about adult bookstores are the prices."

Taxpayers are paying her to teach her pro-pornography attitudes to her students.

in 1988 and 1989.

Assistant District Attorney Ralph Ramirez said the 58-year-old man had assaulted the three girls at least 36 times. Mojica had struck up a friendship with the 9-year-old girl at a Waukesha ice skating rink and had later showed her a pornographic videotape at his home, where he was accused of assaulting her and the 11-year-old. Mojica, a native of Puerto Rico, blamed his actions on an addiction to pornography.

In a switch from usual courtroom procedure, Mojica himself lectured on the permissiveness of American society and the evils of pornography. He expressed remorse for what he had done and said he could be of value to society again.

The Milwaukee Journal, 10/30/89

TV critic: Look for nudity on TV in future

TV critic Tom Shales, who writes for the liberal *Washington Post*, says we can expect more trash on television. Shales says that "Fox Television's *Married...with Children*, the racy and foul-mouthed sitcom, will be the most imitated series of the next couple of years. All the networks will try similarly raunchy shows of their own. Rear nudity could become fairly common, and so may bare breasts in late-night TV and the last hour of prime time."

Washington Post, 12/30/89

ACLU sues over art work in high school

The American Civil Liberties Union has filed suit against the Schuylerville, New York, school district seeking the removal of a large painting of the crucifixion of Jesus that has been on display in the high school auditorium since 1965.

The suit was filed on behalf of Robert and Susan Joki who are raising their two children in the Jewish faith and who said they experience "discomfort" when using the auditorium. Mrs. Joki is Jewish but her husband is not. They have one child currently in school.

The school's lawyer, Kathryn McCary, said the painting was donated by a student. She said the school district officials consider it an example of student art work and not an endorsement of any religion.

The ACLU said, "The prominent display of the painting is likely to be perceived by adherents of Christianity as an endorsement of their religious views and by nonadherents as a disapproval of their independent religious choice."

Last year, the National Endowment for the Arts honored Andres Serrano with \$15,000 in tax funds for his photograph of Jesus hanging on a cross submerged in

Serrano's own urine. The ACLU did not complain about the separation of church and state.

Religious News Service, November

Taxes support anti-Christian art

Following a protest by the "artistic community", director of the National Endowment of the Arts John Frohnmayer gave a \$10,000 federal grant for an art exhibit in New York. The tax money helped pay for the exhibit which contained an angry homosexual denouncement of Catholic clergyman John Cardinal O'Connor of New York, calling him a "fat cannibal" and a "creep in black skirts" while St. Patrick's Cathedral was deemed as "that house of walking swastikas on Fifth Avenue." *New York Post* writer Ray Kerrison wrote of these words of hate, "Not since the Louis Farrakhan described Judaism as a 'gutter religion' has any faith been so vilely assailed in public life as this art show's attack on the Catholic Church." The same essay also fantasizes about dousing conservative politicians with gasoline and setting them on fire.

The exhibit was supported by the National Endowment for the Arts, which will receive \$168 million tax funds this year.

National Review, 12/31/89

Abortion second leading killer in Wisconsin

Abortion is the second leading cause of death in Wisconsin. Each day 47 unborn babies are killed in the Dairy State. Only heart disease claims more victims.

Cancer, which claims 26 victims a day, kills only about half the number of people as abortion. Strokes take nine lives and motor vehicle accidents claim two.

Of the causes of death—heart disease, cancer, strokes, motor vehicle accidents and abortion—only abortion is 100% preventable.

Wisconsin Right to Life

Pollster says Christians 'comfortable'

Pollster George Gallup, Jr., says many "born again" Americans are practicing a religion that is comfortable and titillating, but not challenging. "That's the central weakness of Christianity in this country today," Gallup said in an interview published in *Christianity Today*. "There is a lack of awareness of Christian doctrines of atonement, redemption and grace."

He said his surveys show that the strongest believers are those who believe because they feel God has intervened in their lives, that

there are miracles, that there are meaningful coincidences, that there is a pattern to their lives, that they've had miraculous prayers answered. He said the church must say, "Here's how you build upon these experiences."

Gallup says one danger is that Americans tend to separate church participation from their own personal relationship with God. "We have a faith illiteracy problem. People are not solidly grounded in their faith, and therefore vulnerable to hedonism, materialism and the new spiritual movements that glorify the self. Evangelicals are in a good position to help."

Evangelical Press

Lady says boycott is having effect

The boycott against Mennen and Clorox, called for by Christian Leaders for Responsible Television because the two companies are top sponsors of sex, violence and profanity, is working, says a supporter in Natchez, Mississippi. She wrote, "In reference to the Clorox boycott, I wanted you to know that I work at a local Wal-Mart store. I talked to the Department Manager of Chemicals in our store and he told me Clorox sales have dropped off drastically. It has been one of our best selling items, so he should know. So be sure, the boycott is starting to have an affect. Thank all who care enough to make a difference."

Film triggers attack

A scene from the film "Mississippi Burning" may have triggered a racially motivated attack on a 14-year-old Kenosha, Wisconsin, boy, a prosecutor told jurors during the trial of one alleged attacker.

Assistant District Attorney Brian Holmgren said during the trial that a group of 10 to 20 black youths discussed the movie shortly before the attack. Fourteen-year-old Gregory Reddick was beaten and kicked into unconsciousness by a group of youths. Nine alleged assailants, ages 14 to 20, were charged with aggravated battery and theft.

In the movie, a black boy is shown kneeling in prayer before being beaten by Klu Klux Klan members. The prosecutor said that a 20-year-old member of the group of attackers, Todd Mitchell, "hyped up" the others to attack Reddick.

Reddick is white, while his alleged attackers are all black.

Racine, Wisconsin, Journal Times, 11/29/89

Christians and Society TODAY is published by American Family Association to be reproduced for use as a supplemental insert for church newsletters and bulletins and for use by other concerned organizations.

p.m. on Friday. Registration for the conference is \$35.

For a brochure, write Conference, AFA, P.O. Drawer 2440, Cupelo, MS 38803.

Tax dollars support anti-Christian art

The National Endowment for the Arts, a tax-payer funded organization, has provided money to help finance an art exhibition in New York entitled "Degenerate with a capital D". The exhibit is the work of artist Shawn Eichman.

The exhibit contained posters that depict Senator Jesse Helms' nailed to a cross, Dread Scott's "Proper Way to Display a U.S. Flag" which encourages gallery-goers to walk all over the flag, and a china cabinet that contained a coat hanger placed next to a vial containing fetal tissue.

Tax dollars helped pay for the exhibition. Eichman said that the government and churches "don't have any right to censor art." The artist feels that if taxpayers don't help pay artists, that is censorship.

New York Post, 12/9/89

Doctor arrested on child porn charge

A doctor who works at a Jackson, Mississippi, abortion clinic was arrested on charges he mailed videotapes of minors involved in sexually explicit conduct to a person in Madison, Wisconsin.

Dr. Milan D. Chepko, 44, who works at the New Woman Medical Center, allegedly sent the material under an assumed name to Donald R. Salata in Wisconsin. Salata was arrested on charges of child abuse and possession of child pornography.

The tapes contained scenes of minors as young as four engaged in sexual conduct with adult males and females.

Jackson, Mississippi, Clarion-Ledger

AFA's efforts help close porn row

The Orlando Metropolitan Bureau of Investigation, a drug and vice task force, has closed down all of the city's adult porno bookstores.

The action was prompted by complaints from the American Family Association of Florida. The Florida AFA also sent MBI complaints on 67 video stores in the Orlando area that they had surveyed and believed to be violating state regulations regarding porn movies.

Charisma & Christian Life, January 1990

Government funds help support homosexual films

Organizers of the annual San Francisco Lesbian and Gay Film Festival have applied to the National Endowment for the Arts for a \$20,000 grant for their 1990 showing, and they expect to get the request. The NEA is supported by tax dollars, and the grant, if approved, will come from public tax funds.

Frameline, the group that sponsors the festival, has won preliminary approval for the grant. The NEA gave the homosexual group \$10,000 in tax dollars for their 1989 festival and \$6,300 in tax funds for their 1988 festival. The festivals include films with homosexual themes as well as some porn homoerotic scenes and are held in two theatres in San Francisco's Castro section.

The Washington Blade, 12/1/89

AJC files brief in suit over graduation prayer

The American Jewish Congress has filed a brief in support of a complaint against the use of prayers during a graduation ceremony.

Deborah Weisman complained about the inclusion of an invocation and benediction during her graduation ceremonies from Nathan Bishop Middle School in Providence, Rhode Island. Such prayers have been routinely offered at high schools in Rhode Island.

In its brief, the American Jewish Congress says that inclusion of prayers at such ceremonies gives the "unmistakable impression of government endorsement of religion, which is forbidden by the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment. The school administration does not have a First Amendment right to engage in religious speech. Prayer at a public high school is state sponsored speech."

Christian News, November/December

Operation Rescue update

The Operation Rescue movement continues its mission of saving preborn infants from death despite the fact that its leader Randall Terry has been in a Georgia prison for trespassing.

According to Operation Rescue they have had over 450 confirmed cases of babies being saved from death by abortion. And at a December 9 rescue at a Los Angeles area abortion mill pro-lifers won over the head receptionist who then joined rescuers in counseling other women not to abort their babies. Also the owner of that same mill had an outstanding warrant for her arrest for operating without a license.

Finally, some national media (e.g., *AFA Journal*, October, 1989) are exposing the police brutality against Operation Rescue participants. On Monday, January 8 the *Los Angeles Times* ran a front page story on the brutality problem. Also, according to Operation Rescue, NBC's THE TODAY SHOW was scheduled to air (in January) a segment about the police brutality.

The Operation Rescue video-tape is an excellent, well produced video that explains the mission and purpose of Operation Rescue. It features interviews with Dr. James Dobson, Dr. D. James Kennedy, Randall Terry and many other Christian and Jewish leaders. "I think it's a video that everyone in the pro-life movement—whatever your per-

sonal feelings about Operation Rescue—should see," said AFA executive director Don Wildmon. "It has a powerful, powerful message."

AFA Journal readers can order the video for \$19.95 plus \$3 for shipping from Operation Rescue Video, 1840 S. Elena, #103, Redondo Beach, CA 90277.

Serrano continues anti-Christian art

Remember Andres Serrano? He is the "artist" who was given a \$15,000 award by the National Endowment for the Arts. His winning "art" included a photo of Christ hanging on a cross submerged in urine and entitled "Pi-- Christ". His \$15,000 award came from tax funds. Serrano said at the time that he was making a statement against television preachers.

Serrano has a new exhibit out. He has one series he calls Bloodscapes that look like sunsets and which contain five abstracted shots of semen. Another photo entitled Madonna and Child II is a close-up seen through a bath of urine.

The centerpiece of his exhibit is a blowup called White Christ. It shows a white plaster head of Christ submerged in a mixture of water and milk. Serrano says he doesn't mind if the liquid in the picture gets misread as semen. Serrano said he made it in response to those who objected to his previous photo of Christ submerged in urine.

Village Voice, 12/19/89

Students' request to organize Bible club is refused

Students at Westside High School in Omaha have been denied permission to organize a Christian Bible Club at the school. Principal James Findley refused the group their request on the grounds that it violated the separation of church and state.

However, Principal Findley and Westside High School has allowed other groups to form clubs of mutual interest. For instance, they allow clubs devoted to chess, photography, drama, social work and community promotion. Each of the clubs have access to the high school bulletin board and to the public address system. Their activities are noted in the school yearbook.

The youth wanting to organize a Bible Club did not ask for a faculty sponsor. They said they would provide their own acceptable monitor.

Westside allows for open discussion of ideas, such as abortion and homosexuality, in their classrooms. There is room for Young Democrats, even Young Communists, in public schools. But not for Young Christians.

The First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution says, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise hereof.."

Tax dollars continue to fund anti-Christian, pornographic, pro-homosexual 'art' works

Editor's note: The following article contains material which some readers will find offensive. This article was reviewed by staff members at AFA, much explicit language was removed, and the decision was made that the content should remain in the article so that readers would know precisely how their tax dollars are being spent.

The National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) is a federal agency which provides taxpayer funded grants, many of which support pornographic, anti-Christian "works of art". The NEA makes the grants available to members of the "arts" community and they are free to spend it without accountability to anyone for how it is spent.

The NEA has a current budget of \$171,000,000, which comes from your tax dollars. The list below is a sampling of "art" projects which the NEA has supported with funding.

- The NEA honored Andres Serrano with \$15,000 in tax dollars in competition sponsored by the NEA. Serrano's entry included a photo of Christ on a cross submerged in Serrano's urine. He named the "work of art" Pi- Christ.
- The NEA spent \$30,000 to fund the homosexual photographs of Robert Mapplethorpe. The exhibit included these photos: "Honey"—a girl about four years old with a sad, scared face, the focus of the camera is on the child's genitals below her uplifted dress; "Mr. 10 1/2"—a man crouched over, his sexual organ on a block; "Jesse McBride"—a shot of a nude boy, about eight, proudly displaying his sexual organ; one man urinating into another man's mouth; and one man with his fist and forearm up another man's rectum. *Time* magazine said that, had this not been supported by the NEA, the exhibitor could have been charged with distribution of child pornography.
- In Phoenix, Arizona, the NEA gave MARS Artspace \$20,000 to help fund an exhibit featuring Cactus Jack's "Pi- Helms," a photo of Senator Jesse Helms in a large jar of what appeared to be urine.
- The NEA gave a grant to the Sunshine Press to publish sexually explicit homosexual stories and a similar grant to the Panjandrum Press for the same purpose.
- In January 1990, three lesbian writers were awarded NEA Creative Writing Fellowships to fund their homoerotic writing.
- In New York, NEA funds helped pay for an exhibit which included booklets depicting one lesbian inserting an object into another, a photo album of group sex, a collection of crude drawings including one titled "Jesus Sucks" in which a woman is breast-feeding an infant. Another photo is of a man asking, "Is it a sin to f--- a priest?"
- With NEA help, PADD (Political Art Documentation Distribution) and Carnival Knowledge co-sponsored entertainment including a number called "Tapping and Talking Dirty" in which two women casually chat about various oral and deviant sexual behaviors.
- The organizers of the annual San Francisco Lesbian and Gay Film Festival expect to be given \$20,000 by the NEA for their 1990 showing. The NEA gave them \$10,000 in 1989 and \$6,300 in 1988. The film festival features films for and about homosexual lifestyles, sexual activities and practices.
- In Houston, the NEA helped fund the exhibit "At Home with Themselves: Gay and Lesbian Couples" at the Houston Center for Photography.
- The NEA helped fund the exhibit "Degenerate with a capital D" in New York. The exhibit included posters that depict Senator Jesse Helms nailed to a cross (Exhibitor Shawn Eichman said several of the posters were sent to Helms' home.); Dread Scott's "Proper Way to Display a U.S. Flag" which encouraged gallery-goers to walk on the flag.
- In New York, the NEA provided \$10,000 to help pay for an art exhibit in which angry homosexuals denounced Catholic clergyman John Cardinal O'Connor, calling him a "fat cannibal" and a "creep in

black skirts" while St. Patrick's Cathedral was promoted as the "house of walking swastikas on Fifth Avenue."

- NEA helped fund an exhibition including a bust of Jesus with a crown of thorns on His head, long eye lashes, ruby red lips and female breasts.

- One of the latest exhibits funded with \$25,000 of tax funds was entitled "Annie Sprinkle: Post-Porn Modernist". Annie Sprinkle is a porn movie star who has appeared in more than 150 X-rated, pornographic movies.

The art exhibit included Annie Sprinkle's live performances at the Kitchen theater in New York and consisted of, among other things, the "artist" spreading her legs and inviting the audience to inspect her vagina and cervix with the aid of a flashlight. As part of her federally-funded art exhibit, Annie did the following:

- Masturbated with various "sex toys" until she supposedly experienced orgasms.

- Invoked the spirits of "ancient, sacred temple prostitutes" into the theater. "I like to evoke spirits," she told the crowd. "They love having sex."

- Performed oral sex on herself using various "sex toys," and invited the audience to massage her breasts and photograph her scantily clad body. At the beginning of her tax-dollar funded exhibit she did a skit, called "100 Blow Jobs".

At one point during Annie Sprinkle's "art exhibit"—after inducing the first orgasm with her favorite "sex toys"—she smiles and says to the audience, "Usually I get paid a lot of money for this, but tonight it's government-funded!"

Annie's main writer and only actor in the tax-dollar funded exhibit was Annie Sprinkle. A "Post-Porn Modernist Manifesto," printed in the show's program and signed by more than 20 people, states, "We embrace our genitals as part, not separate, from our spirits. We utilize sexually explicit words, pictures and performances to communicate our ideas and emotions."

The NEA makes the grants from their \$171,000,000 taxpayer funded budget without any accountability from those who receive it. NEA spokesman Josh Dare said that the NEA does not plan to set into place any accountability procedures in providing grants. "We have no power to suggest anything to them (artists) or to exercise any control over what they do with the money we've given them," Dare said.

Last year Senator Jesse Helms introduced an amendment in the Senate which would have prohibited the NEA from using your tax dollars to support such exhibits as those listed above. The Senate passed it overwhelmingly. However, when the amendment was brought up in the House of Representatives by Congressman Dana Rohrabacher (R-CA), Congressman Ralph Regula (R-OH) offered a motion which refused to allow the House to vote on the Rohrabacher amendment. By using a tactical parliamentary move, Rep. Regula refused to yield the floor to Rep. Rohrabacher and thus kept the amendment from being voted on. Rep. Regula's action succeeded in its intent, that of allowing the NEA to continue to receive their millions of tax dollars to fund such "works of art".

On the following page are 262 Congressmen who voted for Regula's motion, thus supporting the NEA in its abuse and misuse of tax dollars. We urge you to contact your Senators and Congressmen and ask that they vote against funding for the NEA. Their direct phone number is listed. Their address is: House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515 and U.S. Senate, Washington, DC 20510.

We urge you to contact your Senators and Congressman and ask that they stop all funds to the NEA. It would help if you would make copies of this article and distribute them among your friends, Sunday School class members, church members, etc.

Congressmen listed below voted to continue funding the National Endowment for the Arts after learning how the NEA spends tax dollars.

Alabama

Ben Erdreich, 202-225-4921
Tom Beville, 202-225-4876
Claude Harris, 202-225-2665

Arizona

Morris K. Udall, 202-225-4065
John J. Rhodes III, 202-225-2635
Jim Kolbe, 202-225-2542

Arkansas

Bill Alexander, 202-225-4076
Beryl Anthony, 202-225-3772

California

Henry A. Waxman, 202-225-3976
Edward Roybal, 202-225-6235
Leon P. Panetta, 202-225-2861
George Miller, 202-225-2095
Norman Mineta, 202-225-2631
Matthew Martinez, 202-225-5464
Robert T. Matsui, 202-225-7136
Mel Levine, 202-225-6451
Augustus F. Hawkins, 202-225-2201
Victor Fazio, 202-225-5716
Don Edwards, 202-225-3072
Ronald Dellums, 202-225-2661
Barbara Boxer, 202-225-5161
George E. Brown, Jr., 202-225-6161
Howard Berman, 202-225-4695
Douglas H. Bosco, 202-225-3311
Esteban Torres, 202-225-5256
Fortney (Pete) Stark, 202-225-5065
Tom Lantos, 202-225-3531
Richard Lehman, 202-225-4540
Mervyn Dymally, 202-225-5425
Nancy Pelosi, 202-225-4965
Jim Bates, 202-225-5452
Anthony C. Beilenson, 202-225-5911
William M. Thomas, 202-225-2915
Bill Lowery, 202-225-3201
Al McCandless, 202-225-5330
Jerry Lewis, 202-225-5861
Tom Campbell, 202-225-5411
Colorado
David E. Skaggs, 202-225-2161
Ben Nighthorse Campbell, 202-225-4761

Connecticut

Bruce A. Morrison, 202-225-3661
Barbara B. Kennelly, 202-225-2265
Sam Gejdenson, 202-225-2076
Christopher Shays, 202-225-5541
Nancy Johnson, 202-225-4476

Delaware

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Florida

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Bill Nelson, 202-225-3671
Harry A. Johnston, 202-225-3001
William Lehman, 202-225-4211
Sam Gibbons, 202-225-3376
Dante Fascell, 202-225-4506
Porter Goss, 202-225-2536

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J. Roy Rowland, 202-225-6531

Richard Ray, 202-225-5901

John Lewis, 202-225-3801
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George Darden, 202-225-2931
Ben Jones, 202-225-4272

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Frank Annunzio, 202-225-6661
Glenn Poshard, 202-225-5201
Lane Evans, 202-225-5905
Richard J. Durbin, 202-225-5271
Cardiss Collins, 202-225-5006
Terry Bruce, 202-225-5001
Gus Savage, 202-225-0773
William O. Lipinski, 202-225-5701
Charles A. Hayes, 202-225-4372
Edward R. Madigan, 202-225-2371
John E. Porter, 202-225-4835
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Frank McCloskey, 202-225-4636
Lee H. Hamilton, 202-225-5315
Jim Jontz, 202-225-5037

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Jim Lightfoot, 202-225-3806
Fred Grandy, 202-225-5476

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Romano L. Mazzoli, 202-225-5401
Carl C. Perkins, 202-225-4935
Harold Rogers, 202-225-4601
Larry J. Hopkins, 202-225-4706

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Richard Baker, 202-225-3901

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Congressmen...

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John Bryant, 202-225-2231
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Greg H. Laughlin, 202-225-2831

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Jolene Unsoeld, 202-225-3536
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Harley O. Staggers, Jr., 202-225-4431

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Robert Kastenmeier, 202-225-2906
Gerald D. Kleczka, 202-225-4572
Les Aspin, 202-225-3031
Jim Moody, 202-225-3571
Steven Gunderson, 202-225-5506

It's time...

Continued from page 2

accident and Rachael was seriously injured. While she is recovering, they do need your

prayers.)

One of the reasons that 7-Eleven decided in 1986 to pull the porn magazines from all their corporately owned stores—and one reason that over 20,000 stores have pulled the porn magazines in the past three years—is picketing.

Included in this issue of *AFA Journal* is information on how to successfully organize a picket in your community. If you need more information, just write and ask for our publication "A Guide To What One Person Can Do About Pornography." We will send you a copy free if you desire to organize a picket in your community. It answers every question you need answered about picketing.

Let us join together and send a powerful message to the pornographers that we will not be intimidated. That we are not scared. That we are Christians and other concerned individuals who will stand unashamedly against the blight of pornography which harms our children and our families.

Remember the hymn: "Once to every man and nation, comes the moment to decide, in the strife of truth with falsehood, for the good or evil side." Pornography is evil. Now is the time for Christians and all concerned people to join hands across this great country of ours and oppose this evil. Let us use our freedoms now so that we will not lose them.

I'm counting on you.
Don

K mart...

Continued from page 1

looked for a company which would join them in the suit against AFA of Florida and David, and found K mart willing to do so through its subsidiary, Waldenbooks. K mart has a financial interest in the suit, since Waldenbooks sells porn magazines in its stores.

When faced with the decision to choose between being a friend to the family or cooperating with the pornography industry, K mart elected to go with the pornographers.

This is the first time in history that a legitimate retail store has joined with pornographers in suing an individual opposing pornography. No other legitimate retail business joined the pornographers in their suit. Only K mart agreed to participate.

K mart is expected to argue that the suit was filed by Waldenbooks and not K mart. However, K mart owns Waldenbooks, and Waldenbooks cannot take any action—including the suit against David and AFA of Florida—without permission from K mart. Waldenbooks can withdraw from the suit against David and AFA of Florida at any time K mart tells it to do so.

Concerned individuals are urged to help inform others about K mart's action in joining the pornographers to sue those

Lear's group pushes for forced taxpayer funding of pornographic, anti-Christian 'art'

People for the American Way (PAW), a left-wing political organization founded by television producer Norman Lear with a grant from Playboy, says it will begin a national crusade to promote continued forced taxpayer funding of the National Endowment for the Arts, a government agency. And PAW says it will receive wide support from television and movie stars in its crusade.

Michael Hudson, western director for Lear's group, said his organization was mobilizing a crusade in defense of the NEA that would be comparable to its advertising blitz against Supreme Court nominee Robert Bork. Hudson said PAW's adversaries in this fight are the same "far right extremists"

as in the Bork battle.

"The campaign against artistic expression is being orchestrated by far right groups including Rev. Donald Wildmon's American Family Association," he said. "It is these right-wing organizations who are putting political pressure on Congress. These right-wing groups are sending millions of direct-mail letters charging members of Congress who support NEA with advocating pornography. They have touched off a flood of mail to Congress by citizens taken in by Religious Right propaganda," Hudson said.

He promised that People for the American Way's many entertainment industry supporters would be used in a lobbying network

to support their goal of forcing taxpayers to fund "works of art" by the NEA.

Examples of the kind of "works of art" which Lear and PAW want to force taxpayers to fund include Andres Serrano's "P— Christ" photo which showed Christ on a cross submerged in Serrano's own urine, the graphic homosexual exhibition of Robert Mapplethorpe, the live porn performance by porn star Annie Sprinkle, and the exhibit of David Wojnarowicz which included graphic, explicit homosexual acts as well as bestiality and the photo of Christ as a dope addict. The NEA gave \$15,000 to help support the exhibit at Illinois State University which included Wojnarowicz's photo of Jesus as a dope addict shown on this page.

Lear and PAW support the concept that taxpayers should be forced by Congress to help pay artists who produce these "works of art". The NEA currently receives \$171,000,000 per year. NEA's funding must be renewed by Congress every five years and 1990 is the year Congress must vote on whether to continue funding NEA.

You can write your Congressman at U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515 and your Senators at U.S. Senate, Washington, DC 20510.

ACLU wants to protect people who make obscene phone calls

Telephone companies have a new service available which allows you to see the number of the party who is calling you. The service would allow individuals to get the number of people who make threatening or obscene phone calls. "The real value of this service is for people who are the victims of annoying, harassing phone calls," said Kenneth Pitt, spokesman for Bell Atlantic.

However, the American Civil Liberties Union says that violates the rights of callers and wants the phone company to make it possible for those who make obscene calls to block the service.

USA Today

Boy rapes sister, says TV gave him idea

A 12-year-old boy who allegedly raped his 5-year-old stepsister told investigators he was acting out what he saw in a movie.

The boy was apparently switching the channels of a television set at his aunt's home when he saw some sort of sexual act. He told police that it looked like fun, so he assaulted the girl.

Police said they do not know what program the boy was watching. As far as



Jesus depicted as drug addict in tax-supported 'art' exhibit

News of Interest Sources

Sources cited for News of Interest items indicate sources of basic information only.



May 1990

Journal

of the American Family Association

**Special
Bonus Issue
Anti-Christian
Bias in America**

Attention Pastors

Christians & Society TO-DAY, pages 3 and 4, is designed to be reproduced as a supplement, bulletin insert or for newsletters.

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Larry Crain
Cal Thomas
Joseph Farah
Rabbi Yehuda Levin
Dr. Paul Vitz
Dr. Wayne House

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Copies of this issue are available at \$12.50 for 50 copies. Enclose check with order.

NEA continues funding anti-Christian art, pornography with tax dollars

Editor's note: Because of much misunderstanding concerning the funding of pornography and anti-Christian literature by the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), on March 28 Donald E. Wildmon sent the following fax to NEA Chairman John Frohnmayer and Congressman Pat Williams (D-MT).

"I invite you to debate the NEA issue with me on any live national

television program. I feel that the best interests of the American taxpayer would be served by such a debate. I await your response."

Wildmon asked for the public debate in order to clear up misunderstandings regarding NEA supported art. On April 12, Mr. Frohnmayer accepted. At press time, however, Congressman Williams had not responded to Mr. Wildmon's invitation.

The National Endowment for the Arts is a government agency supported by tax dollars. This year its budget is \$171,000,000. President Bush has requested \$175,000,000 for the NEA during the coming year. Its chairman says that to do what they really want to do they need \$300,000,000.

The fact that our government hands out millions of tax dollars is

Continued on page 13

President of K mart subsidiary denies his stores sell pornography

Waldenbooks President Harry Hoffman has publicly denied that his company sells pornography. Waldenbooks is owned by K mart.

In a letter to the editor of the Augusta, Georgia Chronicle on March 20, Hoffman wrote: "Re

Important! Call K mart and tell them you are joining the boycott. The toll free number is 1-800-63K-mart (1-800-635-6278).

the March 19 letter from Rev. Bill Rice 'Calls for boycott of pornography backers.' Waldenbooks does not sell pornography." Hoffman does not deny that the K mart owned stores sell magazines such as Playboy and Penthouse, but he does not consider such magazines pornography.

In his letter, he continued: "The real question is: Do Americans have the right to buy—and stores the right to sell—constitutionally-protected material? We believe they do.

"We (Waldenbooks and K mart) agreed to be one of the partners in the lawsuit against the American Family Association because it pitted us firmly and unequivocally against what we view as an attempted abridgement of

Continued on page 16

Circle K near bankruptcy, distributor pulls magazines in Florida

Circle K is near bankruptcy, according to the Wall Street Journal. In Florida, the distributor which supplies Circle K with magazines—including the porn publications—has stop supplying all magazines to Circle K. Reports place the number of stores affected at over 600. The magazines were pulled from all Circle K stores around Tampa and in other parts of the state. "When the porn magazines are pulled for any reason, it certainly helps in the battle against pornography," said Donald E. Wildmon, executive director of AFA.

According to the Wall Street Journal, Circle K's store operations are now being run by the company's new president, Robert Dearth, a former aide to the concern's largest stockholder, Cincinnati investor Carl Lindner, who owns 38% of Circle K's stock.

AFA is again asking that requests that Circle K discontinue selling the porn publications go to Mr. Lindner. Forbes 400 called Mr. Lindner a "strict Baptist". Kind letters requesting Mr. Lindner to pull the pornography might be beneficial should he assume control of the company. The address is: Chrm. Carl Lindner, Great American Communications Company, One East 4th Street, Cincinnati, OH 45202, phone 513-579-2177.

Individuals who desire to contact Circle K directly can do so by writing Pres. Robert Dearth, The Circle K Corporation, P.O. Box 52084, Phoenix, AZ 85072, phone 602-253-9600.

Continue boycotting Circle K until they pull the pornography.

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ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED



On ending the Clorox boycott, the battle to end NEA-funded porn, and anti-Christian bias in America

By Donald E. Wildmon, Executive Director

On the opposite page you will read that the Executive Committee voted to end the boycott against Clorox. Since the boycott was scheduled to run through July, I feel you deserve an explanation as to why it was ended three months early.

CLear-TV officials knew as early as last December that Clorox would probably seek a meeting and ask that the boycott end. The decision as to what the response should be was discussed in two meetings, one in January and one in March. The decision was not made quickly, nor was it an easy decision.

Clorox had asked for an end to the boycott on February 22, but CLear-TV declined. However, after the 10-member Executive Committee discussed the situation at length, it was felt it would be to CLear-TV's advantage to end the boycott effective April 26.

The thinking behind that decision was based on many factors. First was the fact that Clorox reduced the amount of sex, violence and profanity they helped sponsor by nearly two-thirds between spring and fall 1989. Next, Clorox acknowledged in writing that they had failed to put their policy into practice. Clorox also stated in a letter that they will strictly enforce their policy in the future. Another reason, and perhaps most important, is that taking such action will leave channels of communication open to other advertisers. The Executive Committee felt that that might prove to be an important move in influencing other advertisers in the future.

The question automatically pops up, "Will CLear-TV follow a similar procedure when calling for a one-year boycott of advertisers following the monitoring this spring?" I don't think so. The advertisers now know that CLear-TV can and will successfully promote a boycott, they are very familiar with CLear-TV, and they have received three letters telling them of CLear-TV's plans. CLear-TV is not unknown to the advertisers as it was when we began the Clorox and Mennen boycott, and that changes the complexion considerably.

CLear-TV has become an effective medium to change television. If we will all stick together in the future, you will be surprised how much we can accomplish.

We have received a few letters saying that we misled you on the vote by Congressmen and Senators concerning the NEA. I ask that you read carefully the lead article beginning on page 1, and then read carefully the article entitled "Congressmen try to defend pro-NEA vote" on page 15. Sometimes, politicians use a parliamentary procedure to avoid going on record as being in favor of or opposed to a given position. As the article on page 15 points out, the vote last fall was such a case.

The important part now is how your Congressman and Senators vote in the future. In mid-April we mailed to every Congressman and Senator photos taken from the "Tongues of Flame" exhibit catalog by David Wojnarowicz. The photos are so obscene, so explicit, so vulgar that I can not even describe them in this column.

Since the NEA has said they will continue to fund such "works of art" with your tax dollars in the future, that pretty well draws the line. A Congressman or Senator who votes to reauthorize the NEA, with all the information on the situation which they now have, will simply be voting to continue to spend your tax dollars to fund such filth. On page 12 is a petition concerning the NEA. I urge you to reproduce it and distribute it. Then mail it to your Congressman.

This is a bonus edition of the *AFA Journal*. Following page 16 is a special 24-page "Anti-Christian Bias in America" bonus. I hope you will save this issue and read it as time permits. The special bonus contains the presentations delivered at the Anti-Christian Bias in American conference which AFA sponsored in March. For many years we have been pointing out the anti-Christian bias by many in our society. It is an issue that the Christian community will be addressing in the next few years. And it is an issue you need to be informed about now.

Don

AFA needs office furniture, equipment

Additional office space will soon be completed at AFA headquarters. To use this space efficiently, AFA needs desks, chairs and tables, as well as additional office

equipment. If your company is remodeling and would like the tax advantage of donating old furniture or equipment to AFA, please call Bill Swindell at 601/844-5036.

Of fathers and children

By Tim Wildmon
AFA Associate Director

I have always been interested in the parallel between the parent-child relationship and God's relationship with us. His children. This parallel has been increasingly evident to me the last few months as my daughter, Wriley Hope, is now two years old.

Long before she had reached that age, my wife Alison and I decided that we would refer to this one year in Wriley's life as the "terrific twos." All we had ever heard about is the "terrible twos" and we—in our inexperience and ignorance—thought that the twos couldn't be that big a deal. However, we have since recanted the "terrific twos" statement and realized how very naive we were to expect the twos to be terrific.

This all came home to me after a five-minute experience in the convenience store with my Wriley. I must say that I suspect my daughter may be atypical. Whereas the normal aggressive child is a type A personality, Wriley Hope is a AAA. Alison and I have considered having her tested for whatever it is they test children for who behave as she does.

Anyway, the whole family drove to the convenience store, and Wriley—in a half-asking, half-demanding sort of way let it be known that she wanted to go in the store with me. We made our way through the door and toward the aisle to get some baby food for her nine-month-old brother Wesley. Wriley held my hand sweetly and behaved very well—until she saw what I call "candy row."

Immediately, she shook my hand loose and went for the candy. (At this point, I discovered that it is futile to try to talk with a child about the lust of the flesh or self control.) I quickly reasoned that I could go ahead and get the baby food and quickly get back to Wriley before any real damage was done.

But when I got to the baby food I could not find the banana baby food my wife—who was waiting in the car with Wesley—

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AFA is a Christian organization promoting the Biblical ethic of decency in American society with primary emphasis on TV and other media.

A Petition to Congress to Stop Tax Funding of Pornographic, Anti-Christian 'Works of Art' by the National Endowment for the Arts

We, the undersigned, oppose the use of tax dollars to help fund pornographic, anti-Christian "works of art" by the National Endowment for the Arts, a federal agency supported by taxes. Specific examples of NEA funded art include, but are not limited to, a photo by Andres Serrano of Christ on the cross submerged in Serrano's own urine entitled "P— Christ", a photo by David Wojnarowicz of Christ depicted as a drug addict with a needle in his arm, and explicit, graphic photos of homosexual sex by Robert Mapplethorpe and David Wojnarowicz.

When Congressman Pat Williams (D-MT) asked NEA Chairman John Frohnmyer if the NEA would continue using tax dollars to fund such "art"

in the future, Mr. Frohnmayer responded: "I would say yes." Congressman Williams praised Mr. Frohnmayer for his positive answer, saying: "It shows real determination that the NEA not be used as a censorship agency."

The refusal of government to fund such pornographic, anti-Christian "works of art" is not censorship. The artists are still free to produce their "works of art", but let them compete in the marketplace. Tax dollars should not be used to fund such "works of art".

Since the NEA says it will continue to use tax dollars to fund such pornographic and anti-Christian "works of art" in the future, we ask that you vote against all funding for the NEA.

STATE/ZIP

92040900682

Make copies of this petition and distribute among your friends, church members, Sunday School class, etc. Run the petition as an ad in your local paper. When complete, mail this petition to your Congressman at U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515.

The Annie Sprinkle shell game

By James F. Cooper, Editor
American Arts Quarterly

The national Endowment for the Arts is playing a shell game with the truth when it denies responsibility for awarding grants to Andres Serrano's "P—s Christ," Robert Mapplethorpe's homoerotic photographs and Annie Sprinkle's live-sex performances at the Kitchen Theater.

The NEA did fund these, as well as many anti-Christian, obscene and ugly works—while they rejected grant applications for religious and representational art.

Chairman John Frohnmayer advised his critics to look at the work of Serrano, Mapplethorpe and Sprinkle, before they condemned it. They have. When asked about these works during a *USA Today* interview, he admitted "I haven't seen these exhibitions and can't comment on them." The catalogs and videos from these exhibitions could be on his desk in five minutes.

The NEA awarded a flat grant of \$60,000 to the Kitchen Theater (Haleakala, Inc.) in 1989 for operating expenses. No restrictions were put on the allocation.

The New York State Council on the Arts (NYSCA), which received a flat annual grant of \$853,000 from the NEA, awarded \$146,200 to the Kitchen Theater for the year 1988-89. \$57,000 was allocated for production, services and artist expenses. The \$203,200 received from these two agencies (redoubled by matching grants), came with no restrictions on scheduled performances.

There is no documentation—nothing in the contracts of the Kitchen Theater, or any other records produced by these two agencies—to support claims that the NYSCA or NEA specified that the Annie Sprinkle live-sex performances were to be denied a portion of that \$203,000. (Other live-sex performances at the Kitchen were also funded by NEA and NYSCA).

Executive director of the Kitchen Theater, Barbara Tsumagari, when first interviewed, said a list of Kitchen programming was submitted to NYSCA, which "represented in fact what we were doing this year. The NYSCA could have easily chosen not to fund Annie Sprinkle" if they wanted.

NYSCA spokesman Jim Mulligan said "I can't say one way or the other" if the Sprinkle performance was specifically excluded from funding. (Requests for documentation have been called "censorship" by NYSCA.)

Annie Sprinkle, herself, announced while masturbating with sex toys in full view of the audience: "I usually get paid a lot of money for this, but tonight it's government funded."

For the NEA and the NYSCA to attack its critics, while denying

documentation to members of congress and the press to support their claims, is in the opinion of many of the 106 congressman who sent letters of protest to the NEA, a "moral outrage" and the height of "arrogance."

The chairman says only 25 out of 85,000 grants have raised objections. The truth is, thousands of these grants are objectionable—because of their obscene, anti-Judeo-Christian, anti-American, pro-Marxist, ugly and confrontational ideology.

Spokesmen talk much about the "creative" goals of the NEA, but the truth is, charges Congressman Mel Hancock (R-MO), "the NEA is in deliberate defiance of Congress and the American people for its obscene waste of taxpayers' funds" and NEA panelists "feathering their own nests and neglecting legitimate art projects."

At the April 4, 1990 House hearings on NEA reauthorization, Congressmen Dana Rohrabacher (R-CA), Bob McEwen (R-OH), William Dannemeyer (R-CA), Richard Armey (R-TX) and Wally Herger (R-CA) denounced the NEA for funding "pornography...and obscenity."

But the greatest outrage against the bewildered taxpayers who fund this junk, is the absence of beautiful and spiritual works the NEA refuses to fund. In the words of sculptor Frederick Hart (Washington's National Cathedral): "The flaw is not with a public that refuses to nourish the arts. Rather it is with a practice of art that refuses to nourish the public."

Taxpayers, indeed, all Americans, deserve better than they are getting from government-funded arts endowments. John Frohnmayer boasts the NEA has funded one million images, paintings, photographs during the last 24 years. Where are they? During all the heated debates over NEA funding, the chairman has neglected to show the American public ONE image that reflects the "excellence" the NEA is mandated to seek. We are prepared to produce hundreds, if not thousands, of ugly, objectionable artworks funded by the NEA.

It is the NEA that is guilty of censorship. The real issue is whether the American people are going to get a culture that will nourish their souls, or will they continue to be forced-fed the pornographic, ugly, troglodyte art that is slowly destroying the American style.

I believe the public is ready for a renaissance in American culture. Public-funded art could play a vital role in fulfilling John F. Kennedy's vision to seek "artistic excellence...that can nourish and sustain a rich cultural life...for all our citizens." But first the NEA must open up the review panels to those who seek excellence and beauty.

NEA...

Continued from page 1

not news. What is news is that the recipients of NEA funds are accountable to no one.

Just how are these tax dollars spent? Here are a few examples.

- Gave \$15,000 to Andres Serrano to honor him for his exhibit which included a photo of Christ on a cross submerged in Serrano's urine, entitled *Pi— Christ*.

- Gave \$30,000 to fund an exhibition of the homoerotic photographs of Robert Mapplethorpe. Much of Mapplethorpe's exhibit is too offensive to describe in this article. One photo, entitled "Honey", was of a little girl about four years old with a sad, scared face, but the focus of the camera is on

the child's genitals below her uplifted dress. Other photos included a man urinating in another man's mouth and a man with his fist and forearm up another man's rectum. *Time* magazine said that "...some of Mapplethorpe's work is so graphic that if authorities had chosen to do so, they could have prosecuted him for child pornography." A grand jury in Cincinnati recently indicted an arts center and its director on misdemeanor obscenity charges when the Mapplethorpe exhibit opened in that city.

- Gave \$60,000 to three lesbian writers to help fund their homoerotic writings about their lesbian lifestyle. One writer, Minnie Bruce Pratt, entered her poem "Crimes Against Nature" in her application. The poem reads in part: "For my methods, indecent and unnatural/of gratifying a de-

praved and perverted sexual instinct..."

- Gave Illinois State University \$15,000 to fund an exhibit of the photos and writings of David Wojnarowicz. It included a photo of Christ injecting drugs into his arm using a needle and a syringe, scenes of men performing perverted sex on each other, and scenes of men having sex with animals. Funded by tax dollars, Wojnarowicz wrote: "At least in my ungoverned imagination I can f— somebody without a ru—er or I can, in the privacy of my own skull, douse [Senator] Helms with a bucket of gasoline and set his putrid a— on fire or throw [Congressman] William Dannemeyer off the Empire State Building."

- Supported an exhibit at New York's Kitchen Theater of a live porn show by Annie Sprinkle, star of more than 150 X-

rated movies. At one point in her "exhibit", Ms. Sprinkle told her audience: "Usually I get paid a lot of money for this, but tonight it's government-funded!"

(For additional examples see the March issue of the *AFA Journal*.)

NEA Chairman John Frohnmayer was questioned about NEA funding of obscenity, which has always been declared illegal by the Supreme Court. In an interview in *USA Today*, Mr. Frohnmayer was asked: "The question was, do you consider obscene some of the more extreme pieces by Mapplethorpe and Serrano?"

He responded: "There were 120 photographs in the Mapplethorpe show. If you were to take four or five of those and say, 'Are these obscene?' the answer is probably yes. If you take the whole show...the answer is probably no. Because the Supreme Court requires that the item be taken as a whole."

In fact, the Supreme Court has never ruled that a collection of photographs must be taken as a whole when determining whether one or more is obscene.

On March 6, Chairman Frohnmayer told the Orange County, California *Register*: "What I'm saying in terms of the endowment is we are looking for artistic quality. And if a panel finds there is serious artistic intent and quality in a particular piece of work, then by definition that is not going to be obscene." Thus, because a panel found "serious artistic intent and quality" in the work of artists such as Mapplethorpe, Serrano, Annie Sprinkle and Wojnarowicz, the NEA gave taxpayer money to fund them.

Because of taxpayer funding of such art by the NEA, there have been many complaints over the years. In 1985 Congressmen Tom Delay (R-TX) and Dick Armey (R-TX) tried to cut \$10,000,000 from NEA appropriations. Their proposal was killed in committee, but observers thought the move would send a clear signal to the NEA. The NEA ignored the signal. Last year, under pressure from angry taxpayers because of the Serrano and Mapplethorpe exhibitions, Congress passed a law supposedly to prevent government funding for such exhibits.

The law was so weak that Rep. Sidney Yates (D-IL), who helped pass the law, said it did not prohibit taxpayer funding of even obscene artwork. Allan Parachini, staff writer of the *Los Angeles Times*, wrote that in a confrontation with Congressman Dana Rohrabacher (R-CA), Yates "repeatedly and emphatically...told Rohrabacher that 'obscene' arts projects in a variety of media could receive federal financial support if they had exemplary artistic or literary merit. Endowment sources, speaking on the condition they would not be named, said the wording appeared to be so vague that virtually no artistic subject matter would be taboo."

After the law was passed, recipients of government grants had to sign a pledge saying they would not create works which would violate the law. But the NEA gave the government-funded artists the green light to continue with business as usual. NEA spokeswoman Virginia Falck said to those receiving grants and signing pledges to honor the law: "Don't let this [the pledge not to do works violating the new law] intimidate you...Feel free to create as you wish." The NEA did not establish any procedure for checking up on the recipients to see if they complied with the new law, which expires September 30.

The NEA elected to simply ignore the law. Congressman Jamie Whitten (D-MS), who voted for the law, said he voted for the law because he felt the NEA would honor it. "I voted to strike all funds which were used for the pornographic language and pictures. We were assured it would not happen again. I am told they [NEA] have not lived up to such understanding."

Chairman Frohnmayer stated publicly that the NEA would continue to use tax dollars to support similar "works of art" in the future. Syndicated columnist James J. Kilpatrick, in his column on March 16, 1990, confirmed this. He wrote: "John Frohnmayer, chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts, was in Los Angeles for a public hearing on reauthorization of NEA funding. Among the spectators was Rep. Pat Williams, D-Mont. Everything was going smoothly (only friendly witnesses were on hand) when Williams asked a tough question. He asked if the NEA should permit grants for the creation of 'offensive' works of art."

"Frohnmayer tried to duck. Williams persisted. Finally Frohnmayer responded: 'I would say yes.' He would not approve a grant for anything whose sole purpose is to be offensive, but he willingly would give the taxpayers' money to an artist who created 'rough stuff'. As the hearing continued...Williams praised the chairman for his attitude: 'It shows real determination that the NEA not be used as a censorship agency.'"

Contrary to what Congressman Williams wants the American public to believe, the refusal of government to provide funding for an individual's First Amendment rights is not a violation of those First Amendment rights. The individual is free to produce any work of art he desires, but the First Amendment in no way mandates government to provide funding.

Reinforcing the fact that those who receive NEA grants are accountable to no one, NEA spokesman Josh Dare said: "We have no power to suggest anything to them [artists] or to exercise any control over what they do with the money we've given them." Using what has become typical NEA double-speak, Dare even

denied that the NEA funded the Wojnarowicz "Tongues of Flame" exhibit at the Illinois State earlier this year, which featured explicit and obscene homosexual photos, explaining: "Illinois State applied for a grant to support a retrospective of this particular artist's work. We approved the money for them. They are the ones providing money for Wojnarowicz (Tongues of Flame)." The NEA gave Illinois State \$15,000 in tax funds for the exhibit.

The *Rancho Santa Fe Times* in San Diego County, California, a consortium of five newspapers, reported on March 29 that "Endowment spokesman Josh Dare said that what has been enacted [the law passed by Congress last fall] will not change things much except to sensitize the minds of the panel judges."

Who has most benefitted from the millions of tax dollars the NEA has spent? The rich. Randy Fitzgerald, writing in the *Readers Digest*, said: "Government surveys have found that arts-related events are attended primarily by people in upper education and income groups—much as before the Endowment existed." Hiltor Kramer, former chief art critic for the *New York Times*, stated: "The Endowment has had absolutely no discernible effect on the creative side of art. The greatest benefit has been enjoyed by the administrative officers of the arts bureaucracy."

Pulitzer Prize-winning literary critic Jonathan Yardley told the *Washington Post*: "Much of it is reverse Robin Hood discrimination. Money is taken from middle and lower income taxpayers and turned over to the enterprises that largely benefit the well-to-do."

Why have artists been singled out for special funding by Congress? Why hasn't Congress established a National Endowment for Carpenters, a National Endowment for Truck Drivers, or a National Endowment for Sales Clerks? These people contribute as much to society as do the "artists" who receive tax dollars supporting such trash as the examples listed. Why? The arts community has powerful friends in high places, such as Congressmen Williams and Yates, and therein lies the difference.

The NEA says that the government should not be involved in determining what is and what is not worthy art, that the artist should be free to create as he desires. I agree. And the only way to keep government out of the business of determining worthy art for government to get out of the business of funding art. When government funds some works of art and not others, the government is acting as a censor—something which the First Amendment clearly prohibits.

Stopping government funding of the NEA will not prohibit artists from producing works of art they desire. Their art must stand on its own merit in the marketplace, as

should do in a capitalistic society. And taxpayers will not be required to fund private works for private gain.

Concerning President Bush's request for NEA funding of \$175,000,000 next year, Congressman Williams, aggressively pushing to keep tax dollars flowing to the NEA, told Knight-Ridder News Service: "If we can convince the members of the House and Senate that the issue is not funding of pornographic art, but Big Brother censorship, then I win." He warned, however, that if the discussion centered on sexual images, "I lose."

Congressman Williams is right about that statement. He is fully aware that the government is currently involved in "Big Brother censorship" by funding NEA approved artists while refusing to fund non-NEA approved artists. He has turned the argument on its head in order to secure tax funding for NEA-approved artists.

However, the truth about "Big Brother censorship" is exactly the opposite. As long as government funds some artists, based on the merit of their work, and refuses to fund others based on the merit of their work, that is Big Brother censorship.

The NEA and artists' groups say that allowing the government to determine what art is worthy of funding and what art is not amounts to censorship. But that is precisely what the NEA has been doing for 25 years—deciding what art the government considers worthy of funding at taxpayer expense and what art it does not.

By the artists' own logic, the NEA has been acting as a government censor for the past 25 years and the only way to get the government completely out of the "censorship" business—as they have termed it—is to abolish the NEA. Stopping government funding of the NEA will not prohibit artists from producing any works of art they desire, but it will stop the "censorship" of artists the NEA's elitist arts panels have refused to approve for 25 years.

It is obvious that if the government is going to get involved in funding art, it will by necessity have to use a standard to pick and choose among applicants. So the real issue in subsidizing art is not a matter of whether a standard will be used, but whose standard—the taxpayer's or the NEA's elitist panels of so-called art experts?

As Chairman Frohnmayer has said, "If a [NEA] panel finds there is serious artistic intent and quality in a particular piece of work, then by definition that [work] is not going to be obscene." According to Chairman Frohnmayer's own words, the NEA does not consider the explicit, graphic, depraved photos which were included in "Tongues of Flame" obscene, regardless of what taxpayers say. The NEA's art panel said they had artistic

merit and deserved government funding.

The NEA has been insulated from mainstream American values for so long that it has become captive to a morally decadent minority which ridicules and mocks decent, moral taxpayers while demanding taxpayer subsidies.

Before you vote in the upcoming Congressional and Senatorial races, find out if

your Congressman and Senators voted to reauthorize the NEA and thus continue funding such "works of art".

We suggest you write your Congressman and Senators and urge them to vote to end all funding of the NEA. The address: House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515 and U.S. Senate, Washington, DC 20510. The phone number is 202-224-3121.

Congressmen try to defend pro-NEA vote

Editor's Note: Both the previous article and the following are by Don Wildmon.

Some Congressmen and Senators are defending their vote on the motion last year concerning the National Endowment for the Arts. Because it is not possible to respond to letters from every Congressman and Senator, I have elected to use this article to give the information concerning that vote.

The amendment which Congress passed reads: "None of the funds authorized to be appropriated for the National Endowment for the Arts or the National Endowment for the Humanities may be used to promote, disseminate, or produce materials which in the judgment of the National Endowment for the Arts or National Endowment for the Humanities may be considered obscene, including but not limited to, depictions of sadomasochism, homo-eroticism, the sexual exploitation of children, or individuals engaged in sex acts and which, when taken as a whole, do not have serious literary, artistic, political or scientific value." (Emphases added.)

Notice the wording which appears in boldface carefully. It is left to the NEA and the NEA alone to determine if a work of art is obscene. The law passed by Congress changed absolutely nothing. The final determination on whether or not to fund an exhibit has always been left up to the NEA. The amendment did nothing to correct the original problem. It simply left the fox to guard the chicken house.

The amendment which Congress passed did not address, and thus left open for taxpayer funding "works of art" of indecent materials, materials which denigrate the objects or beliefs of Christians and other religious bodies, and materials which denigrate, debase, or revile a person, group, or class of citizens on the basis of race, creed, sex, handicap, age or religion.

The amendment which passed was much weaker than that offered by Senator Jesse Helms. In fact, two leading liberal publications, *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*, both call the amendment which passed weaker. The *Post* and *Times*, incidentally, are strong supporters of the NEA and opposed the Helms amendment.

On March 28, 1990, *The Washington Post* wrote, "Last summer's arts conflict led

to an attempt by Sen. Jesse Helms to impose severe restrictions on the content of federally funded art. Helms' legislative language was eventually watered down to a provision that prevents the NEA from funding art it deems to be obscene and without artistic merit."

The New York Times, in an editorial on March 24, 1990, in support of NEA funding, wrote: "Last summer Mr. Helms decided to insure that the endowment would never again subsidize art that offended public (i.e., his) taste. Congress rejected his proposal to bar Federal money to 'promote, disseminate or produce obscene or indecent material' and to prohibit grants for artwork that 'denigrates, debases or reviles a person, group or class of persons...' But it also introduced the well-known camel's nose.

"This was a mild but potentially mischievous law barring funding for material that 'may be considered obscene...and which, when taken as a whole, does not have serious literary, artistic, political or scientific value.' Just how mischievous was shown a few months later when the new NEA Director, John Frohnmayer, rescinded and then reawarded a grant to a New York art show that focused on AIDS."

The Newark, New Jersey *Star-Ledger* also said that the amendment which Congress passed was weaker. In an article by Robert Cohen on March 21, 1990, the *Star-Ledger* said of the amendment which passed: "The language, which was watered down from earlier versions [the Helms amendment], bans funding for 'depictions of sadomasochism, homoeroticism, the sexual exploitation of children, or individuals engaged in sex acts.'"

The *Miami Herald* also said the amendment which passed was weaker. In an article by Joel Achenbach, the *Herald* said: "After much fuss, the Helms bill was passed in a watered-down version." (In reality, the Helms amendment did not pass. The other amendment passed.)

Allan Parachini, a writer for *The Los Angeles Times* who has been a strong supporter of the NEA and a strong opponent of those opposing the NEA, called the amendment which Congress passed "comparatively benign".

Even the *Congressional Quarterly* (March 24, 1990) agreed that the amendment

approved was weaker. "Congress immediately responded with a watered-down amendment to a fiscal 1990 spending bill (HR 2788 — PL 101-121) that banned the NEA and the National Endowment for the Humanities from funding works that, in the judgment of the endowments, 'may be considered' obscene and without 'serious literary, artistic, political or scientific value.'"

Paul Gordon, wrote in the *Rancho Santa Fe Times*, "...the NEA's bill additions are much narrower than what Helms wanted..."

The commission which many Congressmen mention in their letters has nothing to do with enforcing "restrictions" on NEA. It is merely a study committee charged with producing a report to advise Congress on what restrictions (if any) should be placed on NEA in the future.

During floor debate on the amendment which passed, Congressman Yates, the conference committee chairman who strongly supports funding for the NEA, admitted that the amendment would in no way prevent the NEA from again funding the very same Mapplethorpe pictures which *Time* magazine described as "so graphic that had authorities chosen to do so they could have prosecuted for child pornography."

The NEA did fund with tax dollars the obscene photos of homosexuals engaged in sex at the recent "Tongues of Flame" exhibit at Illinois State University. The exhibit came after Congress passed the law last year and after John Frohnmayer, who told Congressman Williams he would continue funding such "works of art", became chairman of NEA.

In fact, Congressman Rohrabacher asked Yates, "Were the same Mapplethorpe exhibit to come before the NEA right now, including the same objectionable photograph, would you agree that the NEA would now be in violation of the standards we have set?"

Yates replied that the "intent of the conference was to leave that decision within the discretion of the chairman [of the NEA]."

To be certain that he understood Congressman Yates, Rohrabacher then asked, "So, the intent of the conference was not to set any standard that would prevent the Mapplethorpe exhibit [from being funded again], is that correct? And what the gentleman [Yates] is suggesting is that the intent of the conference was not to prevent the refinancing and resubsidization of an exhibit that was exactly the same as the Mapplethorpe exhibit?"

Yates answered yes to both questions. "I am telling the gentleman [Congressman Rohrabacher] that it was the intent of the conference to leave that decision within the discretion of the chairman of the NEA...That is specifically set out in the language that we wrote."

The *Congressional Quarterly* (September 16, 1989) said: "Many members did not want to vote on the politically charged issue. So opponents, led by Yates used a parliamentary maneuver to block it."

"Rohrabacher planned to offer a motion instructing the House conference to agree to the Helms amendment. House rules allow only one such 'motion to instruct', so opponents of the Helms amendment stepped forward with a motion of their own to preclude Rohrabacher's, putting the emphasis instead on popular Senate-crafted lobbying restrictions. They also made sure the motion would be offered by a member of the Interior Subcommittee...who receives precedence over Rohrabacher under House rules."

"Rohrabacher thus had no choice but to try to defeat a procedural vote on whether the House could consider the...motion," CQ reported.

On the procedural vote, the liberal *New York Times* proclaimed, "Friends of the endowment win by a parliamentary maneuver."

The *Washington Post*, one of the most liberal papers in America, wrote in a policy editorial about the amendment Congress passed, "The NEA could, in theory, still approve even some of the artworks (Mapplethorpe, Serrano) that touched off the current controversy."

K mart...

Continued from page 1
the right to buy and sell constitutionally protected material.

"This type of harassment [picketing, boycotting and letter writing] has to stop somewhere. We've chosen to help draw the line. They say, 'It's about *Penthouse*. It's about *Playboy*.' We're here to say, 'No, it's not about *Penthouse*. No, it's not about *Playboy*. It's about Freedom. Freedom to read. Freedom to choose.'"

Responding to Mr. Hoffman's remarks, AFA executive director Donald E. Wildmon stated: "Mr. Hoffman ignored the right of Americans to boycott stores which sell pornography. In fact, K mart has joined forces with the pornographers to stop the right of Americans to organize and promote such a boycott. K mart joined with *Penthouse* and *Playboy* to sue AFA of Florida, and its director David Caton, because Caton wrote Waldenbooks asking that they stop selling pornography and saying that he would organize a boycott and pickets of their stores if they did not. K mart wants to take away the rights of people to boycott and picket, both of which are protected by the First Amendment."

"Mr. Hoffman is badly confused. AFA of Florida and David Caton were in no way attempting to abridge the right of K mart's

Waldenbooks to buy and sell pornography. What AFA of Florida and David Caton did was to say to Waldenbooks that if the company elected to sell pornography, they would organize a boycott and pickets. Mr. Hoffman is still free to sell the pornography."

"Mr. Hoffman is 'drawing the line' by saying that Waldenbooks and K mart have the right to sell pornography, but David Caton and AFA of Florida do not have the right to write letters, boycott and picket. Mr. Hoffman, in filing the lawsuit, indicates that he feels the First Amendment applies only to those who sell pornography, not those who protest its sale."

"AFA has always said that K mart and Waldenbooks have the freedom to sell *Penthouse* and *Playboy* if they so desire, but customers have a right to write letters, picket and boycott K mart, Waldenbooks and other pornographers if they so choose. Mr. Hoffman wants to take away that right."

K mart, agreeing with Mr. Hoffman, gave Waldenbooks permission to enter the suit with the pornographers. They are even providing funds for some of the most expensive lawyers available. The number two retailer in the nation has joined pornographers in their attack on the family. K mart evidently considers the money Waldenbooks makes from pornography more important than their customers who oppose pornography."

K mart is the first such retailer in the nation to side with the pornography industry in suing someone opposing pornography."

K mart is telling those who call that the suit was filed by Waldenbooks and not K mart. However, K mart owns Waldenbooks and Waldenbooks cannot take any action—including the suit against David Caton and AFA of Florida—without permission from K mart. Waldenbooks can withdraw from the suit against David and AFA of Florida at any time K mart tells them to do so.

Concerned individuals are urged to help inform others about K mart's support for the pornographers in their battle against the family. AFA urges you to call K mart and let them know you are joining and promoting a boycott of K mart and will continue to do so until they withdraw support for the pornographers by dropping their participation in the pornographers suit against David and AFA of Florida. The toll free number is 1-800-63K-mart (1-800-635-6278). Pastors are urged to put information about the boycott in their newsletters and bulletins.

K mart owns Pay Less Drug Stores, Builders Square home supply stores, Waldenbooks and PACE Membership Warehouse stores.

You are also urged to call your local K mart store and tell the manager you will be boycotting K mart and asking others to do the same. And you can write Chrm. Joseph Antonini, K mart Corporation, 3100 West Big Beaver Road, Troy, MI 48084.

June 1990



Journal

of the American Family Association

Attention Pastors

Christians & Society TODAY, pages 3 and 4, is designed to be reproduced for use as a supplement or insert with bulletins or newsletters.

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Copies of this issue are available at \$12.50 for 50 copies. Enclose check with order.

NEA funds homosexual film festival, writer who submitted homoerotic writings

National Endowment for the Arts Chairman John Frohnmayer recently approved grants of \$20,000 to lesbian writer Minnie Bruce Pratt and \$9,000 to the San Francisco Lesbian and Gay Film Festival.

According to the homosexual publication *Washington Blade*, Pratt said she "had submitted some explicitly 'homoerotic'

passages as part of her original application, but was approved for an award [by Frohnmayer] anyway. Pratt and other authors have asserted that they will not make changes in their work despite the new regulations."

Mr. Frohnmayer told Pratt, in awarding the grant, that the grant will "play some small part in nurturing a literature that truly

reflects the immense diversity of the United States."

Mr. Frohnmayer also approved the grant of \$9,000 to the San Francisco Lesbian and Gay Film Festival. The *Blade* says the film festival "usually includes some homoerotic [homosexual pornography] scenes." The festival is scheduled for June 15-24 in two

Continued on page 23

TV monitoring complete, results to be announced soon

Christian Leaders for Responsible Television (CLear-TV) has completed monitoring of network prime-time television programs for the spring sweeps. The monitoring was done from April 26 through May 23.

Results of the monitoring will be available in late June. A boycott of one or more of the leading sponsors of sex, violence, profanity and anti-Christian stereotyping will be announced by CLear-TV probably in July.

CLear-TV's efforts last year brought a decrease of 32% in the amount of sex, violence and profanity between the spring and fall monitoring periods.

"The results of the sweeps this year will let us know if the networks are increasing sex, violence and profanity again," said Dr. Billy A. Melvin, Chairman of CLear-TV.

"Our boycott of Clorox and Mennen has had a positive impact on television programs. We urge those who worked so hard to make that boycott a success to continue to work together to make the next one equally successful," Melvin said.

Melvin encouraged people to continue boycotting Mennen through July.

Eller out at Circle K, opens door for removal of porn

In a major move which could open the door for the removal of porn from Circle K, Karl Eller has resigned as chairman. Eller had arrogantly refused to pull the pornography. He has been replaced by Robert A. Dearth Jr., described as a "lieutenant" of Carl Linder, the largest stockholder. Circle K, which is having severe financial problems, is near bankruptcy. The chain is the largest retailer of porn magazines in America.

Mr. Linder has been a major financial supporter of anti-pornography groups in the past. AFA urges kind letters requesting Mr. Linder seek to remove the porn magazines. The address: Chrm. Carl Linder, Great American Communications Company, One East 4th Street, Cincinnati, OH 45202, phone 513-579-2177.

Several groups around the nation picketed Circle K stores on April 27. They joined approximately 300 other groups picketing stores which sell pornography in their local communities.

AFA has set June 23 as the next day of nationwide picketing of stores which sell pornography. Churches, groups and individuals are urged to organize a picket of stores selling pornography in their respective communities. For a free Picket Packet explaining how to organize a successful picket, contact AFA.

Individuals who desire to contact Circle K directly can do so by writing Pres. Robert Dearth, The Circle K Corporation, P.O. Box 52084, Phoenix, AZ 85072, phone 602-253-9600.

Continue boycotting Circle K until they pull the pornography.

American Family Association
Post Office Drawer 2440
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ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED

Censorship 'victims' want to silence critics

By Thomas Sowell
Cincinnati Post
March 30, 1990

If there is any contest for the most misused word in the English language, "censorship" ought to be the leading contender.

The original censors in ancient Rome had the power to take censuses, assess taxes and punish people for their behavior. In modern times, censorship has come to mean preventing people from freely expressing themselves. None of these things is involved in new politicized definitions of "censorship."

In political newspeak, people who are perfectly free to say whatever they want to nevertheless claim that they are being "censored" if other people refuse to pay for their words, their music or their "art." Such self-proclaimed victims of "censorship" go around yelling loudly that they are being silenced.

Unfortunately, President Bush recently caved in to such propaganda by saying that he did not want federal subsidies to artists to be cut off when the art was obscene because that would be "censorship."

No one had suggested that artists be punished. Sen. Jesse Helms and others in Congress simply wanted the taxpayers' money to be withheld from supporting some so-called "art" whose clear purpose was to insult the public's sense of decency.

Pictures of a crucifix immersed in urine, photos depicting homosexuality and the placing of an American flag on a gallery floor as people to walk on were only some examples of such calculated results.

"Who is Jesse Helms to judge art?" was the battle cry of those who thought that the taxpayers should be forced to pay to have their own noses rubbed into filth.

That question makes no sense. If senators are incompetent to judge art, then they are incompetent to give the taxpayers' money to subsidize it. No one questioned their competence when they began spending out millions of dollars in federal subsidies—only when they considered that the money might be misspent.

Self-proclaimed victims of 'censorship' go around yelling loudly that they are being silenced.

The National Endowment for the Arts seems to be yet another government agency that sees its role as serving a special interest group rather than the public.

Back in the 1970s when it was the National Endowment for the Arts and Humanities, I happened to serve on one of the committees that considered applications for government subsidies. I was amazed at what shallow and worthless stuff the taxpayers were being asked to support in the name of "scholarship."

Fortunately, there were a couple of other like-minded people on the committee and we committed the unpardonable sin: We did not vote to donate all the money that was available. I was never again asked to serve on any committee donating money.

The cry of "censorship" is raised even against private individuals and organizations when they don't go along with things that are said and done by those who demand not only freedom but also an audience. Recently, the Sam Goody record store chain decided not to sell the music of some group whose lyrics were considered too gross even by today's loose standards. "Censorship!" was the cry once

The National Endowment for the Arts seems to be yet another government agency that sees its role as serving a special interest group rather than the public.

more.

"I have a right to say what I want to!" one musician declared indignantly. It never seemed to occur to him that other people also have rights—including the right not to touch his stuff. Once you start talking about your rights as if they override other people's rights, then you are really talking about privileges.

These are not isolated episodes. They are skirmishes in a much larger war being waged for the hearts and minds of this society.

The battle to break down the ideals and the morals of this country is being waged on a thousand fronts—from the elementary schools to the universities, from Hollywood to Broadway, from television news to the art galleries and from the courts to the Congress.

This is not a conspiracy. There is simply a whole class of people who hate what this country stands for, who have contempt for its people and who exploit every opportunity to undermine its institutions and ideals. Any resistance, or even non-cooperation, with what they are trying to do is likely to be denounced as "censorship."

Ideologues with double standards have no qualms about censorship that advances their ideological agenda. Leading colleges and universities across this country are restricting and punishing free speech in the name of combating "homophobia" or criticism of any other specially protected groups or movements. The media doesn't call this censorship.

The media and the intelligentsia are partisans in the cultural war. One of the few things worse than being in a war is being in a war and not knowing it. When the president of the United States doesn't know it, the prospects don't look good.

It's the wrong time for great artists

By Doug Clark
High Point (NC) Enterprise
April 17, 1990

The woman at the national Endowment for the Arts studied the young man who entered her office.

"Now this one really looks like a struggling artist," she thought.

He was short and wiry, with rough hands and a dark, stringy beard.

He wore workman's clothes.

The woman asked, "How may I help you, Mr. ...?"

"Michelangelo," he said in an Italian accent.

"Very well, Mr. Angelo. Now what can the NEA do for you?"

"I'd like to apply for a grant," he said. "You see, I am a sculptor, and the price of marble has gotten so high."

"Marble! You work in marble?"

"Of course. Is that unusual?"

"Well, yes," the NEA woman said. "I mean, most of the sculptors we fund use tin cans, old commodes, even junked cars."

"Uh, very creative," said Michelangelo. "But I prefer marble. It is so pure and beautiful."

"Yes," said the woman. "Well, tell me, what kind of works do you plan to produce if you receive a grant from the NEA."

"Ah, there are many," the artist replied. "I want to do a Pieta, depicting the ultimate grief of mankind for the death of Christ. And also a David, a figure reflecting the inner strength of those favored by God. And a Moses, in anger at the wickedness of his people who have turned from the Lord. And then..."

"Just a moment, Mr. Angelo," the woman interrupted. "I detect that all your works have some religious theme."

"No, not all," Michelangelo answered. "But most do, yes. It's very important to me. Besides, where I come from, most great art—painting, music, architecture, so on—has been created for the glory of God."

"That may be," the NEA woman said. "But when it comes to federal funds, we have to follow certain guidelines. For example, if your work were intended to convey religious messages, then it might violate the establishment clause of the First Amendment, and we couldn't provide any money for it."

"You mean you don't award grants for anything with any religious theme at all?"

"Sometimes we do, if it's appropriate," she explained. "For example, we gave \$15,000 for an exhibition that included a picture of a crucifix submerged in a jar of urine. It was called 'Piss Christ.' But

that wasn't really religious. You see, by degrading Christianity, the artist offered a symbolic protest of the degradation of Christianity."

"Brilliant. But didn't that offend Christians?"

"Of course," she said. "But that doesn't matter. You see, we can't deny funding to artists just because their works might offend somebody. That would be censorship, which is against the First Amendment."

"But you can't fund my sculptures because they glorify God?"

"I told you, that would violate the First Amendment," the NEA woman said. "Honestly, Mr. Angelo, I don't know why you can't see the distinction. Now, don't you do anything else?"

"Yes," the artist said. "I also paint."

"Good," she said. "Are you a cubist, surrealist or abstractionist?"

"No," he said, looking puzzled. "I like to paint the classical human form."

The NEA woman perked up. "You mean nudes?"

"Yes, some nudes," Michelangelo said.

"Anything homoerotic? We think that's very artistic," she allowed.

"In fact, we gave \$25,000 for an exhibit by a photographer who produced some very daring work."

"No," Michelangelo flushed. "Not homoerotic. Biblical. I have been asked to paint scenes from the Bible on the ceiling of a chapel."

The woman seemed disappointed. "I'm sorry, Mr. Angelo," she said. "I don't think you'll have a very good chance of winning a grant from us. And if you don't mind some advice, I think you should pull yourself out of this thematic rut you're in. If you want to be an artist nowadays, you have to use your imagination. Be creative. Challenge people. Make them angry. You can't just copy ideas out of the Bible and expect to get anywhere."

"I guess not," Michelangelo said sadly. "Maybe this is just the wrong era for artists like me."

How the NEA selects artists to fund with tax dollars

By Michael Straight, Former Deputy Chairman
National Endowment for the Arts

Editor's Note: The following excerpt is reprinted from Twigs From An Eagle's Nest: Government and the Arts, 1965-1978, (NY: Devon Press, 1979).

The federal government used to operate on a fiscal year that ended on June 30. Appropriations that were not expended by that time reverted to the Treasury. Understandably, late June in the Arts Endowment was a time made frantic by a last minute rush to get grants signed and mailed.

Miss Hanks was ill in June 1974. As acting Chairman, I signed my name to hundreds of grants. Then, one morning, an immense batch arrived from our Visual Arts Office. They were individual fellowship grants, mostly for \$3,000.

Fellowships in the Visual Arts were given for specific projects in those days. Each grant folder contained a summary of the project proposed in the artist's own words. I began to read them and a few left me perplexed:

- My project is a series of paintings, ten to fifteen layers of paint deep, consisting entirely of extremely subtle gradations of grey.
- The project I propose will temporarily manipulate the Chicago skyline for the period of one year.
- My project is to introduce taxidermy as a sculpture media by using painted plywood construction, dirt, sand, gravel and animals to create different environmental situations.
- My project, the Structure of Dry-Fly Fishing, is a complex video artwork on the order of a piece of sculpture.
- I have in mind several pieces involving templates of the curvature of the Earth, and of monumental man-made structures. These in-scale templates would be transformed,

rolled, folded or somehow distilled in order to give insight to an otherwise vast visual or conceptual order.

• The Porpoise Opera Project is an experimental project intended to function in an oceanarium's porpoise stadium; to make use of existing facilities; and to work with resident porpoises (Bottlenosed Dolphins) in an effort to plan and develop a full length program or opera to be seen by the public and documented on film.

On reflection, I signed these grants on the grounds that the projects had been endorsed by our professional advisors and that they probably would not harm the Endowment. But a further group of projects seemed to me to be more questionable. In one of them, the artist proposed:

- A loop tour of Western U.S. ... dripping ink from Hayley, Idaho to Cody, Wyoming—an event commemorating the birthplaces of Ezra Pound and Jackson Pollock.

Another stated:

- I will rent a ground level studio with high ceilings and a cement floor, adjacent to a lush meadow. And to this place I will bring some friends and some strangers. I will bring Pigme, a full grown sow (whom I have known since her ninth day), two female rabbits (who know each other and me), a buck (stranger), two ringed-neck doves (strangers), a cat Blackflash (who knows me), a young boy, Brett (who knows me and the two female rabbits), and a young girl Lavina (who knows me and Brett slightly). We will all move together.

I will also bring those things necessary for a comfortable

survival, including food and materials to use in building and maintaining nests. All of us will contribute to the creation, maintenance and change of such an environment. Once settled, we may discover that there are others who would like to join us even if just for a short time (birds, mice, people, etc.). I will record our activities so that those unable to visit and experience our situation directly will know something of what it is like. This will best be done by using portable video equipment.

Sometimes, we will leave our place and go together to another, or bring others to us. For these events, we will need a vehicle, preferably a motorbike with a large sidecar. Perhaps this communal way of life will be quite difficult. However, the educational value, for all of us will be extraordinary.

These, and a score of comparable grants, I declined to sign. I was happy to concede that the artists were sincere and that they had been selected in accordance with our established procedures. I said simply that the applications were public information and that I felt unable to

defend these projects as recipients of public funds.

My obduracy brought the Chairman in from her sick bed. We met for two hours with the Director of our Visual Arts office. He was very eloquent. In defense of the mixed menage project, he pointed to George Hicks's beloved paintings of "The Peaceable Kingdom." Our artist, he explained, was a contemporary George Hicks, working in the style of the late twentieth century in which art works, instead of being painted, are acted out as life itself. As to the other projects, they were the linear descendants of the great Marcel Duchamp who, when he moved to New York, brought with him a bottle labeled "Paris Air." Pressed for further details, the Director spoke of a well-known Italian painter who bottled his own excrement and sold it for a high price as "Excrement of the Artist."

I was speechless. I still declined to sign the grants. They went out anyway, most artists will be glad to hear. From then on, in applying for fellowships, visual artists were asked only to submit endorsements by their peers and transparencies of past works. What they would do with the fellowships was held to be their concern.

NEA spends tax dollars to fund lobbying group

By George Archibald
The Washington Times
May 11, 1990

Top officials of the National Endowment for the Arts joined leaders of a major arts group at a taxpayer-funded meeting in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, recently to discuss ways to counter NEA critics.

Leaders of the American Arts Alliance offered ideas on building support for the NEA in Congress, said alliance Executive Director Anne Murphy, who made the presentation. Several members of the Presidentially appointed National Council on the Arts also attended the meeting.

"You've got all this noise (against NEA) being made by a very small number of people, but they are committed, they're vocal, they're passionate, they're in for the long haul," Miss Murphy told the alliance's board of directors and government participants.

"We want them (members of Congress) to hear from the arts community. We are talking about generating massive numbers (of letters to Congress)...And in any political activities, you better remember that you are talking about building cover for legislators," she said.

Alliance leaders asked council members and NEA officials to help generate pressure on Congress with a nationwide letter-writing blitz, corporate pressure and TV advertisements featuring Hollywood stars.

The political strategy session, attended by NEA Senior Deputy Chairman Alvin S. Felzenberg along with several dozen top NEA officials and council members, was held at the Stouffer Winston Plaza hotel in a room arranged and paid for by the NEA [tax dollars], said officials of the hotel's catering department. NEA Chairman John Frohnmayer was on his way to the meeting but car trouble delayed him, Mr. Felzenberg told participants.

A quarterly meeting of the National Council on the Arts, which advises NEA, was also being held at the hotel. The NEA sent several dozen officials here at government expense to make arrangements and provide support.

Council members Ardis Krainik, general director of the Lyric Opera of Chicago, and Sally Brayley Bliss, former artistic director of the Joffrey II Dancers, participated in the political strategy session. NEA spokeswoman Katherine Christie declined to identify other council members in the session.

Miss Christie at first denied any NEA tie to the political strategy session, held in a hotel meeting room next door to a briefing session on NEA programs for visiting arts organization representatives. "That (the political strategy session) is not our meeting," Miss Christie said.

When informed that hotel officials said NEA arranged the meeting room, ordered photocopying for the strategy session and would be billed for the costs, Miss Christie said: "We have nothing to do with it. We didn't order any Xeroxing. Now leave me alone." She later told *The Washington Times*: "We do not pay rent on that room, per se. It is available as part of a group of rooms that we can use when we need them.... We will pay only \$20 for setup charges." She added: "The American Arts Alliance will be billed (by the NEA). We did no Xeroxing for them."

But hotel officials said copies of newspaper stories about NEA's impending reauthorization and funding battle in Congress were duplicated for strategy session participants at the request of an NEA conference organizer. The same NEA official arranged use of the meeting room and ordered additional chairs, said a hotel catering manager. "They (the NEA) will be billed," the manager said.

Tax dollars used to promote homosexuality

By Fredric Dicker
New York Post
March 16, 1988

Editor's note: AFA is reprinting the article below to show that the NEA has been funding the promotion of homosexuality for years. The New York State Council on the Arts receives hundreds of thousands of dollars each year from the NEA. That money is then used to help pay for "art" such as that cited below.

New York State taxpayers are coughing up tens of thousands of dollars this year to promote transvestism, lesbianism and male

homosexuality, an investigation by *The Post* has found.

The tax money—a total of nearly \$100,000 over the last few years—is being channeled to several homosexual activist groups by the New York State Council on the Arts, a *Post* review of over 1000 council grants revealed.

The council, headed by television personality Kitty Carlisle Hart, awards grants to more than 1500 local arts groups across the state.

Recipients range from the Ukrainian Museum and the Seneca

Nation Library to the prestigious New York Philharmonic, the Metropolitan Opera, the New York City Ballet and the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

But also being funded by the council is a photographic exhibition and lecture series designed to encourage public acceptance of men dressing as women—transvestism.

The project is sponsored by the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force Fund for Human Dignity.

It will permit the public to share "the intimate moments of individuals who have abandoned the constraints of sexually stereotyped male dress to find more freedom of personal expression in the dress of women," according to the grant application.

Manhattan photographer Mariette Pathy Allen, who received \$7200 in state grant money for the project, told *The Post* yesterday: "I'm attempting to educate and encourage the public to accept this, cross-dressing by men.

"Women are free now to dress anyway we please. But when men

attempt to put on women's clothes, this is considered perversity, illness, people who are out to molest your child, where this is almost certainly untrue," Allen continued.

The council also gave the Gay and Lesbian Task Force \$10,000 to "create an archive of the faces of gay and lesbian writers." The organization got another \$20,000, partly to film the March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights "in order to analyze the issues addressed at this event and its relation to the AIDS crisis."

Also being funded by the council is an organization called Conditions, Inc., which publishes a "feminist magazine of writing with an emphasis on writing by lesbians," according to the grant application.

"Lesbian issues deal with love between women, homophobia, and gay civil rights," said *Conditions* editor Cheryl Clarke. By its own admission, in documents filed with the council, *Conditions* has only 534 paid subscribers for its \$8.95-a-copy publication. Since *Conditions* received a \$6000 grant, the state has been underwriting the publication to the tune of \$11.23 per subscriber copy.

NEA kills two grants, places 18 others on hold

Editor's note: Just prior to press time, AFA learned of action taken by the NEA at their meeting in Winston-Salem. Information in the article below comes from the Washington Post and the Washington Times.

The presidentially appointed council of the National Endowment for the Arts recently voted to reject two grants to the museum that organized the Robert Mapplethorpe exhibit, and in an unprecedented move, deferred consideration of 18 potentially controversial grants to performers, five of whom perform sexual acts on stage. The council will review the 18 grants in their August meeting. The rejections were the first in the 25-year history of the NEA.

The 8-4 vote by the National Council on the Arts, with three abstentions, delayed voting on the 18 "solo performance" theater-arts grants worth \$125,000. The vote came on a motion by council member Jacob Neusner, a Brown University professor who questioned the nature of performances by New York actress Karen Finley, who was on the slate, and said the council did not have enough information concerning the projects to make a decision. "All I know about candidate X is that he comes from a city that I've never heard of.... This is really irresponsible."

Columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak quoted a Minneapolis *Star-Tribune* review of a Finley performance: "She casually peels off her dress and pours gelatin into her bra...slathers chocolate over her body...sticks blobs of bean sprouts over her body and calls it sperm." According to an internal NEA memorandum quoted by the columnists, Miss Finley's performances are aimed at "triggering emotional and taboo events."

Mr. Neusner complained that NEA's theater division and its peer panel had taken action to ensure that the council would not see videotapes of the applicants' stage performances.

NEA Chairman John Frohnmayer then gave the council additional information he personally obtained about the nature of the performers' shows. His explanation indicated that at least five of the applicants, including Miss Finley, performed sexually explicit acts on stage.

"This is garbage," said Mr. Neusner. "I want to postpone this [entire slate] until August so that the council can be informed of what these people actually do as their performance so that we can at least form an opinion."

Since 1986, Miss Finley frequently has performed at the Kitchen theater and Franklin Furnace Archive in New York City, both recipients of NEA grants for avant-garde performances. Miss Finley,

a San Francisco Art Institute graduate, said in a 1987 interview that her shows had been banned in London and canceled in Los Angeles because of threatened vice squad action.

The NEA came under fire this year for giving the Kitchen \$60,000 for its 1989-90 performance series, including 12 shows by so-called "post-porn modernist" Annie Sprinkle, who used dildoes to perform unnatural acts on stage and invited audience members to use a flashlight to peer up her vagina.

The NEA grant paid for artists' fees, rehearsal space and promotional efforts by the Kitchen, according to agency records. Mr. Frohnmayer repeatedly has denied that any agency funds directly or indirectly supported Miss Sprinkle's performances.

Senior NEA officials, however, acknowledged for the first time that no formal agency audit of the Kitchen or its parent company,

NEA's theater division and its peer panel had taken action to ensure that the council would not see videotapes of the applicants' stage performances.

Haleakala Inc., was conducted to verify such claims. "There wasn't an audit," said NEA spokesman Jack Lichtenstein. "I don't see what difference it makes. We studied the drawdowns [documents for installment grant payments to Haleakala Inc.]."

Mr. Lichtenstein said a grant application involving Miss Finley "might be" under consideration but declined to provide further information about possible NEA funding for the performer. "I'm going to make sure that's locked up tight until the decision letter goes out [after the council's action]," Mr. Lichtenstein said.

The NEA's general counsel, Julianne Davis, said that support in Congress for reauthorizing the endowment rapidly was melting away. Even within the Congressional Arts Caucus, usually a bastion of NEA support, there are only "a handful who are still solidly behind us," Miss Davis told the council. Among the caucus' 250 House and Senate members, "I don't think there is very strong, broad-based support," she reported.

of hours to come over and show his support for the pro-life people who came from Alaska, California, Texas and all over this great land to address this very important issue of protecting human life? He would have still had time to go fishing.

I voted for President Bush and I generally support him but I think the hundreds of thousands of pro-lifers deserved more than a phone call from a President who, by his actions, wanted to fish more than he wanted to stand with pro-lifers.

NEA...

Continued from page 1

theatres in San Francisco's Castro section.

According to the *San Francisco Sentinel*, last year's "art" at the festival included *Johanna d'Arc of Mongolia*, "a lesbian fantasy about travelers kidnapped by the Mongolian equivalent of Amazons. Horny lesbians will want to see Susie Bright's presentation of lesbian erotica.... Horny gay men will be primed for another peek at Bobby Kendall's buns in the classic 'Pink Narcissus.'" The NEA gave \$10,000 to the San Francisco Lesbian and Gay Film Festival in 1989 to help promote the movies which "horny lesbians" and "horny gay men" viewed last year. In 1988, the NEA gave the festival \$6,800 for the same purpose.

Last year Congress passed a law which prohibited the NEA from funding "materials which in the judgment of the NEA may be considered obscene, including but not limited to depictions of sadomasochism, homoeroticism, the sexual exploitation of children or individuals engaged in sex acts and which, taken as a whole, do not have serious literary merit, artistic, political or scientific value."

Mr. Frohnmayer was aware of that law and committed to uphold it when he reviewed Ms. Pratt's application containing the "explicit homoerotic passages." Yet, he ignored that law when he granted her 20,000 tax dollars, and again when he gave \$9,000 to the San Francisco Lesbian and Gay Film Festival.

The NEA told festival organizers that the money was for "administrative support work." The NEA can now say they didn't fund any of the San Francisco Lesbian and Gay Film Festival homoerotic material, that their money was specifically earmarked for "administrative" purposes. It is a book-keeping tactic that will keep the NEA tax dollars flowing to support homosexual pornography while denying responsibility.

Mr. Frohnmayer's action indicates that the National Endowment for the Arts has no intention of ceasing the funding of pornographic material.

In fact, Mr. Frohnmayer told *Reader's Digest* that "...the law in question [the one passed by Congress last year] does not bar

taxpayer support for obscene work." Mr. Frohnmayer is saying that the law does not do what Congressmen and Senators have told the taxpayers it does, prohibit the funding of obscene "art."

Mr. Frohnmayer has blamed previous NEA people for making use of taxpayers' money to fund pornography. This time he was the one who made the grants.

How does the NEA decide to fund exhibits, including the Serrano exhibit which included a photo of Christ in urine and the Mapplethorpe exhibit which contained homosexual pornography? Mr. Frohnmayer told *Reader's Digest*: "Panelists spend countless hours conscientiously reviewing applications, supporting materials (scores, tapes, slides, catalogues, etcetera), site visits reports, and bringing to bear their own professional judgments. They absolutely do base their recommendations on quality and merit." He went on to say: "Anything that comes through our panels is deemed to have artistic significance by the people who look at it."

Chairman Frohnmayer said, "If a [NEA] panel finds there is serious artistic intent and quality in a particular piece of work, then by definition that [work] is not going to be obscene."

Ted Potter, director of the Southeastern Center for Contemporary Art which displayed the photo of Christ in urine, confirmed that the NEA panels select art works to support with tax dollars on the basis of "quality and merit." Potter said, "The process of nominating artists from around the country, and these nominations going forward to a national jury, is really carefully done and really impeccable. The juries here have always been the top echelon of American contemporary art, and this was no exception, and they did an outstanding job."

The NEA panel which Mr. Potter referred to as being "carefully done," "impeccable," having done "an outstanding job," and being "the top echelon of American contemporary art" is the one which honored Andres Serrano with \$15,000 in tax dollars for his "P— Christ" photo of Christ submerged in urine.

Mr. Potter refused to display a videotape that was "grossly racist" to both the black and the Jewish populations. Mr. Potter said: "It was just a straightforward case of racial slurs and bigotry, and I'm not interested in that, so we didn't show it." It is interesting that Mr. Potter, who says he is against censorship, did not hesitate to show "P— Christ" and its anti-Christian bigotry, but refused to show a racist and anti-Semitic exhibit.

In 1988, *Red Bass* published an entire issue "For Palestine." Shortly afterward, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith protested the anti-Israel stance of the publication. The NEA ordered *Red Bass* to return the \$4,483 grant. But when Chris-

— protested the "P— Christ" "work of art," the NEA refused to order any funds returned. They responded by saying that, according to the law, they had no power to suggest anything to the artists they fund.

Samuel Lipman, publisher of the *New Criterion* and a member of the National Council on the Arts (the advisory board of the National Endowment for the Arts) from 1982-1988, recently wrote: "The simple fact is that this cutting-edge art, flagrantly exemplified in the Serrano, Mapplethorpe, Artists Space and Sprinkle cases, more subtly presented in the genre as a whole, is concerned not with art but with advocacy, not with the creation of permanent beauty but with the imposition of hitherto rejected modes of behavior and ways of living. At a conference just this past March on culture and democracy, art critic Donald Kuspit put it well: the Mapplethorpe photographs, he remarked approvingly, for all their classicizing, half-ironic aspects, serve the purpose of 'ultimately sanctifying the perverse subject matter.' That being so, it was inevitable that cutting-edge grants would come to be defended by the arts establishment not in terms of artistic achievement but in terms of free speech."

Concerning the NEA-funded photos of David Wojnarowicz's "Tongues of Flame" which contained photos of hardcore homosexual acts, Mr. Wojnarowicz told the *Washington Post* that people who complain about those photos of graphic, hardcore homosexual pornography are "a bunch of repressed five-year-olds."

Robert J. Samuelson, writing in *Newsweek*, said: "In 1987 only a quarter of the public attended opera or musical theater, reports pollster Louis Harris. But half of those with incomes exceeding \$50,000 attended." Thus the \$175,000,000 requested for the NEA next year will, if approved, be taken from the needs of the poor to entertain the rich. It could be that those who have complained that the Bush administration favors the rich over the needy have a valid point.

Congressman Pat Williams (D-MT), chairman of the House sub-committee that oversees the agency's re-authorization, speaking about funding for the NEA: "I knew once this box was open we were going to have trouble." To retain funding, the NEA must be reauthorized by Congress this year. Congressman Williams is strongly pushing for NEA funding.

Congressmen and Senators have been supplied with some photos taken from the Mapplethorpe, Serrano and Wojnarowicz exhibits. Most of the lawmakers were not aware of what tax dollars were funding.

The addresses to contact your Congressman and Senators: House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515 and U.S. Senate, Washington, DC 20510. The phone number is 202-224-3121.



July 1990

Journal

of the American Family Association

Attention Pastors
Christians & Society
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*Copies of this issue are avail-
 able at \$12.50 for 50 copies.
 Enclose check with order.*

Legal team being developed

Radical New York homosexual artist-activist sues AFA, Wildmon for \$5,000,000

A radical homosexual artist-activist with AIDS who said he would like to "douse (Sen. Jesse) Helms with a bucket of gasoline and set his putrid a— on fire or throw (Congressman) William Dannemeyer off the Empire State Building," has sued Donald E. Wildmon and AFA for \$5,000,000.

David Wojnarowicz claims that Wildmon violated copyright law and libeled him in a mailing sent to members of Congress, Christian leaders and media outlets. This new lawsuit is not connected with the one filed against AFA of Florida and Florida state director David Caton filed by Playboy,

Penthouse, and Waldenbooks, a subsidiary of K mart.

Wojnarowicz last year called Cardinal John O'Connor of New York "The world's most active liar about condoms and safer-sex.... This fat cannibal from that house of walking swastikas up on Fifth

Continued on page 22

128 stores pull porn magazines, more to follow

Star Enterprise of Houston, Texas has purchased 128 Florida Majik Market convenience stores and has negotiations underway to purchase 213 more of the stores. Star already operates 245 Texaco outlets in Florida.

When David Caton, director of AFA in Florida, contacted Texaco about pulling the porn magazines from the stores being purchased, he was told that the magazines would be dropped. All porn magazines were pulled from other Texaco outlets in Florida over a year ago.

However, the remaining Majik Markets in Florida and Georgia will continue to carry the porn magazines. F. Philip Handy, Chairman of Majik Market/Tenneco, has said that he will continue to sell pornography. Mr. Handy recently responded to a letter of concern from a customer by saying that "we believe that these magazines

are only purchased by consenting adults." Handy went on to say that he was "comfortable with my position" of selling pornography.

In Texas, Stop N Go earnings have fallen from \$15 million in 1985 to \$8 million in 1989. V.H. Van Horn, chairman of National Convenience Stores which owns Stop N Go, is trying to make a major effort to reclaim lost profits by sprucing up their image. But Van Horn has reneged on a vow to pull the porn from his stores in communities which did not want it. Stop N Go made the vow several months ago, but has consistently refused to abide by it.

Circle K, the leading retailer of porn magazines in America, recently went bankrupt. If Carl Linder, the largest stockholder in Circle K with 38%, gains control of the convenience store chain, it is expected that he will pull the pornography. Linder has been a

major financial supporter of anti-pornography groups in the past.

Dairy Mart, one of the largest retailers of porn magazines in the nation, also continues to sell the publications. Chrm. Charles Nirenberg criticizes those who boycott his stores because they sell pornography, calling them censors. He has praised Playboy, for their efforts to combat those opposed to pornography.

Addresses:

Pres. Robert Dearth, The Circle K Corporation, P.O. Box 52084, Phoenix, AZ 85072, phone 602-253-9600.

Chrm. V.H. Van Horn, National Convenience Stores, Inc., 100 Waugh Drive, Houston, TX 77007, phone 713-863-2200.

Chrm. Charles Nirenberg, Dairy Mart Corporation, 240 South Road, Enfield, CT 06082, phone 203-741-3611.

K mart drops suit, keeps porn

K mart's Waldenbooks subsidiary has dropped its participation

Important! Call K mart and tell them you are joining the boycott. The toll free number is 1-800-63K-mart (1-800-635-6278).

in a lawsuit against Florida AFA and Florida AFA State Director David Caton. (At press time, the suit continues by Playboy and

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American Family Association
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ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED

Christians & Society TODAY

July 1990

A supplement for local bulletins and newsletters

Congressman Williams says those who oppose NEA porn are 'evangelical cuckoos'

Congressman Pat Williams (D-MT), chairman of the House Committee with oversight of the National Endowment for the Arts, recently called those who oppose taxpayer funding of pornography and anti-Christian art by the NEA "right-wing evangelical cuckoos."

The NEA is a government agency funded by tax dollars. The NEA has come under criticism during the last year for helping support pornographic and anti-Christian "art" with tax money. Williams strongly defends the NEA's use of tax dollars to support such "art" and has worked closely with the NEA and the arts community to secure continued funding for such projects. The NEA currently receives \$171,000,000 yearly in tax money.

Sources in Washington believe that Williams is attacking those opposing tax funding of pornography and anti-Christian bigotry in an effort to divert attention away from the misuse of tax dollars by the NEA.

A few of the "works of art" the NEA has used tax money to support and which Congressman Williams approves the use of tax money for include Andres Serrano's photo of Christ on a cross submerged in Serrano's urine, entitled Pi-Christ; Robert Mapplethorpe's explicit homosexual photographs; the San Francisco Lesbian and

Gay Film Festival; Lesbian Minnie Bruce Pratt's homoerotic writings; and the explicit homosexual photographs of David Wojnarowicz.

When porn movie star Annie Sprinkle gave a live porn performance at New York's NEA supported Kitchen Theater, she told her audience: "Usually I get paid a lot of money for this, but tonight it's government-funded!"

When NEA Chairman John Frohn-mayer told Williams the NEA would continue to use tax dollars to support similar "works of art" in the future, Williams applauded him, saying: "It shows real determination that the NEA not be used as a censorship agency."

Williams told Knight-Ridder News Service: "If we can convince the members of the House and Senate that the issue is not funding of pornographic art, but Big Brother censorship, then I win." He warned, however, that if the discussion centers on the pornography, "I lose."

Williams' derisive comments about "right-wing evangelical cuckoos" were made at an official hearing in Washington, D.C.

Congressman Williams address: House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515. His phone number is 202-225-3211 and his fax number 202-225-1257.

Paper fires journalists for involvement in pro-life movement

Two Iowa journalists have been fired for their involvement in the pro-life movement. The Rutherford Institute, a non-profit legal defense organization specializing in religious liberty cases, is helping the journalists file religious discrimination complaints.

The *Fairfield Ledger*, a daily newspaper in Fairfield, Iowa, fired general assignment reporter Terri Lambertsen and news editor John Kennedy. The two were dismissed for meeting at their church with other pro-life activists and helping form a group called Southeast Iowa Pro-Lifers.

Ledger Publisher Byron Kimble and Editor Jan Nierling claim that Lambertsen and Kennedy violated the newspaper's policy on

outside activities and threatened its reputation for objective reporting on the abortion issue. But Lambertsen and Kennedy say their activities spring from their Christian convictions and that the newspaper forced them to choose between their livelihood and their sincere personal and private religious beliefs.

Lambertsen and Kennedy are members of a church that teaches that Christians have a moral duty to oppose abortion.

Rutherford Institute President John Whitehead said he respects a newspaper's desire to guard its reputation. But, he said, "no employer, in the news industry or elsewhere, can claim a veto power over the free speech, free association, and religious freedom rights of its employees. To hold otherwise would be unconstitutional, un-American and dangerous to democracy."

Lambertsen and Kennedy are seeking

employment. Readers are also urged to write letters of support. The address is: John W. Kennedy, 1501 Woodside Circle, Fairfield, Iowa 52556, phone 515-472-8543. Although neither asked AFA to mention it, some financial support would help as they search for other work. *Evangelical Press*

Doctors say let babies die

It is often better to let extremely small premature babies die—despite fears of lawsuits or public outcry, say Stanford University researchers David K. Stevenson and Ernie W.D. Young in the May *American Journal of Diseases of Children*. Life-saving efforts cost an average of \$158,800 per infant, and it's likely the babies will suffer lifelong health problems, say the researchers. It is more cost-effective, they say, to address "the root causes of prematurity—lack of prenatal care, poor nutrition in pregnant women, homelessness, and drug or alcohol addiction." *USA TODAY, 5/16/90*

Porn Awareness Week

Pornography Awareness Week 1990 will be observed October 28 through November 4. PAW is an annual event and serves to raise public awareness to the problem of pornography in local communities all over the country.

Many groups across the nation will be participating in the White Ribbon Campaign Against Pornography (WRAP 1990). Morality in Media estimates that over 5 million people participated in all 50 states in 1989. WRAP has proven to be a very successful way of bringing entire communities together to oppose pornography. The white ribbon is used to symbolize the war against pornography and obscenity.

Many people continue to be victims of pornography through rape, incest and child molestation. Also many men are victims as well through an addiction to pornography.

American Family Association strongly urges participation in WRAP 1990. For a complete WRAP packet of "how to" information, including how to get local government officials involved, how to get a proclamation from your mayor or governor, etc., send \$5 to Morality in Media, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10115 or call (212) 870-3222 and ask for Patty McEntee.

A Petition to Congress to Stop Tax Funding of Pornographic, Anti-Christian 'Works of Art' by the National Endowment for the Arts

We, the undersigned, oppose the use of tax dollars to help fund pornographic, anti-Christian "works of art" by the National Endowment for the Arts, a federal agency supported by taxes. Specific examples of NEA funded art include, but are not limited to, a photo by Andres Serrano of Christ on the cross submerged in Serrano's own urine entitled "P— Christ", a photo by David Wojnarowicz of Christ depicted as a drug addict with a needle in his arm, and explicit, graphic photos of homosexual sex by Robert Mapplethorpe and David Wojnarowicz.

When Congressman Pat Williams (D-MT) asked NEA Chairman John Frohnmayer if the NEA would continue using tax dollars to fund such "art"

in the future, Mr. Frohnmayer responded: "I would say yes." Congressman Williams praised Mr. Frohnmayer for his positive answer, saying: "It shows real determination that the NEA not be used as a censorship agency."

The refusal of government to fund such pornographic, anti-Christian "works of art" is not censorship. The artists are still free to produce their "works of art", but let them compete in the marketplace. Tax dollars should not be used to fund such "works of art".

Since the NEA says it will continue to use tax dollars to fund such pornographic and anti-Christian "works of art" in the future, we ask that you vote against all funding for the NEA.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

STATE/ZIP

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Make copies of this petition and distribute among your friends, church members, Sunday School class, etc. Run the petition as an ad in your local paper. When complete, mail this petition to your Congressman at U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515.

CARRY ADULT MAGAZINES," or even "WE CARRY THE BEST SELECTION OF ADULT MAGAZINES IN TOWN." But girly pictures on the walls?

I'm all for free expression—but these pictures on the walls struck me as aggressive and unnecessary for a store that also sells candy and newspapers and greeting cards.

I realize that the store owner is free to decorate his place as he likes—I'm all for free expression—but these pictures on the walls struck me as aggressive and unnecessary for a store that also sells candy and newspapers and greeting cards. And I would have left that minute, but there, piled neatly on the floor, was the *Times*.

I picked one up, paid the clerk (he met me where I stood near the door, as if to spare me the humiliating walk to the register), and I left. As I headed down the sidewalk, I glanced back at the storefront. Photo spreads of women in skimpy bikinis adorned the windows—a clear enough warning about the harder stuff inside. How had I missed it?

Walking to work, I debated with myself. One part of me said: What a sick world! Another part of me said: Chill out.

The second part managed to persuade the first part that sleazy, exploitive photographs have always existed and will always exist, usually side-by-side with newspapers at newsstands, and that, in the scheme of things, there are greater problems.

I told myself that I must be getting oversensitive, because how far is such material from what we're exposed to on television every night, on billboards, in magazines, and in the newspaper? People's bodies have always been used to sell products and that's not called pornography, it's called marketing.

No, I said, I would not get angry over this. This is America. And given the grim choice between banning demeaning images and censoring them, I'll put up with the images.

The next day, armed with my reinforced belief in free expression and wanting that *Times*, I bravely returned. Walked in. Picked up a paper. Strode to the register. Paid my 50 cents. Said thanks. Left.

There, did it. But it did take something out of me.

At the coffee shop, with its muffins and rolls practically glowing with wholesomeness, I poured myself a decaf and wondered aloud, "Is reading the *Times* worth starting my morning with a heavy helping of cheesecake for breakfast?"

The three women in the restaurant said they sympathized. All of them had been feeling uneasy about their new neighbor. The restaurant owner said she used to work at a shelter for battered women and perceives a connection between pornography and domestic violence. She felt very sad.

We wondered if there wasn't something we could do. Maybe get together a delegation of women from the neighborhood to talk with the owner. Maybe take up a petition.

Well, I decided, there was at least one thing I could do for this new cause.

I went back to the newsstand with my *Times*.

Here, I told the surprised man behind the counter. I'm returning

The restaurant owner said she used to work at a shelter for battered women and perceives a connection between pornography and domestic violence.

this. I feel uncomfortable shopping here. Your store insults me, and I won't shop here again.

He protested. He said he had a "right."

Of course, I said. This is America and you can do what you want. But I don't have to like it.

Then I left, felling very good about my small protest—so light and happy that I practically skipped to work.

There is nothing like free expression.

Hollywood and ACLU team up to silence those who fight pornography, filthy music

By Joseph Farah, Editor
Between the Lines

Satisfied with their courtroom triumphs over virtually every form of "censorship," the American Civil Liberties Union and the Hollywood Left are now teaming up in an effort to intimidate advocacy groups that attempt to use the marketplace to bring pressure on those producing offensive music, TV programs and art.

The new strategy was discussed recently at the home of leftist philanthropist Stanley Sheinbaum as the ACLU Foundation of Southern California held its "Evening With Ron Kovic."

Among the celebrities and industry executives present, according to trade journal reports, were MCA-Universal Chairman Tom Pollock, director Oliver Stone, actor Kris Kristofferson, singer Pat Benatar, director Michael Mann, actor Robert Downey Jr., actress Susan Blakely, DJ Casey Kasem and actress Sarah Jessica Parker.

"In the legal arena, we've been quite successful," explained Danny Goldberg, head of Gold Mountain Records and chairman of the ACLU Foundation. "The ACLU for years has successfully prevented any kind of legal censorship, but I am deeply concerned that while we are winning individual battles, we're losing a larger war. That is because we haven't quite figured out a strategy to counteract the

pressure campaigns on the business community, on record stores, on bookstores, on sponsors. It's one of the things that the organization talks a lot about, and to the extent that we can expand our budget, it's something we're committed to do—to build an arm in the media and in public opinion."

Last year, the ACLU of Southern California—perhaps the most radical chapter of the group in the nation—called for a reverse boycott of products by Clorox and Mennen, companies targeted for their sponsorship of TV shows particularly heavy in sex, violence and anti-Christian bigotry, according to Christian Leaders for Responsible Television. While CLear-TV was calling on the public to stop buying the companies' products, the ACLU urged its followers to do just the opposite—to go out of their way to buy Mennen and Clorox products to counteract the boycott effort. Recently, however, CLear-TV declared its effort a success and called off the boycott against Clorox. The boycott against Mennen remains in effect.

But it's not just in television that the ACLU is actively promoting offensiveness. The group is also standing up in defense of the National Endowment for the Arts' funding of sacrilegious, tasteless, por-

nographic and potentially illegal works.

Goldberg denounced the "ridiculous litmus test" proposed for grants by the NEA "based on some concept of decency and morality that only (Sen.) Jesse Helms (R-NC) knows what it means." Helms, you may remember, merely wanted to ascertain that works such as Andres Serrano's "Pi-Christ" and the disgusting, homo-erotic photos of Robert Mapplethorpe would no longer be subsidized by the federal government.

Goldberg also objected to new efforts to curb the licentiousness rampant throughout the music industry, which produces and promotes records that are anti-semitic, advocate the killing of police officers and promote drugs, violence and sexual promiscuity.

"In my business, there are record stores that are deciding not to sell certain rap records, and certain wacko right-wing legislators have tried to pass bills that would require labeling of lyrics," he said.

Kovic, the disabled Vietnam vet whose life was the inspiration for Stone's *Born on the Fourth of July*, delivered to the approximately 200 ACLU faithful an impassioned speech about how he evolved from a patriotic American soldier into professional dissident. And Parker, a young, aspiring Jane Fonda of the future, reminded those

The ACLU is also standing up in defense of the National Endowment for the Arts' funding of sacrilegious, tasteless, pornographic and potentially illegal works.

present what an important role Hollywood has played in saving the U.S. Constitution.

"Not everyone understands the importance of constantly defending individual liberty and equal justice," she said. "But this community (Hollywood) has always had special insight into how quickly rights

can be lost—perhaps because it will never forget the blacklisting nightmare, and also because it understands how essential free speech is to protecting the creative process."

TV executives want...to have the right to promote their own narrow political and social agenda, but they don't want to have to face the consequences from outraged viewers and sponsors.

But there were a few things left unsaid at the meeting in the exclusive Brentwood estate. There are a few contradictions in Hollywood's concern about pressure groups that expose the censorship issue for what it really is—a carnard and a red herring.

TV executives want to have their cake and eat it, too. They want to have the right to promote their own narrow political and social agenda, but they don't want to have to face the consequences from outraged viewers and sponsors.

Why would the American Civil Liberties Union—a group supposedly dedicated to protecting civil rights — want to limit the rights of those who disagree with the predominant values and politics of the establishment media? What's illegal or morally wrong with protesting media abuses by boycotting shows and sponsors? And why do Hollywood and the ACLU feel threatened only by boycotts of the right? Why is it that boycotts by homosexual activists, racial minorities and other "politically correct" activists go unchallenged?

No, the ACLU and its liberal allies in Hollywood aren't really concerned about "censorship." It's just that they don't want to be accountable to anyone—not even the marketplace—for what is produced in the name of entertainment these days.

Movie star calls

Bush mass murderer

Alec Baldwin, the star of the movie *Hunt for Red October*, recently discussed politics: "[George Bush is] a CIA mass murderer and carpet-bagger from Maine who is owned by the oil companies...Reagan was nothing but eight years of Chinese water torture. Look at Orrin Hatch, the Pee-Wee Herman of all conservative Republicans, trying to dictate what is right because they parade it around as patriotic. The cynicism they've fostered has become an insurmountable thing. You know how long it's going to take to undo the damage."

TV ETC., May-June/90

Parents sue after youths get sex material at school

A half-dozen parents in Michigan, angry that children in a self-esteem class were presented sexual information without their knowledge, have sued the school and a community mental health agency.

About 20 students at Sand Lake Alternative Education School in grades seven through 11 were given the material, including instructions on "Self-Pleasuring Techniques" and "Sexual Fantasies," by an

employee of the Community Mental Health Services of Montcalm County.

The lawsuit, filed in Kent County Circuit Court against Tri-County Area Public Schools and Community Mental Health Services of Montcalm County, seeks more than \$10,000 in damages, an order preventing the teaching of sex education, and the requirement that the superintendent of the Tri-County Area Public Schools "review all classroom materials prior to their presentation."

In addition, the school violated the parents' rights by not informing them of the nature of the presentation, according to the suit.

Officials at the mental health agency have said the material was given out accidentally. However, attorney David Melton, of the Rutherford Institute, a non-profit parental rights organization, said, "There are some substantial questions that have to be answered before we buy that story."

According to the suit, at least one student asked the worker if she knew the material included the topics on sex. She said she did and told the class they would discuss the material after everyone had read it. No teachers were in the room at the time because the worker had asked them to leave.

The first page of the four-page package contained material about self-esteem but the remaining pages included information on sexual techniques as well as group and unnatural sex fantasies.

Diana Merritt, one of the parents involved in the suit, said she learned of the material from her 17-year-old son. While she agreed the material may have been distributed by mistake, she joined the lawsuit to make sure it doesn't happen again.

Merritt said: "I was not happy at all about it. The first page was well written...after that it went downhill. I thought it was presented very poorly. She had no right to discuss that with our children."

Grand Rapids Press, 4/26/90

Judge refuses to dismiss lawsuit

A federal judge has refused to dismiss a suit against Joe Piscopo and the Miller Brewing Co. by the Fat Boys, who took \$5 million worth of insult in a TV ad in which the rappers allegedly are depicted shilling beer.

The Boys say they turned down an offer to do the spot because their music message is "to avoid all use of drugs and alcohol," and they accuse Miller and Piscopo of usurping their image to do the commercial.

Associated Press

Pro-NEA writers' union believes Christian values went out at the turn of this century

By Carl Rapkins
New York City Tribune

Those present at the May 9 general meeting of the National Writers Union, New York Local, had gathered on the New York University campus to discuss "Unspeakable Acts: Obscenity, Censorship and the Attack on the NEA."

After union business was out of the way, one of the two women panelists passed around a photograph of a nude little girl, her back turned to the camera, as an example of the kind of art which right-wing maniacs were up in arms about. In addition to the extremely questionable taste, it was an intellectually dishonest act—and so was the rest of her presentation which followed.

She knew very well that the photo was the least offensive of what could have been shown to the membership as typical of *avant garde* art funded by taxpayers.

There was no mention of National Endowment for the Arts-funded photos of bullwhips extending from rectums, fists shoved up anuses, live sex shows performed by ex-porn stars, or children displaying their genitalia, or religiously offensive works such as the now infamous *Py-Christ*. Any discussion of this type of material, unknowingly financed by taxpayers, might dispel the notion that the radical right

The Rev. Wildmon's name came up several times at the writers' union meeting, always with scorn mingled with apprehension.

was not simply overreacting to legitimate but controversial, thought-provoking art.

The general conclusion of this writers' union conference was that a small group of Christian fundamentalists, led by the likes of Rev. Donald Wildmon of the American Family Association, Sen. Jesse Helms and others totally unrepresentative of the American public, had somehow conspired to sabotage artistic and literary freedom. A sample letter which the union had prepared claimed that "we don't have a consensus of opinion or taste in this country," thus freeing themselves of any suspicion of exercising cultural elitism and being out of step, which, in actual fact, is exactly the case.

While most of the meeting centered on the problems facing the visual arts, there was also anxiety of course among union writers over how the literary arts might be affected by current attempts either to shut down the NEA completely or to hamper its excesses. For example, those present were told of an oppressed lesbian author who feared that the new restrictions which Congress has already passed might threaten her continued ability to obtain government grants.

The union alerted its membership that legislation concerning the reauthorization of the NEA is not yet completed, and that hearings are still in progress in the House, with those in the Senate to follow. During the summer the full Congress will vote on whether the NEA is to be reauthorized, and with what restrictions on artistic "freedom."

The writers are particularly worried about Sen. Alphonse D'Amato, who "was one of the original hysterics on the issue and has only recently swung over to our side to shore up his uncertain political fortunes." Furthermore, voting for a pro-NEA bill goes against his basic grain; he doesn't naturally think like us, the writers complained. He will need extra pressure. The union strongly urged its members to

bombard him and other key senators with phone calls and mail, preferably individually prepared, rather than form letters. Lists of targeted legislators were passed around.

There were some truly astonishing statements made by panelist Judy Levine. For example, most people outside the artistic and intellectual left would be surprised to learn that NEA-funded artist Robert Mapplethorpe, the one who was photographed with the bullwhip protruding from his rectum, was actually "in some ways a conservative."

She drew a round of derisive laughter by claiming that one of the enemy's chief spokesmen, Sen. Helms, had cautioned his associates not to let women staffers see any of Mapplethorpe's more "explicit work."

Carol Vance, the panel's other member, gave a lesson on the social psychology of the ultra right, especially its purported phobia about sexuality outside heterosexual marriage. Vance stressed how "simplistically" the "religious right" thinks: sex is only acceptable within heterosexual marriage; pornography is dangerous stimuli which leads inevitably to promiscuity and even sex crimes.

The kind of mentality, according to her, is in conflict with what are now mainstream educated American values. Since the beginning of the century all enlightened Americans have outgrown right-wing extremism.

Her attitude demonstrates so much of what is troubling about the pro-NEA and the intellectual left crowd: Their arrogance and failure to admit that they are a tiny, powerful elite.

But in their eyes just the opposite is the case. They alone represent decent, caring and *truly American* values (note the title of Norman Lear's organization—People for the American Way).

For people who live, work or hang out either in Manhattan, somewhere else in the Northeast, or in California, it may well seem that their own cultural taste and politics are typically contemporary American; but that is an illusion. Elsewhere in the country, especially in the heartland, people's attitudes are different.

The Rev. Wildmon of the American Family Association is one of their more effective spokesmen. His name came up several times at

The union strongly urged its members to bombard...senators with phone calls and mail, preferably individually prepared, rather than form letters. Lists of targeted legislators were passed around.

the writers' union meeting, always with scorn mingled with apprehension. They seem to recognize that he and other anti-NEA activists are capable of articulating the anger of many average Americans tired of taxpayer-financed artistic atrocities and the leftist monopoly of American popular and elite culture.

The literary left fears the wrath of a sleeping giant.

Send AFA Responses

Please send AFA copies of responses you receive from advertisers or other companies. Also send news clippings on family issues. Your help is deeply appreciated.

The privilege...

Continued from page 2

ousness.

The next time you suffer because you take a stand for righteousness, think about the words of our Lord. And be thankful for the honor.

Don

P.S. I ask your prayers for David Wojnarowicz, the homosexual who sued me. Mr. Wojnarowicz had a troubled childhood and a most unfortunate life. Now his writings reflect a man filled with hate and anger. He has never known the love of Christ. Please pray that he may come to know the Lord, that his anger and hate would be replaced with peace and love.

K mart...

Continued from page 1

Penthouse.) As a participant in the lawsuit, K mart/Waldenbooks had spent an estimated five to six hundred thousand dollars, including full-page ads in 32 daily newspapers across the country, promoting the suit.

"K mart's dropping out of the pornographers' suit against the AFA and Caton is a great victory," says AFA Executive Director Donald Wildmon, "but it is only a first step. K mart refused to get out of the porn business and continues to sell the porn magazines in their Waldenbooks stores."

AFA urges local groups and individuals to continue to picket and boycott K mart and Waldenbooks until the chain removes the porn magazines. Friday, August 3, is the next "Picket for David Day." AFA encourages individuals, groups and churches to organize a picket of K mart stores on that day. AFA offers a free Picket Packet on how to organize and conduct a successful picket. For a copy, contact AFA.

If no K mart stores are in your area, picketing of other K mart owned stores is encouraged. K mart owns Waldenbooks, Pay Less Drug Stores, Builders Square home supply stores, and PACE Membership Warehouse stores.

"The decision by K mart to pull out of the lawsuit shows that our efforts are having an impact. K mart is feeling the results of our boycott. I urge everyone concerned to

continue the boycott," said Wildmon.

Wildmon said that "to stop our efforts now would make meaningless our efforts up to this point. We asked K mart that they withdraw from the lawsuit and stop selling the porn magazines," Wildmon said. "K mart has ignored our request to get out of the pornography business. Even though they got out of the lawsuit, they continue their attack on the family by staying in the porn business. K mart has, by withdrawing from the suit, admitted that their involvement in pornography is wrong. Now we are asking that they complete their commitment to the family and get completely out of the pornography business."

Wildmon commended K mart for dropping their participation in the lawsuit, but cautions, "K mart is counting on Christians and others who oppose pornography being apathetic. We need the support of concerned people in this battle against pornography. We hope that many concerned people will get involved in promoting the boycott and organizing a picket in their community."

Concerned individuals are urged to help inform others about K mart's support for the pornographers in their battle against the family. AFA urges you to call K mart, thank them for dropping out of the lawsuit, and let them know you are joining and promoting a boycott of K mart and will continue to do so until they get out of the pornography business entirely. Pastors are urged to put information about the boycott in their newsletters and bulletins.

You are also urged to call your local K mart store and tell the manager you will be boycotting K mart and asking others to do the same. And you can write Chrm. Joseph Antonini, K mart Corporation, 3100 West Big Beaver Road, Troy, MI 48084.

Boy imitates acts on half-sister

A 12-year-old San Leandro, California boy accused of raping his five-year-old half-sister after watching a sexually explicit television program, was ordered to stay in Alameda County Juvenile Hall until his trial begins.

At a hearing before Acting Referee Alys Briggs, the boy was charged with one count each of rape, lewd and lascivious conduct with a child under 14 and incest for each of the two alleged rapes.

Police say the boy feels guilty about the acts. "He is very remorseful about what he's done," San Leandro Lt. Tom Hull said. "He knew it was wrong."

Police said the boy raped his half-sister twice while his parents were out. He told police he did it after watching a sex scene on TV.

Lompoc Record, California, 1/26/90

Radical sues...

Continued from page 1

Avenue should lose his church tax-exempt

status and pay retroactive taxes from the last couple of centuries...This creep in black skirts has kept safer-sex information off the local television stations and mass transit advertising spaces for the last eight years of the AIDS epidemic thereby helping thousands and thousands to their unnecessary deaths."

The homosexual artist said that "When I was told that I'd contracted this (AIDS) virus it didn't take me long to realize that I'd contracted a diseased society as well."

Wojnarowicz is the creator of the NEA-funded "Tongues of Flame" catalog which featured Christ as a drug addict amidst hardcore homosexual photographs. The leftwing Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR) is handling his lawsuit against Wildmon and AFA at no charge. The CCR is considered far to the left of the American Civil Liberties Union. CCR is headed by William Kunstler who has defended such groups as The Chicago Seven (following the Democratic Convention in Chicago years ago), Angela Davis, the Black Panthers, and Tawana Brawley. The *Washington Post* said that "Wojnarowicz is being represented at no charge by attorneys from the Center for Constitutional Rights as well as three attorneys associated with the powerful corporate New York law firm of Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom."

Wildmon reprinted some of the hardcore explicit homosexual pornographic photos in Wojnarowicz's exhibit catalog from Illinois State Galleries which the National Endowment for the Arts supported with tax dollars, and mailed them to Congressmen and Senators, a relatively small number of Christian leaders and the media. Wildmon mailed the material to educate these key people on the kind of "art" tax dollars are supporting.

The Village Voice said Wojnarowicz took many of the photos reprinted by Wildmon from his lover Peter's porn collection. Peter died of AIDS. According to *Village Voice*, "After Peter's death; after his own diagnosis; after long depression; after an old friend, Marion Scemama got him out of bed again; David began *Sex Series* (for Marion Scemama) to address his sense of loss. 'And I wanted some sexy images on the wall—to keep me company.' Working in Peter's darkroom, David made photo-montages of military/industrial/urban scenes, layered with blocks of prose about sex, about AIDS. Into each, he set circular images of sex acts. These David took from Peter's porn collection."

"The lawsuit is an attempt to win through the courts that which those who oppose us have not been able to win in the public arena—to blunt AFA's effectiveness and, hopefully, to put us out of business. It is intended to silence those of us who fight for the rights of Christians and for traditional Christian values," Wildmon said.

Immediately after the lawsuit was filed,

Wildmon announced that AFA would begin building a legal team to counteract actions by those who seek to destroy traditional Christian values through the courts.

"Day after day there are groups trying to take away the rights of Christians while promoting the 'rights' of pornographers, atheists, child molesters, abortionists and homosexuals," he said. "This is not happening in the democratic way, by people going to the polls and voting, but in the unelected courtrooms of America.

"The public did not vote to end prayer meetings or Bible meetings after school hours, to make abortion legal, to force homeowners and businesses to rent to homosexuals or people who want to shack up together, to allow pornographers the right to go on publishing. These and other battles weren't won through popular vote. They were won in the courtroom by lawyers from such groups as the Center for Constitutional Rights and the ACLU," Wildmon stated.

"If you look at all the gains of those who want to change the value system which has served as the foundation for our society, and all the losses of Christian rights over the years, the vast majority of those gains and losses have taken place in our courts. Now they want to take away yet another right from us—the right to inform the public as to how their tax dollars are being spent."

Wildmon said that he hoped by the end of summer to have a five-person legal team of Christian attorneys on the staff of AFA. "These will be the very finest, most talented, best qualified Christians lawyers I can find who specialize in the First Amendment," he said.

He added that not only will the AFA legal team be available to defend the rights of Christians in the courts, but they will also train other Christian lawyers across the country. "Just as we have established over 500 local chapters of the AFA to fight for our rights in the public arena, we will establish a network of Christian lawyers across this country who will fight our battle in the courts," he stated.

The AFA legal team will work for Christians whose rights are threatened—teachers who are fired, landlords who are sued, ministers who are prohibited from speaking, etc. AFA will be there to defend the rights of individual Christians whose rights are threatened but who do not have the money to defend themselves.

AFA will not only react to actions made against Christians, but initiate actions that will put the pornographers and militant homosexuals and humanists on the defensive.

"Give us a little time and AFA will be able to go into the courtrooms across this country to defend the religious and free speech rights of Christians," he added. "Remember what Joseph told his brothers?

"But as for you, you meant evil against me; but God meant it for good..." Mr. Wojnarowicz and the Center for Constitutional Rights intended this lawsuit to put us out of business, to end our effectiveness, to stop our success. But God will use it for good. He will use this lawsuit as a catalyst to launch our AFA legal team and re-establish our rights as Christians."

(In a somewhat unprecedented move, the trial was set to begin on June 25. Because of a printing deadline, results of the trial will be in the August AFA Journal.)

In conjunction with the lawsuit by Wojnarowicz, those who favor continued tax funding of pornography and anti-Christian art have launched a major offensive in support of the National Endowment for the Arts. Congressman Pat Williams (D-MT) recently called those who oppose government funding of pornography and anti-Christian bigotry "right-wing evangelical cuckoos."

Williams is working closely with members of the arts community and other groups to secure passage of a bill which would continue funding the NEA. Currently the NEA gets \$171,000,000 but have asked for \$175,000,000 for next year. Congress must reauthorize the NEA this year for it to continue to exist.

Wildmon said that in announcing the suit to the media, Wojnarowicz used quotes which were taken from the letter he had written to Congressmen and Senators. "That means that a Congressman or Senator gave the letter to Wojnarowicz," Wildmon said. "Whether or not Congressman Williams was the one who contacted Wojnarowicz about the letter, I cannot say," he said. Williams has been extremely critical of Wildmon's efforts to stop the NEA from funding anti-Christian and pornographic "art".

Many groups, including Norman Lear's politically liberal People for the American Way, have begun massive efforts to secure continued funding of pornographic and anti-Christian "art" by the NEA. Their efforts include advertising in major newspapers, massive direct mailings, and using movie and television stars to promote the NEA. In addition, the arts community has begun a major campaign to protect their funding by passing out material at their events and by sending direct mailings to their supporters asking them to contact their Senators and Representatives to vote to continue funding for NEA's pornographic and anti-Christian art. The Emergency Committee for the Arts says that the refusal by Congress to fund the pornographic and anti-Christian art is "censorship."

NEA Chairman John Frohnmayer, trying to silence critics of the pornographic and anti-Christian art within the NEA and National Council for the Arts, recently fired Alvin S. Felzenberg, NEA's senior deputy

chairman and number two person. Press reports said that Felzenberg had been discussing the NEA funding with the media. Frohnmayer, who has made the promotion of "free expression" a major point in continued funding for the NEA, told National Council on the Arts member Jacob Neusner, who has also spoken out on the NEA situation, that if he could, "I (Frohnmayer) would fire you (Neusner)."

When the National Council on the Arts, which must approve all NEA grants, postponed funding 18 grants recently, Charlotte Murphy, spokeswoman for the National Campaign for Freedom of Expression—a group affiliated with the National Association of Artists' Organizations, said: "They (by postponing the grants) totally stepped out of line." One of the proposed grants was to Karen Finley. Columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak described Finley's "art" thusly: "She casually peels off her dress and pours gelatin into her bra...slathers chocolate over her body...and sticks blobs of bean sprouts over her body and calls it sperm."

"Unless Congressmen and Senators hear from the grassroots, it appears that the NEA will be reauthorized with \$175,000,000 to continue support for the artists who produce this material," Wildmon said.

Your Congressman's address is: House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515. Your two Senators' address: U.S. Senate, Washington, DC 20505. The phone number is 202-224-3121.

Go and make...

Continued from page 2

church to serve who would.

To my shame I have never done much witnessing to others about my faith in Christ. I'm not talking about my life being a witness, certainly that should be. I'm talking about making time to "go therefore" and tell others how Jesus can change their lives forever. This is something I've done little of. But this class is going to force me to begin doing so. I will be going door-to-door seeking people who are willing to listen to the Good News of the gospel. I'm not looking forward to the rejection, but I am looking forward to doing what Jesus has commanded me to do.

My new pastor asked all of us a question that first night of training which really brought out the importance of witnessing. He asked those 15 or so of us attending how many had believed in Jesus without someone first sharing Christ with them. Not a hand was raised.

I've had to learn that sharing my faith is not something I have a choice about if I want to be obedient to Christ. The words of a contemporary gospel song ask it simply, "How will they know, if we don't tell them?"

Attention Pastors

Christians & Society
TODAY, pages 3 and 4,
is designed to be repro-
duced for use as a sup-
plement or insert with
bulletins or newsletters.

ANTI-CHRISTIAN BIAS

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Enclose check with order.

August 1990



Journal

of the American Family Association

Networks increase sex, violence, profanity; top sponsors contacted

Monitoring by Christian Lead-
ers for Responsible Television
(CLear-TV) shows that the net-
works increased the amount of
sex, violence and profanity by 30%
during 1990 spring sweeps, as
compared to last fall.

Dr. Billy A. Melvin, chairman
of CLear-TV, said that sex, vio-
lence and profanity incidents went
from 24.52 per programming hour
last fall to 31.87 this spring. The
increase follows an approximate
30% decrease last fall. The group

said NBC increased their sex, vio-
lence and profanity by 31%, CBS
by 17% and ABC by 45%. CLear-
TV monitored during the recent
April/May sweeps period and
found that NBC had 11.78 inci-

Continued on page 23

NEA funds 'artist' urinating on photo of Christ

The National Endowment for
the Arts gave "artist" John Fleck
\$5,000 last year to help fund a
performance in which he urinated
on a photo of Christ. In his per-
formance, titled "Blessed Are All
the Little Fishes", Fleck places a
photo of Christ in a toilet bowl and
then urinates on it.

Fleck's performance is only the

latest of anti-Christian and por-
nographic "works of art" which
the NEA has helped fund. An
Artweek review last year described
Fleck as being "known for his-
trionic operatic vocals, manic
energy and flagrant displays of his
private parts...He tests the boun-
daries by turning performance ex-
cesses and taboos into cultural

commentary."

In other NEA developments,
documents obtained by AFA indi-
cate that, contrary to denials by
National Endowment for the Arts
officials, the live porn performance
by Annie Sprinkle at the Kitchen
Theater in New York earlier this
year did receive tax support.

Continued on page 23

Circle K porn says Christianity breeds inhumanity

Many individuals do not realize
that in addition to the anti-family
stance of porn magazines, they
also push anti-Christian bigotry.
An article in a recent issue of
Penthouse, sold by Circle K stores
throughout the nation, is a vicious
attack on Christianity and Chris-
tians. Despite requests from lit-
erally thousands of concerned in-
dividuals and churches, Circle K
has refused to discontinue the sale
of the porn magazines and their
anti-Christian bigotry.

In their August issue, *Penthouse*
writer James A. Haught says:
"Obviously, people who think re-
ligion is a force for good are
looking only at Dr. Jekyll and
ignoring Mr. Hyde. They don't see
the superstitious savagery pervad-
ing both history and current
events..."

"During the past three centuries,
religion gradually lost its power
over life in Europe and America,
and church horrors ended in the
West. But the poison lingered. The
Nazi holocaust was rooted in cen-

turies of hate (by the church).
Historian Dagobert Runes said
that the long era of church per-
secution killed three and a half
million Jews—and Hitler's Final
Solution was a secular continu-
ation..."

"Anything that divides people
breeds inhumanity. Religion serves
that ugly purpose," *Penthouse*
said.

Penthouse then urged people to
call a 900 number and for a fee of
\$2 for the first minute and 75¢ for

each additional minute, to confess
"a personal horror story about
how religion has affected you.
Callers can tell their experiences or
listen to stories from others."

In addition to the anti-Christian
bigotry, the porn magazines sold
by Circle K have pushed drug use
for years.

The address: Chrm. Bart A.
Brown, Jr., The Circle K Cor-
poration, P.O. Box 52084, Phoe-
nix, AZ 85072, Phone 602/253-
9600.

American Family Association
Post Office Drawer 2440
Tupelo, Mississippi 38803

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Gordonsville, VA 22942

ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED

Homosexual task force releases scorecard on Representatives', Senators' votes on homosexual issues

The National Gay & Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF) has released a scorecard for Representatives and Senators. The scorecard was based on the first session of the 101st Congress.

According to a press release from the homosexual group, "Senate lawmakers were tracked on four key gay/lesbian and AIDS votes: the Americans With Disabilities Act (ADA), a measure that extends anti-discrimination protections to people with AIDS and HIV; two votes on the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) anti-gay Helms' amendment; and an amendment offered by Gordon Humphrey (R-NH) that would have banned federal funds from school programs that presented homosexuality as 'normal, natural or healthy.'

"In the House, members were tracked on eight key votes, including the Hate Crimes Statistics Act, the NEA anti-gay amendment, four votes on the 'Armstrong amendment' that exempts religious educational institutions in the District of Columbia from anti-discrimi-

nation laws, and two votes on restricting educational materials relating to homosexuality."

The scores below are the ratings given to these officials by the NGLTF. The score beside the name is the percentage of bills on which the homosexual group says the official voted "right", the way the homosexual group wanted them to vote. The higher the score, the more support the Congressman gave to bills the homosexuals favor.

The homosexual community has increased its support in Congress by putting tremendous pressure on Congressmen. Members of homosexual groups were recently invited to the White House by President Bush for the signing of the Hate Crimes bill. Bush is the first president ever to invite leaders from homosexual groups to an official White House meeting.

Addresses: U.S. Senate, Washington, DC 20510; House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515.

SENATE

AK -Ted Stevens -50
AK -Frank H. Murkowski -0
AL -Howell Heflin -25
AL -Richard Shelby -25
AR -Dale Bumpers -75
AR -David Pryor -67
AZ -Dennis DeConcini -25
AZ -John McCain -25
CA -Alan Cranston -100
CA -Pete Wilson -25
CO -Timothy E. Wirth -75
CO -William Armstrong -0
CT -Christopher Dodd -75
CT -Joseph Lieberman -75
DE -Joseph Biden, Jr. -75
DE -William V. Roth -33
FL -Bob Graham -50
FL -Connie Mack -25
GA -Wyche Fowler, Jr. -50
GA -Sam Nunn -50
HI -Daniel Inouye -100
IA -Tom Harkin -75
IA -Charles Grassley -25
ID -James A. McClure -0
ID -Steve Symms -0

IL -Alan J. Dixon -75
IL -Paul Simon -75
IN -Richard G. Lugar -75
IN -Daniel Coats -25
KS -Nancy Kassebaum -75
KS -Robert Dole -25
KY -Wendell H. Ford -25
KY -Mitch McConnell -25
LA -Bennett Johnston -50
LA -John Breaux -0
MA -Edward Kennedy -100
MA -John F. Kerry -75
MD -Barbara Mikulski -100
MD -Paul S. Sarbanes -75
ME -William S. Cohen -75
ME -George Mitchell -75
MI -Carl Levin -75
MI -Donald W. Riegle -75
MN -Rudy Boschwitz -75
MN -David Durenberger -75
MO -John C. Danforth -75
MO -Christopher Bond -33
MS -Thad Cochran -33
MS -Trent Lott -0
MT -Max Baucus -67

MT -Conrad Burns -0
NC -Terry Sanford -67
NC -Jesse A. Helms -0
ND -Quentin Burdick -100
ND -Kent Conrad -50
NE -Robert Kerrey -75
NE -J. James Exon -50
NH -Warren Rudman -67
NH -Gordon Humphrey -0
NJ -Bill Bradley -100
NJ -Frank Lautenberg -75
NM -Peter Domenici -100
NM -Jeff Bingaman -75
NV -Harry Reid -75
NV -Richard Bryan -50
NY -Daniel Moynihan -100
NY -Alfonse M. D'Amato -75
OH -John Glenn -67
OH -Howard Metzenbaum -67
OK -David L. Boren -75
OK -Don Nickles -25
OR -Mark O. Hatfield -75
OR -Bob Packwood -75
PA -H. John Heinz -75
PA -Arlen Specter -75

RI -John H. Chafee -100
RI -Claiborne Pell -100
SC -Ernest F. Hollings -25
SC -Strom Thurmond -25
SD -Thomas A. Daschle -75
SD -Larry Pressler -25
TN -Albert Gore Jr. -75
TN -Jim Sasser -67
TX -Lloyd M. Bentsen -0
TX -Phil Gramm -25
UT -Orrin G. Hatch -25
UT -E. J. Garn -0
VA -Charles S. Robb -75
VA -John Warner -75
VT -Patrick J. Leahy -100
VT -James Jeffords -100
WA -Brock Adams -100
WA -Slade Gorton -75
WI -Herb Kohl -75
WI -Robert W. Kasten -25
WV -Robert C. Byrd -50
WV -J.D. Rockefeller, IV -50
WY -Alan K. Simpson -75
WY -Malcolm Wallop -0

HOUSE

AK -Don Young -0
AL -Ben Erdreich -50
AL -Tom Bevill -50
AL -Glen Browder -50
AL -Claude Harris -50
AL -Ronnie G. Flipbo -43
AL -William Dickinson -13
AL -H.L. Sonny Callahan -13
AR -Bill Alexander -63
AR -Beryl Anthony -63
AR -Tommy F. Robinson -0
AR -John P. Hammerschmidt -0
AZ -Morris K. Udall -75
AZ -Jim Kolbe -63
AZ -John J. Rhodes III -25
AZ -Bob Stump -0
AZ -Jon Kyl -0
CA -Henry A. Waxman -100
CA -Leon P. Panetta -100
CA -George Miller -100
CA -Norman Mineta -100
CA -Matthew Martinez -100
CA -Robert T. Matsui -100
CA -Mel Levine -100

CA -Augustus F. Hawkins -100
CA -Victor Fazio -100
CA -Don Edwards -100
CA -Ronald Dellums -100
CA -Barbara Boxer -100
CA -George E. Brown, Jr. -100
CA -Howard Berman -100
CA -Esteban Torres -100
CA -Fortney (Pete) Stark -100
CA -Mervyn Dymally -100
CA -Nancy Pelosi -100
CA -Anthony C. Beilenson -100
CA -Edward Roybal -88
CA -Douglas H. Bosco -88
CA -Tom Lantos -88
CA -Richard Lehman -88
CA -Jim Bates -88
CA -Julian Dixon -86
CA -Gary Condit -80
CA -Glenn Anderson -75
CA -Tom Campbell -63
CA -William M. Thomas -50
CA -Jerry Lewis -50

CA -Bill Lowery -38
CA -Charles Pashayan, Jr. -25
CA -Carlos J. Moorhead -25
CA -Christopher Cox -14
CA -Ron Packard -13
CA -Dana Rohrabacher -13
CA -Al McCandless -13
CA -Robert J. Lagomarsino -13
CA -David Dreier -13
CA -Elton Gallegly -13
CA -Duncan L. Hunter -0
CA -Robert K. Dornan -0
CA -Norman D. Shumway -0
CA -Wally Herger -0
CA -William Dannemeyer -0
CO -Patricia Schroeder -100
CO -David E. Skaggs -88
CO -Ben Nighthorse Campbell -63
CO -Daniel L. Schaefer -13
CO -Hank Brown -13
CO -Joel Hefley -0
CT -Bruce A. Morrison -100
CT -Sam Gejdenson -100

CT -Barbara B. Kennelly -88
CT -Christopher Shays -88
CT -Nancy Johnson -75
CT -John G. Rowland -25
DE -Thomas R. Carper -63
FL -Harry A. Johnston -100
FL -William Lehman -100
FL -Dante Fascell -100
FL -Lawrence J. Smith -88
FL -Sam Gibbons -63
FL -Bill Nelson -38
FL -Charles Bennett -38
FL -C.W. Bill Young -25
FL -Andy Ireland -14
FL -Bill Grant -13
FL -E. Clay Shaw, Jr. -13
FL -Craig James -13
FL -Bill McCollum -13
FL -Tom Lewis -13
FL -Michael Bilirakis -13
FL -Porter Goss -13
FL -Ileana Ros-Lehtinen -0
FL -Cliff Stearns -0

FL - Earl Hutto -0
GA - John Lewis -100
GA - Charles F. Haascher -88
GA - Ben Jones -88
GA - Robert Lindsay Thomas -50
GA - J. Roy Rowland -50
GA - George Darden -50
GA - Doug Bernard, Jr. -40
GA - Richard Ray -38
GA - Ed Jenkins -29
GA - Newt Gingrich -14
HI - Daniel K. Akaka -88
HI - Patricia Saiki -50
IA - Dave Nagle -100
IA - Neal Smith -86
IA - Jim Leach -50
IA - Jim Lightfoot -38
IA - Fred Grandy -38
IA - Thomas J. Tauke -13
ID - Richard H. Stallings -50
ID - Larry E. Craig -13
IL - Sidney Yates -100
IL - Cardiss Collins -100
IL - Gus Savage -100
IL - Lane Evans -88
IL - Richard J. Durbin -88
IL - Charles A. Hayes -88
IL - Dan Rostenkowski -75
IL - Frank Annunzio -63
IL - George E. Sangmeister -63
IL - Marty A. Russo -50
IL - Terry Bruce -50
IL - William O. Lipinski -50
IL - John E. Porter -50
IL - Jerry F. Costello -43
IL - Glenn Poshard -38
IL - Edward R. Madigan -38
IL - Lynn Martin -38
IL - Henry Hyde -14
IL - Robert Michel -13
IL - J. Dennis Hastert -13
IL - Harris Fawell -13
IL - Philip Crane -0
IN - Peter J. Visclosky -100
IN - Jill Long -88
IN - Frank McCloskey -88
IN - Jim Jontz -88
IN - Philip R. Sharp -75
IN - Lee H. Hamilton -63
IN - Andrew Jacobs, Jr. -25
IN - John T. Myers -25
IN - John P. Hiler -14
IN - Dan Burton -0
KS - Jim Slattery -50
KS - Dan Glickman -50
KS - Jan Meyers -25
KS - Pat Roberts -25
KS - Robert Whittaker -13
KY - Romano L. Mazzoli -100
KY - William H. Natcher -75
KY - Carl C. Perkins -63
KY - Carroll Hubbard -38
KY - Harold Rogers -38
KY - Larry J. Hopkins -25
KY - Jim Bunning -0
LA - Lindy Boggs -57
LA - Jim McCrery -43
LA - Jerry Huckaby -38
LA - Jimmy Hayes -29
LA - W.J. Billy Tauzin -25
LA - Bob Livingston -13
LA - Richard Baker -13
LA - Clyde Holloway -0
MA - Edward J. Markey -100
MA - Joseph D. Early -100
MA - Joseph Kennedy II -100
MA - Barney Frank -100
MA - Gerry Studds -100
MA - Joe Moakley -88
MA - Chester Atkins -88
MA - Silvio Conte -88
MA - Nicholas Mavroules -86
MA - Richard E. Neal -86
MA - Brian Donnelly -63

MD - Benjamin L. Cardin -100
MD - [Redacted] -100
MD - Steny Hoyer -100
MD - Constance Morella -100
MD - Thomas McMillan -63
MD - Roy Dyson -25
MD - Beverly Byron -25
MD - Helen Detlich Bantley -0
ME - Joseph Brennan -50
ME - Olympia J. Snowe -25
MI - Sander Levin -100
MI - Howard Wolpe -100
MI - Dale E. Kildee -88
MI - Dennis M. Hertel -88
MI - William D. Ford -88
MI - David E. Bonior -88
MI - George W. Crockett -88
MI - John Conyers, Jr. -86
MI - Bob Traxler -75
MI - Bob Carr -75
MI - John Dingell -57
MI - Carl D. Pursell -50
MI - Paul B. Henry -38
MI - Robert W. Davis -29
MI - Guy Vander Jagt -25
MI - William Broomfield -14
MI - Bill Schuette -13
MI - Fred Upton -13
MN - Bruce Vento -100
MN - Gerry Sikorski -100
MN - Martin Sabo -100
MN - James L. Oberstar -100
MN - Bill Frenzel -75
MN - Timothy J. Penny -50
MN - Vin Weber -13
MN - Arian Strangeland -13
MO - William Clay -100
MO - Alan Wheat -100
MO - Richard A. Gephardt -100
MO - E. Thomas Coleman -43
MO - Jack Buechner -38
MO - Ike Skelton -25
MO - Harold L. Volkmer -13
MO - Melton D. "Mel" Hancock, Jr. -0
MO - Bill Emerson -0
MS - Jamie Whitten -75
MS - Mike Espy -63
MS - G.V. Sonny Montgomery -38
MS - Mike Parker -38
MT - Pat Williams -100
MT - Ron Marlenee -0
NC - David Price -88
NC - Stephen Neal -86
NC - Martin Lancaster -86
NC - Walter B. Jones -67
NC - Charles Rose -57
NC - W.G. (Bill) Hefner -38
NC - James McClure Clarke -38
NC - Tim Valentine -38
NC - J. Alex McMillan -13
NC - Howard Coble -0
NC - Cass Ballenger -0
ND - Byron L. Dorgan -63
NE - Peter Hoagland -75
NE - Virginia Smith -25
NE - Doug Bereuter -25
NH - Robert C. Smith -0
NH - Chuck Douglas -0
NJ - Donald M. Payne -100
NJ - William Hughes -88
NJ - Robert G. Torricelli -86
NJ - Bernard J. Dwyer -86
NJ - Robert A. Roe -75
NJ - Frank J. Guarini -75
NJ - Dean Gallo -75
NJ - Jim Saxton -63
NJ - Frank Pallone, Jr. -50
NJ - Christopher H. Smith -13
NJ - Marge Roukema -13
NJ - Matthew J. Rinaldo -13
NM - Bill Richardson -88
NM - Steven H. Schiff -25
NM - Joe Skeen -13
NV - James H. Bulbray -50

NV - Barbara Vucanovich -13
NY - Tod Weins -100
NY - James H. Scherer -100
NY - Charles Schumer -100
NY - Major Owens -100
NY - Robert J. Mrazek -100
NY - Matthew McHugh -100
NY - Thomas J. Manton -100
NY - Thomas J. Downey -100
NY - Eliot L. Engel -100
NY - Eldolphus Thomas -100
NY - Stephen Solarz -100
NY - Gary Ackerman -100
NY - Floyd H. Flake -100
NY - Nita M. Lowey -100
NY - Bill Green -100
NY - Louise Slaughter -88
NY - Frank Horton -88
NY - Benjamin Gilman II -88
NY - Hamilton Fish, Jr. -88
NY - Sherwood Boehlert -88
NY - Charles B. Rangel -86
NY - Amo Houghton -80
NY - George Hochbrueckner -63
NY - Michael R. McNulty -57
NY - Henry J. Nowak -50
NY - John LaFalce -50
NY - James T. Walsh -38
NY - Raymond J. McGrath -38
NY - Norman Lent -25
NY - L. William Paxon -25
NY - Guy V. Molinari -14
NY - Gerald B. Solomon -13
NY - David O'B. Martin -13
OH - Louis Stokes -100
OH - Mary Rose Oskar -100
OH - Donald J. Pease -100
OH - Edward F. Feighan -100
OH - Willis D. Gradison -100
OH - Thomas Sawyer -88
OH - Marcy Kaptur -63
OH - Tony P. Hall -60
OH - Thomas A. Luken -50
OH - Ralph Regula -50
OH - James A. Traficant, Jr. -38
OH - Dennis Eckart -38
OH - Michael Oxley -29
OH - Douglas Applegate -25
OH - Clarence Miller -25
OH - Paul E. Gillmor -25
OH - John R. Kasich -25
OH - Chalmers P. Wytke -13
OH - Donald E. Lukens -13
OH - Bob McEwen -13
OH - Michael DeWine -13
OK - Michael Synar -88
OK - Dave McCurdy -43
OK - Wes Watkins -38
OK - Glenn English -29
OK - Mickey Edwards -13
OK - James M. Inhofe -13
OR - Ron Wyden -100
OR - Peter A. De Fazio -88
OR - Les AuCoin -86
OR - Robert F. Smith -0
OR - Denny Smith -0
PA - Peter Kostmayer -100
PA - Thomas Foglietta -100
PA - William J. Coyne -100
PA - Robert A. Borski -88
PA - William H. Gray III -86
PA - Gus Yatron -67
PA - Doug Walgren -63
PA - John P. Murtha -63
PA - Paul E. Kanjorski -63
PA - William F. Clinger, Jr. -63
PA - Lawrence Coughlin -50
PA - Joseph P. Kolter -38
PA - Joseph M. Gaydos -38
PA - Joseph McDade -38
PA - Austin J. Murphy -25
PA - Curt Weldon -25
PA - George W. Gekas -25
PA - William F. Goodling -14

PA - Robert S. Walker -13
PA - Richard T. Schulz -13
PA - Bob Shuster -13
PA - Don Ritter -13
PA - Thomas J. Ridge -13
RI - Claudine Schneider -100
RI - Ronald K. Mackley -88
SC - John Spratt -63
SC - Butler Derrick -50
SC - Robin Talton -29
SC - Elizabeth Patterson -25
SC - Floyd Spence -13
SC - Arthur Ravenel, Jr. -13
SD - Tim Johnson -38
TN - Harold E. Ford -86
TN - Jim Cooper -50
TN - Bob Clement -50
TN - Bart Gordon -50
TN - John Tanner -29
TN - Marilyn Lloyd -25
TN - Don Sundquist -14
TN - John J. Duncan -13
TN - James H. Quillen -0
TX - Henry B. Gonzalez -100
TX - Martin Frost -88
TX - Ronald Coleman -88
TX - Albert Bustamante -88
TX - E. (Kika) de la Garza -83
TX - John Bryant -75
TX - J. J. Pickle -63
TX - Jack Brooks -63
TX - Greg H. Laughlin -57
TX - Michael Andrews -50
TX - Bill Sarpalius -50
TX - Charles Wilson -43
TX - Marvin Leath -43
TX - Charles Stenholm -43
TX - Jim Chapman -38
TX - Solomon P. Ortiz -38
TX - Pete Geren -20
TX - Ralph M. Hall -13
TX - Thomas DeLay -13
TX - Steve Bartlett -13
TX - Lamar Smith -0
TX - Jack Fields -0
TX - Richard K. Arney -0
TX - Larry Combest -0
TX - Bill Archer -0
TX - Joe Barton -0
UT - Wayne Owens -75
UT - Howard C. Nielson -0
UT - James V. Hansen -0
VA - James R. Olin -100
VA - Norman Sisisky -88
VA - Frederick Boucher -75
VA - L.F. Payne -63
VA - Owen B. Pickett -50
VA - Stanford E. Parris -25
VA - Herbert H. Bateman -25
VA - Frank Wolfe -13
VA - D. French Slaughter -13
VA - Thomas Bliley -13
VT - Peter Smith -86
WA - Jim McDermott -100
WA - Jolene Unsoeld -100
WA - Al Swift -100
WA - Norman D. Dicks -88
WA - Sid Morrison -88
WA - John R. Miller -88
WA - Rod Chandler -63
WI - Robert Kastenmeier -100
WI - Jim Moody -100
WI - Gerald D. Kleczka -88
WI - Steven Gunderson -88
WI - David R. Obey -86
WI - Les Aspin -75
WI - James Sensenbrenner -13
WI - Toby Roth -0
WI - Tom Petri -0
WV - Harley O. Staggers, Jr. -57
WV - Nick Joe Rahall -50
WV - Alan Mollohan -50
WV - Robert Wise -50
WY - Craig Thomas -0

Networks increase...

Continued from page 1

dents per hour, CBS 10.15 and ABC 9.94.

"The decrease which we saw last fall led us to believe that the networks and advertisers were beginning to focus on more family oriented material," Melvin said. "However, it is apparent they were not."

According to Donald E. Wildmon, executive director of CLeaR-TV, the top sponsors have been invited to meet with CLeaR-TV to discuss their sponsorship. The companies will be asked to lower their sponsorship to the average of all other advertisers. Should a company refuse to agree to do so, it would be subject to a boycott.

"I had written all of these sponsors a letter prior to the monitoring," Wildmon said. "They elected to ignore those letters. We felt that if they now refuse to agree to drop their sponsorship down to the average of all advertisers, that would be clear evidence that they did not want the business of concerned individuals and people would be much more willing to boycott them."

He pointed out that by contacting the top sponsors, the advertising practice of several companies instead of one or two could be improved.

Melvin said that should all the companies agree in writing to reduce their sponsorship to the average, another set of top sponsors would be selected.

Recent articles by several TV critics report that programs this fall will be among the most filthy ever shown. Rick Du Brow of the *Los Angeles Times* wrote concerning the new programs: "But now comes an even further, stomach-turning plunge—clues that there is no limit to TV's ability to cheapen our lives with bad taste from bankrupt imaginations."

CLeaR-TV is a coalition of approximately 1600 Christian leaders, including the heads of more than 70 denominations, with a combined constituency of 60 million people.

Companies identified as leading sponsors and contacted by Dr. Melvin include:

Beatrice Companies, Inc., Chrm. F. B. Rentschler, Two North LaSalle Street, Chicago, IL 60602.

Bristol-Myers Squibb Company, Chrm. Richard L. Gelb, 345 Park Avenue, New York, NY 10154.

CIC International, Chrm. James R. Elzner, Post Office Box 8000, Englewood Cliffs, NJ 07632.

General Motors Corporation, Chrm. Roger B. Smith, 3044 W. Grand Blvd., Detroit, MI 48202.

Helene Curtis Industries, Inc., Chrm. Gerald Gidwitz, 325 N. Wells Street, Chicago, IL 60610.

S.C. Johnson & Sons, Inc., Chrm. Samuel C. Johnson, 1525 Howe Street, Racine, WI

403.

Nissan North America, President Yoshikazu Hanawa, Box 191, Gardena, CA 90247.

Lever Brothers, CEO David F. Webb, 390 Park Avenue, New York, NY 10022.

Warner-Lambert Company, Chrm. Joseph D. Williams, 201 Tabor Road, Morris Plains, NJ 07950.

The Pillsbury Company, Chrm. Ian A. Martin, 200 S. 6th Street, Minneapolis, MN 55402.

NEA...

Continued from page 1

AFA obtained a copy of the letter awarding a grant of \$60,000 to the theater. The letter listed the start date for the grant as March 15, 1989 and the end date as March 14, 1990. Ms. Sprinkle's performances were in January.

The letter, from former NEA Chairman Frank Hodsoll, announcing the grant to Kitchen Theater, read: "Grant funds are provided for the following purposes(s): To support artists' fees and related costs for the 1989-90 presentation season, as outlined in your application cited above and the enclosed project budget."

When questioned about the grant by AFA head Don Wildmon on a national television program, current NEA Chairman John Frohnmayer gave a vague and evasive answer that "everything that went to the Kitchen was reimbursed to them by August of 1989." He did not explain what he meant by that answer.

Nowhere in the 16-page document is it indicated that Annie Sprinkle was not to receive any of the funds. In fact, the grant letter and application did not indicate how any of the money was to be spent other than to support artists' fees and related costs for the 1989-90 season. Artists' fees go to support "artists" such as Ms. Sprinkle.

NEA has refused to give any documentation that Annie Sprinkle did not receive any of the grant, and the Kitchen Theater refused a request by columnist James Cooper to inspect their supporting records.

"Mr. Frohnmayer and the Kitchen Theater could easily provide documentation that Annie Sprinkle did not receive any government funding, but they have elected not to do so. In light of the fact that the grant was made to support the artists' fees, and Ms. Sprinkle was among those artists appearing at the Kitchen, and because the NEA has refused to provide any documentation showing that their grant to Kitchen did not include Ms. Sprinkle, the facts show that Ms. Sprinkle's performance was supported by the NEA grant just as the other artists who appeared at the Kitchen were," Wildmon said.

Since several Congressmen and Senators have told voters that Annie Sprinkle received no NEA money, Wildmon said he

encouraged people to write their Congressmen and Senators and ask that they seek documentation from the NEA which proves that Ms. Sprinkle received no funding. "If the NEA has such documentation, they can quickly provide it. If they refuse to do so, the conclusion must be that such documentation does not exist," Wildmon said.

Addresses: House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515 and U.S. Senate, Washington, DC 20510.

Rap song connected to rape

Muskogee, Oklahoma, District Attorney Drew Edmondson said a rap song called "Gangster of Love," played several times during the gang rape of two teenage girls, and may have encouraged the attack. Edmondson said the song, by a group called the Ghetto Boys, "demonstrates an attitude toward women as basically less than human."

Edmondson said six teenagers and a 20-year-old, all of Muskogee, have been charged in the rape and kidnapping of the girls, ages 14 and 15. Most of the boys have pleaded guilty to the charges.

Edmondson said one of the girls was pulled into a car by two boys as she walked to a bus stop. The other girl was kidnapped the same morning as she stood in front of Muskogee High School.

The girls were taken to a house in Muskogee where they were raped by four boys, then taken to a second house and raped by several of the boys again. The girls were whipped with a belt during the ordeal.

The D.A. said the song was played several times during the attacks. He said the lyrics, which are too graphic to print in a newspaper, advocated "the treatment of women as objects to be shared."

Edmondson played the song "to show motive just as pornographic material would be used to show motive" in a sexual assault case.

Tulsa Tribune, 6/9/90

AIDS tests not working

Growing evidence suggests many people at high risk for AIDS carry the virus without developing antibodies that can be detected by standard tests. The latest: Scientists at Emory University, Atlanta, used sophisticated laboratory techniques to find the virus in 30 of 165 people—mostly intravenous drug users—who showed no sign of infection on standard tests. Not known: whether these people will become sick with AIDS. The new study was reported in the *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*.

USA Today

Send AFA Responses

Please send AFA copies of replies you receive from advertisers or other companies. Also send news clippings on family issues. Your help is deeply appreciated.

September 1990



Journal

of the American Family Association

Attention Pastors

Christians & Society
TODAY, pages 3 and 4,
is designed to be repro-
duced for use as a sup-
plement or insert with
bulletins or newsletters.

AFA

Judge awards
homosexual artist
\$1 in AFA suit 10
Nikas joins AFA
legal team 12

AIDS

AIDS activists
get most money,
want still more 5

CHURCH & STATE

Americans United:
whose side are
they on? 19

CONGRESS

Congressmen
vote to support
obscene art 13

SPECIAL FEATURE

DECENCY

How nasty do
we wanna be? ... 16

PLAYBOY

Chrysler's lacocca
honors Playboy .. 10

ALL-MEMBERSHIP PLAN

Use All-Membership Plan
to subscribe for members
or leaders of your church.
\$4 per year per subscrip-
tion (minimum—10). Send
check, name of church
and legible mailing list: AFA
Journal, P.O. Drawer 2440,
Tupelo, MS 38803. Single
subscription—\$15/year.

Copies of this issue are avail-
able at \$12.50 for 50 copies.
Enclose check with order.

CLeaR-TV calls for boycott of Burger King, leading sponsor of sex, violence, profanity

Christian Leaders for Respon-
sible Television (CLeaR-TV), a
coalition of approximately 1600
Christian leaders, has called for a
one-year boycott of Burger King, a
leading sponsor of sex, violence,
and profanity during the Spring
network television.

Burger King helped sponsor the
high amount of sex, violence and
profanity despite being asked on
three separate occasions prior to
the monitoring period not to do so.
CLeaR-TV wrote Chrm. Ian A.

Continued on page 22

Playwright uses \$15,500 grant to write play depicting Jesus as a foul-mouthed bigot

It appears that an attempt may
be made in Congress to continue
funding the National Endowment
for the Arts without voting to
reauthorize the agency. Such a
parliamentary move would allow
members of the House and Senate
to provide funds for the NEA

without having to vote directly on
the issue. If they can bypass the
reauthorization vote, members of
Congress will not have to go on
record as voting for or against the
NEA. Members of Congress can
then tell their constituents that
they did not have an opportunity

to vote on the NEA, but that they
are opposed to tax funds support-
ing pornography and anti-Chris-
tian bigotry.

This is the same kind of parlia-
mentary procedure used last year
when the House voted for the

Continued on page 22

U.S.X. pulls porn magazines from 1700 stores

U.S.X. Corporation has pulled
porn magazines from their 1700
Marathon Oil Company stores na-
tionwide. Marathon stores operate
under various names—Gastown,
Bonded, Starvin' Marvin, Ecol,
Cheker, Port Speedway and Value.

AFA had been urging U.S.X. to
pull the porn magazines for more
than a year. "We express our
appreciation to U.S.X. for their
decision. We think it is the proper
one. With a more family-oriented
atmosphere, more family-oriented
individuals will obviously feel
comfortable shopping with them,"
said Donald E. Wildmon. He said
that the action by U.S.X. will cost
porn magazines such as Playboy
and Penthouse millions of dollars.
Since 1986 approximately 25,000
stores have discontinued selling
the magazines because of action by
AFA and other organizations.

AFA identified Circle K, Dairy
Mart, Cumberland Farms, and
Stop N Go convenience stores and
K mart as being among the nation's
largest retailers of porn magazines.

He said that K mart sells the porn
publications through their Wal-
denbooks bookstores. AFA urges
people to boycott those stores
selling pornography.

"Pornography destroys. Pornog-
raphy kills. We deeply appreciate
the fact that U.S.X. will no longer
be involved in encouraging the
sexual abuse of women and child-
ren," Wildmon said.

AFA encourages supporters to
call and write U.S.X. and thank
them for their action. The address:

Chrm. Charles A. Corry, U.S.X.
Corporation, 600 Grant Street,
Pittsburgh, PA 15230, Phone
412/433-1121. (Gastown, Bond-
ed, Starvin' Marvin, Ecol, Cheker,
Port Speedway and Value gas
marts and Marathon Oil Com-
pany).

The leading retailers of porn
magazines include:

Chrm. Bart A. Brown, Jr., The
Circle K Corporation, P.O. Box
52084, Phoenix, AZ 85072,

Continued on page 23

American Family Association
Post Office Drawer 2440
Tupelo, Mississippi 38803

Non-Profit Org.
U.S. Postage Paid
Permit No. 36

Gordonsville, VA 22942

ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED



Applying Christian conviction begins to make a difference

Donald E. Wildmon
Executive Director

ABC Entertainment President Robert Iger recently told TV critics that ABC lost \$14 million last season to advertiser defections due to show content. Because they feared a revenue loss, ABC even refused to rerun an episode of THIRTYSOMETHING that featured two homosexual men in bed together discussing their relationship. ABC admitted losing \$1,000,000 on that one episode when it originally ran. Iger called the advertiser skittishness "a sorry state of affairs." The \$14,000,000 loss amounted to about 1.5% of ABC's total revenues last season.

Iger refused to name groups responsible for encouraging advertisers to pull the ads from programs, but many TV critics cited the American Family Association's efforts as being responsible for the ABC loss.

Capital Cities/ABC Inc. President Daniel Burke said that ABC could not afford another loss of \$1,000,000 with the THIRTYSOMETHING rerun. "It's very difficult to run a network through the summer with a \$600,000 or \$700,000 deficit," he said.

It is possible that ABC lost even more than the \$14,000,000. And it is likely that NBC and CBS lost an equal or greater amount. ABC cancelled a program because enough people cared to write and call—to act on their Christian convictions.

On the front page of this issue is the story of U.S.X. pulling porn magazines from their 1700 stores. The action will mean a loss of millions of dollars to the pornographers. And it will put more pressure on those companies which still support pornography. U.S.X. got out of the pornography business because enough people cared to write and call—to act on their Christian convictions.

On page four is the story of Reebok refusing to sign a \$6,000,000 contract with Madonna. Reebok acted because enough people cared to write and call—to act on their Christian convictions.

A recent letter from Carmen Julius of Campbell, Ohio, told me of two stores in their community which pulled the pornography because two mothers wrote a letter protesting. These stores pulled the pornography because two people complained—acted on their Christian convictions.

Days Inn in Beaufort, South Carolina, recently stopped showing in-room porn movies. Why? After staying at the motel, Bruce Knight of Jacksonville, Florida, filled out a card complaining about the movies. This motel pulled the movies because one person protested—acted on his Christian convictions.

The National Endowment for the Arts recently refused to award four grants to artists, grants which had been recommended by the NEA's peer review panel. It was the first time in the 25-year history of the NEA that the chairman had gone against the peer review panel's recommendation. The NEA refused the tax-funded grants in support of filth because enough people had contacted their Congressmen and Senators—acted on their Christian convictions.

It can be honestly said that AFA is not changing the world, but it can be said with equal honesty that your efforts are beginning to make a difference.

During the past few years there has been a growing number of Christians who have been willing to act on their convictions. No longer is their commitment one of simply attending a worship service and dropping money into the offering plate. Their commitment now is one of involvement, of taking action to make our society a better place in which to live, work, and raise our families.

Rome wasn't built in a day, and neither will we turn the tide of filth quickly. Do not grow weary in well doing. You are making a difference. Not as much difference as you would like, but nevertheless a difference. You are on the cutting edge of a change for good. As conditions grow worse, those who join our efforts will increase. Read the feature article "As Nasty As We Wanna Be" on page 16. Public opinion is slowly, but surely, shifting our way.

As AFA continues to grow, we can have more effect on our society. In fact, when we get to the place that we can cause the networks to lose from 3-5% of their gross income, you will see a tremendous change in programming.

To those of you who are acting on your faith, I thank God for you. You are making a difference, you are making good things happen. To those who are still wondering if you want to make the commitment to Christian activism, I leave you with these words: "Be ye doers of the word and not hearers only."

Don

Media voices suppress true nature of the 'art' they defend

By Tim Wildmon
Associate Director

We in the pro-family movement are often critical—and for good reason, I think—of the secular media. However, every once in a while I come across a really good column or news report that deserves commendation. In the July 2 issue of *U.S. News & World Report* columnist John Leo had an excellent article titled "Polluting our popular culture."

While most social commentators in the secular media avoid discussing the actual content of 2 Live Crew's lyrics, Leo told it straight while coming down hard on both 2 Live Crew and his colleagues in the media who defend the group.

Leo wrote: "The issue at the heart of the controversy over the rap group 2 Live Crew is not censorship, artistic freedom, sex or even obscene language. The real problem, I think, is this: Because of the cultural influence of one not very distinguished rap group, 10- and 12-year-old boys now walk down the street chanting about the joys of damaging a girl's vagina during sex."

Few reporters have had the integrity to tell the American public the obscene nature of 2 Live Crew's music. The same can be said of Robert Mapplethorpe's pornographic photos. And the same can be said of abortion—the evening news will show us everything in the world except an actual abortion.

The reason the media will not expose 2 Live Crew, Mapplethorpe or abortion is that they realize if the public knew the horrible nature of these things, they wouldn't stand for it. As long as the media talk about choice instead of babies, free speech instead of lyrics about damaging vaginal walls, and artistic expression instead of a photo of one man urinating into the mouth of another, then they don't have to answer for their advocacy journalism.

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The symbol of trust

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AFA is a Christian organization promoting the Biblical ethic of decency in American society with primary emphasis on TV and other media.

123 Congressmen vote to support NEA on \$1.6 million funding of obscene art

In an important test vote on the NEA, on July 26 the House voted to reduce the amount of funding to the District of Columbia by \$1,600,000. The University of D.C. had proposed to spend that amount to buy a "work of art" by Judy Chicago. The "work of art", entitled "The Dinner Party: A Symbol of Our Heritage", consists of a triangle-shaped banquet table (some 140 feet in total length) set with 39 places, one for each of the "great women" of the past. The "work of art" has 39 plates, each containing simply a sculpture of a vagina to represent the woman selected to honor!

Congressman Pat Williams of Montana said from the House floor that those who voted to reduce the funding by \$1.6 million would be voting against the NEA and those who voted to leave in the \$1.6 million would be voting for the NEA. The House approved cutting the funding by \$1,600,000. The Congressmen below voted to oppose the motion, and thus voted for the use of \$1.6 million dollars to purchase the "work of art".

The address: House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515.

AR - Beryl Anthony	IN - Jim Jontz	NY - Hamilton Fish, Jr.
CA - Glenn Anderson	IN - Frank McCloskey	NY - Floyd H. Flake
CA - Jim Bates	KY - Romano L. Mazzoli	NY - Benjamin Gilman II
CA - Anthony C. Beilenson	LA - Lindy Boggs	NY - Bill Green
CA - Howard Beriman	MA - Chester Atkins	NY - John LaFalce
CA - Douglas H. Bosco	MA - Silvio Conte	NY - Thomas J. Manton
CA - Barbara Boxer	MA - Barney Frank	NY - Matthew McHugh
CA - George E. Brown, Jr.	MA - Joseph Kennedy II	NY - Robert J. Mrazek
CA - Tom Campbell	MA - Edward J. Markey	NY - Major Owens
CA - Ronald Dellums	MA - Nicholas Mavroules	NY - Charles B. Rangel
CA - Julian Dixon	MA - Gerry E. Studds	NY - James H. Scheuer
CA - Mervyn Dymally	MD - Benjamin L. Cardin	NY - Charles Schumer
CA - Don Edwards	MD - Steny Hoyer	NY - Jose' E. Serrano
CA - Victor Fazio	MD - Kweisi Mfume	NY - Louise Slaughter
CA - Augustus F. Hawkins	MD - Constance Morella	NY - Stephen Solarz
CA - Tom Lantos	MI - David E. Bonior	NY - Eldolphus Towns
CA - Mel Levine	MI - Bob Carr	NY - Ted Weiss
CA - Jerry Lewis	MI - John Conyers, Jr.	OH - Mary Rose Oskar
CA - Matthew Martinez	MI - George W. Crockett	OH - Donald J. Pense
CA - Robert T. Matsui	MI - William D. Ford	OH - Thomas Sawyer
CA - George Miller	MI - Dennis M. Hertel	OH - Louis Stokes
CA - Norman Mineta	MI - Dale E. Kildee	OK - Michael Synar
CA - Nancy Pelosi	MI - Sander Levin	OR - Les AuCoin
CA - Edward Roybal	MI - Howard Wolpe	OR - Ron Wyden
CA - Fortney (Pete) Stark	MN - Bill Frenzel	PA - William J. Coyne
CA - Henry A. Waxman	MN - James L. Oberstar	PA - Thomas Foglietta
CO - Patricia Schroeder	MN - Martin Sabo	PA - William H. Gray III
CO - David E. Skaggs	MN - Gerry Sikorski	PA - Peter Kostmayer
CT - Sam Gejdenson	MN - Bruce Vento	PA - John P. Murtha
CT - Barbara B. Kennelly	MO - William Clay	PA - Thomas J. Ridge
FL - Dante Fascell	MO - Richard A. Gephardt	RI - Ronald K. Machtley
FL - Harry A. Johnston	MO - Alan Wheat	RI - Claudine Schneider
FL - William Lehman	MS - Mike Espy	TN - Harold E. Ford
GA - John Lewis	MT - Pat Williams	TX - Henry B. Gonzalez
IA - Neal Smith	NC - Walter B. Jones	TX - Solomon P. Ortiz
IL - Cardiss Collins	NJ - Bernard J. Dwyer	VA - James R. Olin
IL - Lane Evans	NJ - Dean Gallo	WA - Norman D. Dicks
IL - Charles A. Hayes	NJ - Donald M. Payne	WA - Jim McDermott
IL - Gus Savage	NY - Gary Ackerman	WA - Al Swift
IL - Sidney Yates	NY - Thomas J. Downey	WI - Robert Kastenmeier
IN - Andrew Jacobs, Jr.	NY - Eliot L. Engel	WI - Jim Moody

Electronic Media said, "that the Rev. Donald Wildmon of Tupelo, Miss., has had more impact on the electronic media in the 1980s than any other person outside the industry."

Nevertheless, Don Wildmon's riveting memoir does much more than graphically tell The American Family Association story. The book, which was featured this summer as a Conservative Book Club special selection, is designed to be perhaps the best tool ever written to help concerned Christians understand:

a. Why TV came to be such a negative influence on society.

b. How TV is being used to lead a generation away from God.

c. The responsibility individuals and churches must take in the struggle to secure quality, constructive television programming.

In plain, simple English Don Wildmon explains why those who control the entertainment business tend to view Christians as the enemy and Christianity as the one major

obstacle in their quest to reform society into their image.

After a sobering look at what *Sneak Previews* movie critic Michael Medved (featured each week on The Public Broadcasting Network) calls the "overt and pervasive hostility to religion and religious values that has taken root in Hollywood," this hard-hitting, tell-it-like-it-is book concludes by calling Christians to prayer, fasting and action. "I want no part of a Christian message which does not call me to involvement, requires of me no sacrifice, takes from me no comfort, requires of me less than the best I have to give," Don Wildmon writes.

Highly recommended by numerous Christian leaders, *Don Wildmon: The Man the Networks Love to Hate* (Bristol Books) is available at Christian bookstores nationwide. It can also be ordered at most secular bookstores.

CBS upset with ratings

A CBS executive said his network has decided to seek a "better television measurement system" because A.C. Nielsen Co. was unable to explain the sudden decline in national television viewing it has reported.

Nielsen has reported that the number of homes using television has decreased more than four percent since mid-January. The drop has been described as unprecedented by network and Nielsen executives.

Nielsen told television-industry organizations, including the three television networks and large advertising agencies, that it found no flaws in its national ratings system to explain the decline.

David F. Poltrack, senior vice president of research for CBS, said his network's priority was to work with Nielsen to improve the system, but he added, "we are also willing to work with anyone else who can provide a better system."

Mr. Poltrack is upset because the drop is not what he wanted to find. CBS doesn't like the message, so they blame the messenger.

New York Times

Paper says educators have new 10 Commandments

Below, according to the *Virginia Beach Beacon*, are the Ten Commandments as revised by public school educators.

1. Thou shalt worship human wisdom (stay tuned for latest developments) and that only shalt thou serve.

2. Thou shalt not hold any other viewpoint than moral relativism...for thine educators are jealous of their own opinions, and will visit the report cards of any who dare to believe otherwise.

3. Thou shalt not take the name of "tolerance" in vain, for thine educators will not hold him guiltless who believeth that sodomy is sin.

4. Remember the 11th and 12th grades to keep them holy. Ten years shalt thou labor

New book helps parents regain control

The Child Influencers, a new book by Dan Adams, analyzes the factors that affect our children's lives and gives practical advice on how parents can maintain—or regain—control of those factors. Adams has amassed a wealth of information in a concise, clear account of the state of the family in America today, and he articulates his message in terms that any parent can easily get a handle on. The main thing Adams calls for is for parents to spend more time—not just “quality time”—but quantity time with their children.

He cites six child influencers: parents, reading, family-based learning, school, peers and television. He illustrates how, through the years, the first three have relinquished their rightful place as major influencers; instead, the latter three have become the dominant influencers of children.

Very important is the fact that Adams offers avenues of action, ways in which parents can begin to reverse negative trends and restore the proper balance of the factors that shape their children's lives.

The Child Influencers deserves a reading by all who care about the future of the family. Order from Home Team Press, 2206 20th St., Cuyahoga Falls, OH 44223. Send \$9.95 plus \$1.50 shipping and handling.

CleaR-TV...

Continued from page 1

Martin of Grand Metropolitan, parent company of Burger King, on February 1, 1990, explaining that CLear-TV would be monitoring during the period of April 26 to May 23 and asking that his company refrain from helping sponsor sex, violence and profanity. Dr. Billy A. Melvin, Chairman of CLear-TV, wrote Chrm. Martin explaining that CLear-TV would select one or more companies following the monitoring and call for a one-year boycott. Melvin asked Martin that, if his company shared CLear-TV's concern, they show that concern by the kinds of programs they help sponsor.

CLear-TV wrote Martin again on March 5, 1990 and a third time on April 6, 1990, expressing the coalition's concern about the quality of television and urging his company to implement controls which would assure that they not be selected.

Despite those three letters, Burger King still helped sponsor 18.85 incidents with every 30-second commercial they aired, nearly two-thirds more than the average number of incidents sponsored by all advertisers.

After the monitoring was complete, and before the Executive Committee of CLear-TV called for the boycott, Melvin again

wrote Chrm. Martin on July 3 pointing out the high scores and inviting Martin to meet with him to discuss the situation and avoid a possible boycott. Martin did not respond to Melvin's letter. On July 24, Melvin faxed a copy of the July 3 letter to Martin and again invited him to discuss his company's sponsorship of sex, violence and profanity. Martin still did not respond.

The Executive Committee voted in early August to call for the boycott of Burger King because of the excessive amount of filth sponsored by Burger King and because Burger King ignored the three letters prior to the monitoring and the two attempts to discuss the situation following the monitoring.

CLear-TV is asking Christians and others concerned about television to boycott Burger King until September 1991.

The boycott of Burger King follows a boycott of Clorox and Mennen by CLear-TV announced during the summer of 1989. Clorox later contacted CLear-TV and corrected their advertising practice, while Mennen ignored CLear-TV's boycott. CLear-TV has ended the boycott of Clorox but took no official action regarding the boycott of Mennen. “Since Mennen showed no public effort to correct their sponsorship of programs with high amounts of sex, violence and profanity, we are leaving it up to the individual to decide whether or not to continue boycotting Mennen,” Melvin said.

Some of the programs which Burger King helped sponsor included RUTHLESS PEOPLE, OCTOPUSSY, PLATOON, CHILD IN THE NIGHT, BEVERLY HILLS COP II, THROW MOMMA FROM THE TRAIN, HARDBALL, and THE NASTY BOYS.

AFA has received several complaints about the company's ad campaign in which the theme is “Sometimes you have to break the rules.” Many people think that the Burger King campaign encourages people, especially youth, to break the rules established by society for its own good.

According to Donald E. Wildmon, executive director of CLear-TV, the coalition called for the boycott of Burger King at this time with plans to announce a boycott of one or more of the leading sponsors of sex, violence, and profanity during the upcoming fall season. That boycott will be announced early in 1991. Television critics say that the fall programs will contain increased filth, especially profanity.

Wildmon said that all network advertisers will be notified of CLear-TV's plans to select one or more companies based on fall monitoring and will be asked not to help sponsor programs with high amounts of offensive material.

In the summer of 1989, after CLear-TV announced the boycott of Mennen and Clorox, the networks reduced the amount of

sex, violence and profanity by approximately 30% during the fall of 1989. However, when CLear-TV did not announce a boycott following the fall 1989 monitoring period, the networks increased sex, violence and profanity by approximately 50% during the spring of 1990.

“By announcing the boycott of Burger King now, and selecting one or more companies for a boycott based on the fall programs, advertisers will not be allowed a ‘free period’ in which they will not be held accountable,” Wildmon said. “Experience shows that boycotts help reduce the amount of filth on television. We feel that waiting until after the fall monitoring to select one or more additional companies for a boycott will make our efforts much more effective,” he said.

Churches, groups and individuals are urged to help promote the boycott of Burger King. CLear-TV will be distributing material to help promote the boycott in the next few weeks, including radio and television spots, newspaper ads, boycott cards and other material.

The address: Chrm. Ian A. Martin, Grand Metropolitan, Inc., 100 Paragon Drive, Montvale, NJ 07645, phone 201-573-4000.

NEA funded...

Continued from page 1

Regula motion and did not allow Congressman Dana Rohrabacher to introduce the Helms amendment. According to Donald E. Wildmon, executive director of AFA, a vote to continue funding the NEA without reauthorizing the agency is a vote for continued tax-funding of anti-Christian bigotry and pornography.

To show contempt of efforts to stop tax-funding of anti-Christian bigotry and pornography, the advisory council to the NEA, meeting in Washington, voted on August 4 to remove all content restrictions from NEA grants. The council called for total, unrestricted funding of NEA-selected artists. Artists at the advisory council meeting protested efforts to stop tax funding of anti-Christian and pornographic art by disrupting the meeting with chants of “We're here, we're queer, get used to it.” Much of the pornography funded by the NEA with tax dollars has been homosexual pornography. Some observers feel that the militant homosexual movement has gained control of the NEA.

Additionally, the *Washington Times* recently confirmed that, despite denials by the NEA and some Congressmen that no tax funds helped support the live porn performance by porn star Annie Sprinkle at the Kitchen Theater in New York earlier this year, records show that the NEA did help fund her performance with tax money. The article in the *Times* confirms what the *AFA Journal* reported in August, that tax funds

were used to help support Sprinkle's performance.

While Congress decides what action to take concerning the NEA, the government agency continues to fund anti-Christian bigotry with tax dollars. On July 13, playwright Mac Wellman sent via Federal Express to Wildmon and Senator Jesse Helms copies of a play he had written entitled "Sincerity Forever." In his letter to Rev. Wildmon, Mr. Wellman wrote: "Since the enclosed play, SINCERITY FOREVER, is dedicated to you (and Senator Helms) I felt you ought to have a copy. With my compliments, for the fine job you are doing of destroying civil liberties in These States. Save the Republic! Mac Wellman (1990 NEA Recipient)."

Among the characters in the play is one "Jesus H. Christ." Mr. Wellman says that "Sincerity Forever was made possible by generous support of the NEA, NYFA, the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation, and is the first flower of the Roger Nathan Hirshl Playwriting Award. This one's for Jesse and the Wildman." The NEA gave Mr. Wellman a \$15,500 grant to support his writing of "Sincerity Forever."

The play, filled with obscenities and profanities, is only the latest example of anti-Christian bigotry funded by the NEA. The NEA is a government agency supported by tax dollars. Below is an excerpt from the final scene in the play. In order to lessen the offensiveness of the script, we have edited the obscenities in Mr. Wellman's play.

Scene eight. CHRIST speaks to the company, assembled at his feet, including the FURBALLS.

CHRIST: Do you think I came here to reconcile you, brother to sister, father to son, mother to mother-in-law, second cousin twice-removed to step-aunt from out of state, Cincinnati maybe? Furball to furball? ----- no! I came here to raise -----, obstreperous, antisocial, pestiferous, brutalitarian, loud-mouthed and chaotic, bloody ----. The roaring kind! You swinish, mealy-mouthed bunch of hypocrites wouldn't know the Lord God of Hosts if he swope down and bit you on the ---. All you care about is what you look like, what you look like in a mirror, a mirror some monster furball dreamt up for you to look at to make you blind. America, you got your eyes open so wide you can't see a ----- thing. America, you're crazy if you think your -----, milksop, harebrained Christianity has anything whatsoever to do with Jesus H. Christ, because that's who's standing here you in the dusty ruin of the open road, because the whole point of what I am about is to shake up belief, to shake up belief and make people stop being so goshdarned pleased with themselves (sic), and take a good look at what a sorry place this world is, what with all the jive as bullstinging, and endless justifying. And

mudstinging. And monumental cheapness of heart, and moral stinginess. Furthermore, whosoever puts words in my mouth concerning they (sic) fears of the so-called cabal of international faggotry, the scourge of the children of Ham, and the Hebrew contagion— different folks who ought to be viewed with a skeptical eye as total washouts at maintaining correct (sic) social decorum and avoidance of the misnormal—; all those who put words in my mouth concerning these things I have no use for. What the ---- do I care who -----with who? They (sic) ----- is they (sic) own concern; and may they use it wisely, and well. Furthermore, whosoever puts words in my mouth, he too -----with me in the abstrack (sic) sense; therefore, I do not like him, because... Because, you go figure: if'n I Jesus H. Christ, had any desire to speak your language, the debased patois of late capitalism, I woulda done so roundabout here likemost, right from the start; but I didn't, so I don't; I won't give you the satisfaction. Because I got nothing to say to you, America. America, I have nothing to say. I prefer the language of furballs, although they are a wicked awful bunch, and spirits of negation, and the mere sight of 'em like to make my skin crawl. I prefer their language because you so much despise it... No, all I wanted, pure and simply, was to create a context for something powerfully human, great and beautiful; it being the state of nature to leave off with telling who to do what, X in the name of Y, for no other reason than general cussidness. The door opens on your side, I always say— I can't open it! I mean, the handle's on your side and if you don't want to see that, tough ----, it's your problem and none of mine. Face it, you (sic) a sleazy, lying, conniving bunch of -----. If you ---- up, it's your fault, not mine. And if I had to do it all over again, I'd give the whole matter serious thought. Because of doubts I now possess about the entire enterprise..."

In 1988, Red Bass published an entire issue "For Palestine". Shortly thereafter, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith protested the anti-Israel stance of the publication. The NEA ordered Red Bass to return the \$4,483 grant. The NEA has refused to request that Wellman return his \$15,500 grant.

In another NEA-related incident, the "Third Annual Lavender Art & Craft Exhibit: Contradictions", financially supported by the NEA with tax dollars, recently displayed at the Artswatch in Louisville, Kentucky. The homosexual community has adopted lavender as their symbolic color. The brochure promoting the exhibit read: "Recommended for mature audiences. The exhibit contains adult subject matter and viewer discretion is advised."

One of the exhibits, a bronze statue, is titled "The Fundamentalist Dream Girl." The description of the art by its creators

says: "The Fundamentalist Dream Girl rests her back, legs spread wide, intimate parts open for inspection and easy access." The girl's pubic area is exposed; however it "has been sewn together with silvery metal thread."

Another exhibit includes two photographs by Joe Smoke who describes his art as "gay male activity-sex" which shows two men kissing, with one homosexual man holding another nude man's penis. Smoke says: "For many, homosexuality remains an ok idea but not a visualized activity. I am proud to make people gasp (and laugh) with these works."

Congressmen and Senators who vote to continue government funding of the NEA are well aware of the NEA's use of tax dollars to help support anti-Christian bigotry and pornography. The most effective voice voters have with elected officials is their ballot.

Do not be misled by responses from your Congressman and Senators. The question is not whether these "artists" have the right to produce such material, but whether taxpayers should be forced to support them in their endeavors.

The address: Congressman: U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515. Senators: U.S. Senate, Washington, DC 20510. The phone number for your Congressman and Senators is 202-224-3121.

U.S.X.

Continued from page 1
Phone 602/253-9600. (Circle K convenience stores)

Pres. V.H. Van Horn, National Convenience Stores, Inc., 100 Waugh Drive, Houston, TX 77007, Phone 713/863-2200. (Stop N Go stores)

Chrm. Charles Nirenberg, Dairy Mart Corporation, 240 South Road, Enfield, CT 06082, Phone 203/741-3611. (Dairy Mart, Lawson's, Convenient Food Marts and Stop & Go convenience stores)

Chrm. Phil Handy, Majik Market/Tenneco, 495 Semoran Blvd., Caselberry, FL 32707, Phone 407/331-4300 or TOLL FREE 1-800-336-2545. (Majik Market stores, Tenneco stores, World Bazaar stores, Bordo Citrus Products, Lakeland Packing Company, Maryland Club coffee)

Chrm. Joseph E. Antonini, K mart Corporation, 3100 West Big Beaver Road, Troy, MI 48084, Phone 313/643-1000, Toll free 1-800-635-6278. (K mart sells porn magazines in their Waldenbooks bookstores. They also own K mart, Payless Drug Stores, PACE Warehouse Stores, The Sports Authority stores and Builders Square home supply stores.)

Chrm. D.B. Haseotes, Cumberland Farms Stores, 777 Dedham Street, Canton, MA 02021, Phone 617/828-4900 or TOLL FREE 1-800-524-1701. (Cumberland Farms stores)

Congress votes to continue NEA funding for pornographic, anti-Christian art

Congressmen and Senators recently voted to continue using tax dollars to fund pornographic and anti-Christian art. The House voted against an amendment offered by Rep. Dana Rohrabacher which would have prohibited the use of tax dollars by the National Endowment for the Arts to fund such "art." And the Senate voted down a similar amendment offered by Sen. Jesse Helms.

The new action removes even the weak restrictions that Congress placed on the NEA last year and left the NEA with no restrictions on the kind of art they can support with tax dollars.

Rep. Ron Marlenee (R-MT) said the the action by the House "allows the junkies to continue to peddle their depraved sadistic wares with impunity."

Rep. Robert Walker (R-PA) tried to get permission to let his House colleagues see examples of Robert Mapplethorpe's "art" which taxes have supported, but he was not allowed to show the pornographic photographs on the House floor, the very photographs the House voted to continue funding. Rep. Pat Williams (D-MT) and Rep. Tom Coleman (R-MO) led the fight opposing the Rohrabacher amendment and to continue government funding for pornography and anti-Christian bigotry. Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-UT) led the battle opposing Sen. Helms' amendment in the Senate.

The amendments by Rohrabacher and Helms would have prohibited the NEA from funding child pornography, obscenity and indecency, attacks on religion, racism and bigotry, desecration of the flag, or using an aborted fetus in a work of art.

Congress did pass a resolution favored by Williams, Coleman and Hatch. The new law changes nothing about what the NEA can and cannot fund. The new law requires that any artist who uses an NEA grant to produce a "work of art" found obscene by a court would, if the NEA requested, have to return his grant. The law means that the artist would first have to be prosecuted and found guilty and would have to exhaust all his appeals before the NEA would even consider asking for a refund of his grant. The new law will not stop the NEA from funding a single offensive "exhibit" such as they have funded in the past—Mapplethorpe, Serrano, etc.

"Voters should not be confused when their Congressman or Senator tells them he voted to stop the NEA from funding obscenity," said Donald E. Wildmon, executive director of AFA. "The new law does not stop the NEA from funding obscenity, it only offers a means by which the NEA can ask for the grant to be returned. The law allows the NEA to continue to use tax dollars to fund pornography which is not found to be legally obscene and anti-Christian bigotry. If voters are told otherwise, they are not being told the truth."

And while Congress was approving the continued use of tax dollars to support pornography and anti-Christian bigotry, misuse of tax money by the NEA continued. The November issue of *Spy Magazine* reported that the National Endowment for the Arts gave Donald Baechler a grant for \$15,000 last year. Baechler is an established artist who makes a six digit income. What did Baechler do with the \$15,000 in tax money granted him by the NEA? According to *Spy*, Baechler said, "I paid about a quarter of my taxes with my NEA grant."

Using money from a National Endowment for the Arts grant, the Brooklyn Museum recently opened "The Play of the Unmentionable." What did our tax dollars go to support? The following: a small photograph of a teenage boy, sitting in a chair with his zipper down and his penis exposed; a painting of a man urinating in someone's mouth; graphic depictions from 18th century Japan showing explicit intercourse; a photo of a nude man with a nude woman holding his aroused genitalia in her hand; a photo of a nude woman bending over

to make oral contact with the genitalia of a nude man; a photo of a man and woman having intercourse, with another nude man masturbating; a photo of a nude man with aroused genitalia, kneeling over a nude woman whose hands, legs and feet are bound.

In July, the NEA helped fund the first National Gay & Lesbian Theatre Festival at the Alice B. Theatre in Seattle. The Theatre Festival was part of the Goodwill Arts Festival. "It was a coup for them (NEA) to approve our festival," said Susan Finque, associate artistic director of the Alice B. "The NEA granted the Goodwill Arts Festival \$700,000 and we received \$10,000." The Alice B. Theatre calls itself "A Gay and Lesbian Theatre For All People."

And, according to *Newsweek*, the NEA granted \$35,000 to Alternative Media Information Center for its project "Deep Dish TV." *Newsweek* said that Deep Dish, according to an NEA staffer, is "Fidel Castro's propaganda arm in the United States."

The Los Angeles Contemporary Exhibitions, Inc. (LACE) received \$85,000 from the NEA this year. The following review from the *Los Angeles Reader* (July 27, 1990) describes a performance by "Father Larry," supported by NEA funds: "The bleeding naked man leapt into the audience as the drag queen speed-metal band backing him thrashed to disjointed climax. His prey were two longhairs seated among a stunned and leering crowd of three hundred art-nihilists. Father Larry threw the pair to the ground, tore their clothes off and used his considerable girth to immobilize and a large dildo to impale the two while orally copulating them. Some spectators loved it and it seemed a perverse orgy would break out, especially when a porn-queen fellated a comely six-foot-plus transsexual.

"This July 7th performance was not out of the qualude/Village People heyday of the late seventies but was yet another provocative and lewd event at LACE, considered a cutting edge in the downtown art vortex. It's surprising to see in these overcautious and reactionary times that a gallery such as LACE, dependent upon more than \$150,000 a year in local and NEA funding, is daring enough to host such 'balls-out' events.

"Father Larry's insolent endeavors have literally upended the alternative art milieu. Combine explicit and deliberately sickening public exploits, an unhealthy obsession with the McMartin child molestation case, scores of his fellow artists, and an unabashed eco-fascist agenda, and you have the gory gospel according to Father Larry. Some want him stopped, others clamor for even more grandiose expressions from the pompous sexual provocateur."

According to the *New York City Tribune*, a recent study has shown how those who approve the grants at the NEA take care of each other through a pork-barrel of potentially illegal politics. The study of 85,000 grants awarded by the National Endowment for the Arts reveals a pattern of financial corruption and cronyism.

The article stated that NEA staff and panelists have been guilty of conflict-of-interest in awarding grants to their friends, business partners and themselves. Now, new evidence, some of it obtained under the Freedom of Information act, reveals more behind-the-scenes details.

Two-thirds of those who serve on NEA peer panels work for the same museums, orchestras, theaters and other arts groups that receive the grants. A study of 730 NEA panelists in 1988 reveals that 130 served on panels that gave their own organizations NEA grants.

Funding for the live sex performances of Annie Sprinkle at the Kitchen Theater, for instance, was approved by Barbara Tsumagari, a former staff member of the NEA. In 1986 Tsumagari left the NEA to become director of the Kitchen Theater at double her salary. With Tsumagari as director, the Kitchen's grants from the NEA jumped

from \$158,200 to \$324,400. Fifty percent of her present salary is paid with taxpayers' money. The NEA denied that any of their funds were used to fund the Annie Sprinkle performance, but research by *The Washington Times* showed otherwise. The Kitchen Theater has refused access to their records which could substantiate the NEA claim.

Karen Finley, who appears nude on stage smeared with chocolate and screams, "God is dead," has been the recipient of several NEA grants. It has been revealed that Sprinkle's business partner Jerry Hunt was a member of the NEA panel that approved a \$25,000 grant for Finley's performance at the Kitchen Theater.

The NEA helped fund the Southeastern Center for Contemporary Art for an exhibition of Andres Serrano's *P--- Christ, P--- God, and P--- Pope*. The panelist who approved the exhibit and subsequently authored the catalog (at NEA expense) was an NEA consultant and an NEA grant recipient.

Hilton Kramer, former NEA consultant and editor of *The New Criterion*, says, "The very least that can be said of the NEA system is

that it is very much a pay system. You give me a grant, I give you a grant...professionals joke among themselves (about) how it works."

Another study reveals that half of the NEA reviewers sitting on six separate panels that recommended grants for museums, theaters and orchestras were administrators or trustees of organizations approved for grants by their own panels.

Heinz Poll, director of the Ohio Chamber Ballet, sat on an NEA panel which approved \$60,900 for the ballet directed by Heinz Poll. Theater artist Robbie MacCauley sat on an inter-arts panel that approved a \$12,000 grant to the Kitchen Theater that would produce a work by Robbie MacCauley.

Some of the members of the president's special commission to investigate the funding policies of the NEA were directors of large agencies that receive substantial block grants from the NEA. That panel recommended that the NEA continue with business as usual, with a few minor cosmetic changes. And Congressmen Williams and Coleman, along with Senator Hatch, agreed and were able to put their recommendations into law.

How the House voted on the Rohrabacher amendment

The Congressmen listed below voted to continue using government tax dollars to fund pornographic and anti-Christian art. They voted against an amendment offered by Rep. Dana Rohrabacher which would have prohibited the use of tax dollars by the National Endowment for the Arts to fund such "art."

Because some Congressmen will try to confuse the issue, should you write your Congressman be sure to ask him or her if he or she

voted against the Rohrabacher amendment and to request a yes or no answer. If the Congressman voted against the Rohrabacher amendment, he or she voted against prohibiting taxes being used to fund anti-Christian, pornographic "art." Congressmen listed below voted against the Rohrabacher amendment. Congressmen not listed either voted for the Rohrabacher amendment or did not vote.

The address is House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515.

AR - Bill Alexander
AR - Beryl Anthony
AZ - Jim Kolbe
AZ - John J. Rhodes III
AZ - Morris K. Udall
CA - Glenn Anderson
CA - Jim Bates
CA - Anthony C. Beilenson
CA - Howard Berman
CA - Douglas H. Bosco
CA - Barbara Boxer
CA - George E. Brown, Jr.
CA - Tom Campbell
CA - Gary Condit
CA - Christopher Cox
CA - Ronald Dellums
CA - Julian Dixon
CA - David Dreier
CA - Mervyn Dymally
CA - Don Edwards
CA - Victor Fazio
CA - Augustus F. Hawkins
CA - Tom Lantos
CA - Richard Lehman
CA - Mel Levine
CA - Jerry Lewis
CA - Bill Lowery
CA - Matthew Martinez
CA - Robert T. Matsui
CA - George Miller
CA - Norman Mineta
CA - Leon P. Panetta
CA - Nancy Pelosi
CA - Edward Roybal
CA - Fortney (Pete) Stark
CA - Esteban Torres
CA - Henry A. Waxman
CO - Ben Nighthorse Campbell
CO - Patricia Schroeder
CO - David E. Skaggs
CT - Sam Gejdenson
CT - Nancy Johnson
CT - Barbara B. Kennelly
CT - Christopher Shays
DE - Thomas R. Carper
FL - Dante Fascell
FL - Porter Goss
FL - Harry A. Johnston
FL - William Lehman
FL - Bill Nelson

FL - Lawrence J. Smith
GA - Charles F. Hatcher
GA - Ben Jones
GA - John Lewis
HI - Patricia Saiki
IA - Fred Grandy
IA - Jim Leach
IA - Dave Nagle
IA - Neal Smith
IA - Thomas J. Tauke
ID - Richard H. Stallings
IL - Terry Bruce
IL - Cardiss Collins
IL - Richard J. Durbin
IL - Lane Evans
IL - Charles A. Hayes
IL - Robert Michel
IL - John E. Porter
IL - Dan Rostenkowski
IL - Marty A. Russo
IL - Gus Savage
IL - Sidney Yates
IN - Lee H. Hamilton
IN - Andrew Jacobs, Jr.
IN - Jim Jontz
IN - Frank McCloskey
IN - Philip R. Sharp
KS - Dan Glickman
KS - Jan Meyers
KS - Pat Roberts
KS - Jim Slattery
KS - Robert Whittaker
KY - Romano L. Mazzoli
KY - Carl C. Perkins
MA - Chester Atkins
MA - Silvio Conte
MA - Brian Donnelly
MA - Joseph D. Early
MA - Barney Frank
MA - Joseph Kennedy II
MA - Edward J. Markey
MA - Nicholas Mavroules
MA - Joe Moakley
MA - Richard E. Neal
MA - Gerry E. Studds
MD - Benjamin L. Cardin
MD - Steny Hoyer
MD - Thomas McMillen
MD - Kweisi Mfume
MD - Constance Morella

ME - Joseph Brennan
ME - Olympia J. Snowe
MI - David E. Bonior
MI - William Broomfield
MI - Bob Carr
MI - John Conyers, Jr.
MI - George W. Crockett
MI - Robert W. Davis
MI - John Dingell
MI - William D. Ford
MI - Paul B. Henry
MI - Dennis M. Hertel
MI - Dale E. Kildee
MI - Sander Levin
MI - Carl D. Purcell
MI - Bob Traxler
MI - Howard Wolpe
MN - Bill Frenzel
MN - James L. Oberstar
MN - Martin Sabo
MN - Gerry Sikorski
MN - Bruce Vento
MO - Jack Buechner
MO - William Clay
MO - E. Thomas Coleman
MO - Richard A. Gephardt
MO - Alan Wheat
MS - Mike Espy
MT - Pat Williams
NC - James McClure Clarke
NC - Martin Lancaster
NC - J. Alex McMillan
NC - Stephen Neal
NC - David Price
NC - Charles Rose
ND - Byron L. Dorgan
NE - Doug Bereuter
NE - Peter Hoagland
NJ - Bernard J. Dwyer
NJ - Dean Gallo
NJ - Frank J. Guarini
NJ - William J. Hughes
NJ - Donald M. Payne
NJ - Jim Saxton
NJ - Robert G. Torricelli
NM - Bill Richardson
NM - Steven H. Schiff
NM - Joe Skeen
NV - James H. Bilbray
NY - Gary Ackerman

NY - Sherwood Boehlert
NY - Thomas J. Downey
NY - Eliot L. Engel
NY - Hamilton Fish, Jr.
NY - Floyd H. Flake
NY - Benjamin Gilman II
NY - Bill Green
NY - George Hochbrueckner
NY - Frank Horton
NY - Amo Houghton
NY - John LaFalce
NY - Norman Lent
NY - Nita M. Lowey
NY - Thomas J. Manton
NY - David O'B. Martin
NY - Raymond J. McGrath
NY - Matthew McHugh
NY - Michael R. McNulty
NY - Susan Molinari
NY - Robert J. Mrazek
NY - Henry J. Nowak
NY - Major Owens
NY - Charles B. Rangel
NY - James H. Scheuer
NY - Charles Schumer
NY - Jose' E. Serrano
NY - Louise Slaughter
NY - Stephen Solarz
NY - Eldolphus Towns
NY - James T. Walsh
NY - Ted Weiss
OH - Dennis Eckart
OH - Edward F. Feighan
OH - Tony P. Hall
OH - Marcy Kaptur
OH - Thomas A. Luken
OH - Mary Rose Oskar
OH - Donald J. Pease
OH - Thomas Sawyer
OH - Louis Stokes
OH - James A. Traficant, Jr.
OK - Dave McCurdy
OK - Michael Synar
OR - Les AuCoin
OR - Peter A. De Fazio
OR - Ron Wyden
PA - Robert A. Borski
PA - William F. Clinger, Jr.
PA - William J. Coyne

PA - Thomas Foglietta
PA - Joseph M. Gaydos
PA - William F. Goodling
PA - William H. Gray III
PA - Paul E. Kanjorski
PA - Peter Kostmayer
PA - Joseph McDade
PA - John P. Murtha
PA - Thomas J. Ridge
PA - Richard T. Schulze
PA - Doug Walgren
RI - Ronald K. Machtley
RI - Claudine Schneider
SC - Butler Derrick
SD - Tim Johnson
TN - Jim Cooper
TN - Bart Gordon
TX - Michael Andrews
TX - Jack Brooks
TX - John Bryant
TX - Albert Bustamante
TX - Ronald Coleman
TX - Martin Frost
TX - Pete Geren
TX - Henry B. Gonzalez
TX - Solomon P. Ortiz
TX - J.J. Pickle
TX - Craig A. Washington
UT - Wayne Owens
VA - Frederick Boucher
VA - James R. Olin
VA - L.F. Payne
VT - Peter Smith
WA - Rod Chandler
WA - Norman D. Dicks
WA - Jim McDermott
WA - John R. Miller
WA - Sid Morrison
WA - Al Swift
WA - Jolene Unsoeld
WI - Les Aspin
WI - Steven Gunderson
WI - Robert Kastenmeier
WI - Gerald D. Kleczka
WI - Jim Moody
WI - David R. Obey
WV - Alan Mollohan
WV - Harley O. Staggers, Jr.
WV - Robert Wise

See Senate Vote, page 29

How the Senate voted on the Helms amendment

Senators listed below voted against an amendment by Senator Jesse Helms which said: "None of the funds appropriated under this Act may be used by the National Endowment for the Arts to promote, distribute, disseminate, or produce materials

that depict or describe, in a patently offensive way, sexual or excretory activities or organs." Senators not listed voted for the Helms amendment.

The address is: U.S. Senate, Washington, DC 20510.

AK - Ted Stevens
AR - Dale Bumpers
AR - David Pryor
AZ - Dennis DeConcini
CA - Alan Cranston
CA - Pete Wilson
CO - Timothy E. Wirth
CT - Christopher J. Dodd
CT - Joseph I. Lieberman
DE - Joseph R. Biden, Jr.
FL - Bob Graham
GA - Sam Nunn
GA - Wyche Fowler, Jr.
HI - Daniel K. Inouye
IA - Tom Harkin
IL - Alan J. Dixon
IL - Paul Simon
IN - Richard G. Lugar
KS - Nancy L. Kassebaum
KY - Wendell H. Ford
LA - J. Bennett Johnston
LA - John Breaux
MA - Edward M. Kennedy
MA - John F. Kerry

MD - Barbara Mikulski
MD - Paul S. Sarbanes
ME - George J. Mitchell
ME - William S. Cohen
MI - Carl Levin
MI - Donald W. Riegle
MN - David F. Durenberger
MN - Rudy Boschwitz
MO - Christopher Bond
MO - John C. Danforth
MT - Max Baucus
NC - Terry Sanford
ND - Quentin N. Burdick
NE - J. Robert Kerrey
NH - Warren Rudman
NJ - Bill Bradley
NJ - Frank Lautenberg
NM - Jeff Bingaman
NM - Peter V. Domenici
NV - Harry Reid
NV - Richard Bryan
NY - Alfonse M. D'Amato
NY - Daniel P. Moynihan

OH - Howard Metzenbaum
OH - John Glenn
OK - David L. Boren
OR - Bob Packwood
OR - Mark O. Hatfield
PA - Arlen Specter
PA - H. John Heinz
RI - Claiborne Pell
RI - John H. Chafee
SD - Thomas A. Daschle
TN - Albert Gore Jr.
TN - Jim Sasser
TX - Lloyd M. Bentsen
UT - Orrin G. Hatch
VA - Charles S. Robb
VA - John Warner
VT - James M. Jeffords
VT - Patrick J. Leahy
WA - Brock Adams
WA - Slade Gorton
WI - Herb Kohl
WV - John D. Rockefeller, IV
WY - Alan K. Simpson

Sexual assaults increasing

On June 28, the House of Representatives Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families heard dramatic testimony on sexual assault in the United States. Reporting data from a new study funded by the National Institute on Drug Abuse, Dr. Dean Kilpatrick of the Medical University of South Carolina testified that 13% of American women, at least 12 million adult women, have been the victim of at least one forcible completed rape. According to Dr. Jane Nady Burnley of the U.S. Department of Justice, rape is still one of the most under-reported crimes to police. The younger the victim, she said, the more likely the crime is to go unreported.

Washington Memo, 7/5/90

Lee says double standards exist

Spike Lee has denied allegations of anti-Semitism over his film *Mo' Better Blues*. He accused those making the charges of applying a double standard to his work. Lee has drawn criticism from the Jewish Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith for being anti-Semitic.

"I challenge anyone to tell me why I can't portray two club owners who happen to be Jewish and who exploit the black musicians who work for them," Lee wrote in the *New York Times*. "All Jewish club owners are not like this...but these two are."

The characters, Moe and Josh Flatbush, are penny-pinching entrepreneurs who take advantage of black musicians.

Some Jewish organizations criticized Lee

for using stereotypes, but the director advised his critics to examine Hollywood history if they want to see real stereotyping.

"Not every black person is a pimp, murderer, prostitute, convict, rapist or drug addict, but that hasn't stopped Hollywood from writing these roles for African-Americans," Lee wrote.

Memphis Commercial Appeal

Two letters...

Continued from page 2

that far too often individual Christians and individual churches have one of the attitudes put forth in the letters. Those letters may seem poles apart, but they are not. They both reduce Christianity to the act of being saved. For the first salvation means only going to heaven, for the second salvation is a selfish possession.

Three observations concerning these two attitudes: first, those who want to remove the influence of Christianity from our society are thrilled with them. Second, the Devil is laughing because of them. And finally, Jesus is crying because of them.

One church reformer once said: "I know no holiness but social holiness." Therein is the answer. Social holiness means to "go and do likewise."

Don

Burger King...

Continued from page 1

King offered a serious proposal on conditions that the boycott be ended prior to the

announced one-year period.

Burger King stated that they had changed their practice, that the change would be visible in the fall programs they helped sponsor and would continue in the future, and they confirmed their change in writing to CLeaR-TV.

CLeaR-TV stated that the change was appreciated, but that in order to "maintain credibility with our constituency...something out of the ordinary and specific" from Burger King was needed to end the boycott early.

To achieve that end, Burger King Corporation agreed to run half-page ads in more than 550 daily newspapers on November 4 promoting programs with traditional values. The ad will read: "An Open Letter To The American People. Burger King wishes to go on record as supporting traditional American values on television, especially the importance of the family. We believe the American people desire television programs that reflect the values they are trying to instill in their children. We pledge to support such programs with our advertising dollars."

Burger King suggested this action was "something out of the ordinary and specific" which would allow CLeaR-TV to maintain credibility with their constituency. CLeaR-TV's Executive Committee agreed with Burger King's proposal and voted to end the boycott November 1.

Donald E. Wildmon, executive director of AFA and also of CLeaR-TV, issued the following statement explaining the decision of CLeaR-TV to end the boycott early:

"Many AFA supporters will question why the Burger King boycott was ended after it was announced that the boycott would be for a period of one year. That is a valid question and I want to explain the decision.

"First, the objective of CLeaR-TV is to reduce the amount of sex, violence, profanity and anti-Christian bigotry on television. CLeaR-TV's purpose is not to be vindictive toward a company or to unnecessarily hurt a company economically.

"Shortly after the boycott was announced, several Burger King franchise owners began to contact CLeaR-TV. Almost without exception, their appeal was made in a reasonable manner. They said they agreed with the position of CLeaR-TV, but that their hands were tied.

"Our message back to the franchise owners was that they should express their concern to Burger King Corporation. They did this. In fact, it was because of the franchise owners that a meeting was held with Burger King officials and some franchise owners in Chicago on September 27. Both Burger King Corporation and franchise owners stated at that meeting that they wanted to end the boycott immediately, and were willing to work toward that goal.

"CLeaR-TV said that in order to 'main-

OGC 0070

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 JOHN W. HAZARD, JR.
 CHARLES M. WATKINS
 HUGH K. WEBSTER
 ANNE S. POPE

OF COUNSEL
 CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

February 11, 1991

Mary Taksar, Esq.
 Office of General Counsel
 Federal Election Commission
 999 E Street, N.W.
 Washington, DC 20463

Re: MURs 3176; The Christian
 Coalition and Ralph Reed,
 as Executive Director

Dear Ms. Taksar:

I have received your letter of January 28, 1991 and the information considered by the Commission as an amendment to the original complaint in MUR 3176.

The only "new" information pertaining to the Christian Coalition and Ralph Reed is a videotape of the November 1, 1990 broadcast of the "700 Club." A transcript of that broadcast (as it pertained to Mr. Reed) was included in the original complaint in MUR 3167.

By letter dated December 21, 1990, I responded to the allegations in MUR 3167 and, by letter dated January 7, 1991, that response was incorporated by reference as the Christian Coalition's response to MUR 3176. Included in that response was a letter from Mr. Reed explaining the context of his remarks on the "700 Club" and substantiating the "issue advocacy" nature of those remarks.

For the same reasons set forth in my letter of December 21, 1990, including the attachments, the amended complaint in MUR 3176 should be dismissed as to the Christian Coalition and Ralph Reed.

Sincerely,


 Frank M. Northam

FMN:dla

cc: Mr. Ralph E. Reed, Jr.

91 FEB 13 AM 10:46

91 FEB 13 PM 12:26

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
 MAIL ROOM

RECEIVED
 FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
 OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

92040900713

OGC 0041

STATEMENT OF DESIGNATION OF COUNSEL

MUR 3176

NAME OF COUNSEL: Peggy M. Coleman

ADDRESS: Post Office Drawer 2440

107 Parkgate Drive

Tupelo, Mississippi 38803

TELEPHONE: (601) 844-5036

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF THE CLERK
91 FEB -8 AM 10 00

The above-named individual is hereby designated as my
counsel and is authorized to receive any notifications and other
communications from the Commission and to act on my behalf before
the Commission.

92040900714
Date 2/4/91

Donald E. Wildmon
Signature

RESPONDENT'S NAME: Donald E. Wildmon for American Family Association Foundation, Inc.

ADDRESS: Post Office Drawer 2440

Tupelo, MS 38803

HOME PHONE: _____

BUSINESS PHONE: (601) 844-5036

OGC 0173

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
MAIL ROOM

91 FEB 26 AM 9:17

TO: Mary Takser
From: Ronald Oberlander
RE: MUR 3176

Please find enclosed the Montana Family Forum's response to your communication.

Thank You for your response and assistance in phone calls referring to this matter.

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91 FEB 26 AM 9:50

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
MAIL ROOM

The Montana Family Forum

Mr. Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel
Federal Elections Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

February 21, 1991

This letter and attached exhibits are submitted for your review and consideration in reference to MUR 3176.

The Montana Family Forum

The Montana Family Forum was initiated in January of 1990 as an educational forum for issues affecting traditional family values. As an example these concerns and issues included Life, Decency, Moral Values, Parents Rights, School Prayer and Religious Freedoms. The Family Forum functioned informally (unincorporated) for a period of one year as a volunteer organization with extremely limited resources. Guidelines for our activities were consistent with 501 (c) 3 educational foundation activities of which we were applying for. On June 6th of 1990 Mr. Oberlander underwent back surgery and has been undergoing physical therapy since that date. Mr. Oberlander functioned as a volunteer coordinator only. As of January 1st 1991, due to the lack of ongoing financial support, The Montana Family Forum is inactive with no activities being conducted at this time other than this response to you.

Activities of the Family Forum

During the one year period of limited activity The Family Forum conducted public meetings, in keeping with it's guidelines, which lead to a unanimous vote by the Kalispell City Council to pass an ordinance eliminating the sale and display of obscene materials or related activities within city limits. This occurred during the months of May through July of 1990. During this same period the matter of tax payer funding for display and in some cases production of "questionable art" became a national issue. The Forum had previously identified decency as a concern for the family. With this understanding the mailing was prepared to inform the public on the issue of tax payer funding for "Questionable Art". The difficulty in dealing with the educational nature and election period timing of this issue was that Congressman Williams served as the chairman of the committee which oversaw financing for the National Endowment for the Arts and openly supported full funding. It is the Family Forum's position that the mailing was for educational purposes only in regard to the issues of decency and continued tax payer funding of "questionable art". All references made to positions or statements by the Congressman on the decency issue were a matter of public record.

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The Montana Family Forum nor Mr. Oberlander have participated at any time in activities or funds to elect or defeat any federal candidate. The Family Forum did not hold or advocate an independent position nor make public statements in regard to the election of Congressman Williams. Furthermore, it is The Family Forum's position that there was no intent to violate rules or regulations pertaining to federal elections.

In conclusion, The Family Forum's overall activities were so limited that if it was believed or understood that a qualifying "independent expenditure", under F.E.C. guidelines, had occurred, such expenditures and activities would have been appropriately declared and reported.

The Family Forum requests that the commission find no reason to believe that the complaint sets forth a possible violation of the Act and, accordingly, that the commission close the file in the matter of MUR 3176 as it pertains to The Montana Family Forum and Mr. Ronald Oberlander.

Thank You for your consideration in this matter.

No counsel is designated. Future correspondence may be directed to:

The Montana Family Forum
Box 1001
Kalispell, MT. 59903
Attn: Mr. Ronald Oberlander

Telephone 406-257-2400

Enclosures

1) video

- segment 1 (3 Minutes) ABC news story with Peter Jennings
- segment 2 (30 Minutes) Kalispell City Council meeting with public testimony on decency ordinance. Testimony was coordinated by the Family Forum and demonstrates our activity and concern for the issue of decency.

2) information distributed during Kalispell decency debate

3) membership information used to describe activities (note: no reference or solicitation is made for election campaign or pac activities and funds)

4) information related to the NEA debate

the Family Forum
Serving God, Family and Country

Citizens for Decency Conference

Thursday May 17th, 7:30 p.m. Kalispell City Council Chambers

Welcome

Ronald Oberlander spokesperson, ^{the} Family Forum

Opening Prayer

- for our families, churches, pastors, public servants, communities, nation and government

Purpose of this session:

- to be informed on current issues affecting our families, community and state
- to encourage positive action on upcoming legislation
- a brief overview of the Family Forum
- to initiate a Flathead Citizens for Decency chapter

Conference Discussion

- Montana Citizens for Decency
Pastor Terry Crooks, Libby
- Kalispell ordinance for decency
Mr. Don Nelson, Kalispell C.A.P.
- the Family Forum
Mr. Ronald Oberlander spokesperson
- A proposal for a Flathead Citizens for Decency chapter
Mr. Crooks and Mr. Nelson
- other business / closing prayer

Enclosure
2

4 pages

the Family Forum
"Serving God, Family and Country"

CHURCH BULLETIN - ACTION CALL !

for further information contact: Ronald Oberlander 837-3333

The Kalispell City Council will consider action on an ordinance to restrict adult book store and related pornography activities Monday evening May 21st.

A conference to inform and encourage supportive action on the proposed ordinance will be held Thursday May 17th, at 7:30 p.m., in the Kalispell City Hall Council Chambers. (The conference is coordinated by the Family Forum.)

Montana Citizens for Decency spokesperson pastor Terry Crooks, Libby and Mr. Don Nelson, Citizens for Decency advocate of Kalispell will lead discussion to inform citizens of upcoming action before the city council. Pastor Crooks will also brief attendees on plans for the '91 legislative session. (Plans to establish a "Flathead Citizens for Decency" chapter will also be discussed.)

Your help is needed!

- please announce the conference date and encourage attendance. (a delegate from each area church is encouraged)
- please offer special prayer Sunday May 13th and 20th for our Mayor, City Council, and the citizens who are serving to improve our community.
- please encourage members to phone or write to their respective council member supporting an ordinance to restrict pornography related activity in Kalispell. (a draft of the ordinance and a list of council members is attached.) Thank You for your assistance!

"For these commands are a lamp, and the Law is light; and the corrections of discipline are the way to life (Proverbs 6:23).

ORDINANCE NO. _____

AN ORDINANCE REPEALING ORDINANCE NO. 957, AS AMENDED, ESTABLISHING THE OFFENCE OF DISSEMINATING OBSCENE MATERIALS, DEFINING TERMS, AND PROVIDING A PENALTY.

WHEREAS, the City Council of the City of Kalispell has determined that the dissemination of obscene materials constitutes a public nuisance and presents a danger to the health, safety and welfare of the citizens of the City of Kalispell, and

WHEREAS, Section 45-8-201(5) Montana Code Annotated authorizes the adoption by said City of an ordinance more restrictive as to obscenity than the existing provision of Section 45-8-201, MCA.

NOW THEREFORE BE IT ORDAINED BY THE CITY COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF KALISPELL AS FOLLOWS:

SECTION 1. Unless otherwise specified in this Ordinance, all words will be taken in the objective standard rather than in the subjective, and unless a different meaning plainly is required, the following definitions apply to this Ordinance:

A) Disseminate means to transfer, distribute, dispense, lend, show, display, exhibit, send, transport or broadcast in exchange for consideration.

B) Obscene means any material or performance, whether through pictures, photographs, drawings, writings, cartoons, recordings, films, videotapes, or other such medium, which:

1) the average person, applying contemporary community standards, would find the material or the performance, taken as a whole, appeals to the prurient interest; and

2) the material or performance depicts or describes, in a patently offensive way, sexual conduct, sadomasochistic sexual abuse, or lewd exhibition of the genitals; and

3) the material or performance, taken as a whole, lacks serious literary, artistic, political or scientific value.

C) Material means any book, magazine, newspaper advertisement, pamphlet, poster, print, picture, figure, image, drawing, description, motion picture film, phonographic record or recording tape, video tape, or other tangible thing capable of producing or reproducing an image, picture, sound or sensation through sight, sound, or touch.

D) Performance means any motion picture, film, video tape, played record, phonograph, or tape broadcast, preview, trailer, play, show, skit, dance, or other exhibition performed or presented to or before an audience of one or more, or transmitted by means of an electrical, radio, television, telephonic, or other communicative device or facility to a known closed or open circuit audience of one or more persons or to the general public.

E) Person means any individual, corporation, company, partnership, firm, association, business, establishment, organization or other legal entity of any kind.

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F) Prurient means a lustful, lascivious, erotic, shameful, or morbid interest in sexual conduct, sexually explicit nudity, sodomasochistic sexual abuse, or lewd exhibition of the genitals. Materials or performances may be deemed to appeal to the prurient interest when they have a tendency to excite lustful thoughts or lascivious desires, or when they are designed, marketed, promoted or disseminated to cater or appeal to such an interest. Where the material or performance is designed for and primarily disseminated or promoted to a clearly defined deviate sexual group, rather than the public at large, the prurient appeal requirement is satisfied if the dominant theme of the material or performance, taken as a whole, appeals to the prurient interest in sex of the members of that intended and probable recipient group.

G) Sexual conduct means ultimate sexual acts, normal or perverted, actual or simulated, involving a person or persons, or a person or persons and an animal, including acts of masturbation, sexual intercourse, fellatio, cunnilingus, anilingus, or physical contact with a person's nude or partially denuded genitals, pubic area, perineum, anal region, or, if such a person be female, a breast.

H) Sodomasochistic sexual abuse means actual or simulated flagellation, rape, torture, or other physical or sexual abuse, by or upon a person who is nude or partially denuded, or the condition of being bound, fettered, or otherwise physically restrained, for the actual or simulated purpose of sexual gratification or abuse as represented in the context of a sexual relationship.

SECTION II. A person commits the offense of disseminating obscene material, when with knowledge of the general nature and character of the material involved, he:

A) purposely or knowingly disseminates obscene material

B) knowing or having reason to know that the material will be disseminated, purposely or knowingly finances the manufacture or production; produces, manufactures, directs, photographs, poses, acts, or in any way assists in the production, copying or reproduction of visually represented obscene material or advertisements for any obscene material.

SECTION III. It is an affirmative defense to charge under this Ordinance that the material or performance involved was disseminated or promoted for a bona fide medical, psychological, legislative, judicial or law enforcement purpose, by or to a physician, psychologist, psychiatrist, legislator, judge, prosecutor, law enforcement officer, or other person having a bona fide interest in such material or performance.

SECTION IV. A person convicted of the offense of disseminating obscene material, or otherwise violating any provision of this Ordinance, should be punished as provided by Ordinance No. 834 (Section 1-9 and 1-10, Kalispell City Code).

SECTION V. If a part or provision of this Ordinance or the application thereof to any person or circumstances is held invalid under the laws of the State of Montana or of the United States, such invalidity shall not effect any other parts or provisions or applications of this Ordinance which

can be given effect without the invalid part or provision or application, and to that end the parts and provisions of this Ordinance are declared to be severable.

SECTION VI. Ordinance No. 957, as amended, in its entirety, is hereby repealed.

SECTION VII. This Ordinance shall be effective from and after thirty (30) days of its final passage by the City Council and approval by the Mayor.

PASSED BY THE CITY COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF KALISPELL AND APPROVED BY THE MAYOR THIS _____ DAY OF _____, 1990.

Roger W. Hopkins, Mayor

ATTEST:

Amy H. Robertson
City Clerk-Treasurer

92040900722

the FAMILY FORUM

"Serving God, Family and Country"

Enclosure #3
4 pages

To: Concerned Citizens, Parents and Family Leaders
R.E.: An Introduction to the Family Forum

There is a civil war being fought over values in America. It is being fought in our public schools, the entertainment industry, congress, our state legislatures, and the courts. It is being fought over a basic question: whose values shall govern?

Most will agree that something should be done about the growing number of problems affecting today's family life. The Family Forum is an opportunity to do something about those concerns. Our plan of action has been drafted from successful state models as part of a national network under development by *Dr. James Dobson and Focus on the Family!*

- The Family Forum was founded to inform and promote cooperation among citizens, public servants, and organizations dedicated to **Strengthening Traditional Family Values and Principles of American Government . . One Nation under God!**

- We are a full-time service organization serving as a catalyst and coordinator for positive citizen action at the local and state level. Our services and activities include:

✓**State Action Council:** regular state level strategy sessions with pro-family groups coordinating information and action for accountability in government.

✓**Local Coordinators:** developing the local pro-family network.

✓**Local Action Councils:** promoting cooperative action in the analysis and response to local concerns. Encouraging community-wide Prayer and Revival activities.

the Family Forum

"Serving God, Family and Country"

**Family life is undergoing dramatic change today.
What issues are of concern to you and your family?**

Religious liberties, economics, health, education, welfare, housing, homeless, jobs, child care, parents rights, life, decency, ethics, chemical abuse, social security, free enterprise, limited government, defense, law, justice, community prayer and revival activities

***Your Voice is Important! Invest today
in your Family & Nation's Future!***

✓ **Family Forum** Join those who support our activities
and receive our publications!

___ annual \$120; ___ semiannual \$60; ___ quarter \$30; ___ month \$10

✓ **Family Forum Foundation** Major grants and
contributions are sought to fund local and statewide activities.

\$10,000 or more ___, \$5,000 to \$10,000 ___, \$2,500 to \$5,000 ___,
\$1,000 to \$2,500 ___, \$500 to \$1,000 ___, other _____
annual ___, semiannual ___, quarter ___, month _____

Name: _____ Spouse _____

Address _____

City _____ State/Zip _____

Res./Bus.Ph. _____ / _____ Occupation _____

Referred by: _____

Representative: _____

Date/Comments: _____

please make checks payable and return to:

the Family Forum • Box 399 • Somers, Mt. 59932 • 406-837-3333

92040900724

America In The Balance

Two hundred years ago the civil and religious liberties of our American Constitutional Republic represented a new era in the world history of government. But today, by her own hand, America faces the greatest challenge ever encountered. That challenge is the decline of religious and moral character in the people, laws, institutions, and public policies of America. This changing of equation from freedom in God to freedom from God is a break in the heritage of our nation and not consistent with the vision of our founding fathers. The very foundations of our nation have been shaken.

Where are we headed?

Because of our apathy and permissiveness America has suffered a series of defeats in maintaining historical and traditional family values, ethical standards and our religious heritage. The unmistakable signs of moral decay are all around us. Prejudices springing out of religious exclusivism, racial and ethnic background, and political party affiliation have often stood as barriers preventing cooperative efforts to halt the destructive rising tide. Since these problems have grown for many decades positive changes will not happen overnight.

Certainly something must be done!

We must recall that our liberties and the blessings they provide were purchased at great cost. Thousands of lives have been sacrificed to win and protect our heritage of civil and religious freedoms, faith in God, and the principles and values represented therein. We must therefore rededicate ourselves, during this time of challenge, to stand firm within our Biblical convictions of liberty and truth. Men and women of all faiths and political convictions working together as responsible citizens who share in the common goals and destiny of our nation.

Where do we begin?

We start with the American individual and the basic institutions of home, church, school, business and government. We return to the Bible as our American Economic, Social, Educational, and Civic Textbook. We continue the work begun by our founding fathers based upon the foundation of Scripture and the religious character of their conscience.

We the people . . . have always been a land of hope!

Taking from the past and refining in the present to shape a better, brighter future for our children. It is time to boldly move forward, to recapture and apply anew the spirit and religious heritage of our past. God has truly blessed this nation, protecting and guiding us in times of despair, war, and prosperity. As responsible servants to our faith in God and as citizens of a free society we must act to maintain the Biblical blessings of liberty and religious freedom.

***If ever you have desired to do something
for the future of your children and country
the time to do so is now! All that remains
is for good men and women to act!***

"...our ancestors established their system of government on morality and religious sentiment. Moral habits, they believed, cannot safely be trusted on any other foundation than religious principle, nor any government be secure which is not supported by moral habits." . . .

Daniel Webster

"God grant that in America true religion and civil liberty may be inseparable, and the unjust attempts to destroy the one, may in the issue tend to the support and the establishment of both."

John Witherspoon

If this sounds like carnival side show stuff you're right. But the difference is the taxpayers were expected to pay for the tent and the performance. To demand that taxpayers pay for the innovative use of urine and pictures is in my opinion expecting them to approve of flushing our cultural heritage down the toilet.

Each taxpayer should ask themselves nine questions:

1. Are the arts and artists beyond criticism?
2. Should that criticism result in a form of reduction by a lack of support?
3. Do patrons of the arts select and choose those who they wish to support?
4. Have government taxpayers become a patron or sponsor of the arts? Is \$171 million a sponsorship in taxpayer funds?
5. Do the people (patrons/taxpayers) have a right to reject a policy or a program? If not, what makes them different from other patrons?
6. Should that rejection result in the total elimination of all support?
7. In the alternative, should the program that the taxpayers (patrons) support be responsive to their desires?
8. If a patron refuses to purchase or support certain artists, is that censorship or his right?
9. Can these perpetrators of the repulsive peddle their wares anywhere they choose without taxpayer funds?

In answering these questions, I reject the allegations of censorship. I remind you that western art galleries and museums will not exhibit contemporary art. Galleries of modern art think western art is without feeling and unchallenging. Is that censorship?

Some have alleged that Charley Russell, Edgar Degas, Michelangelo and others have painted some pretty risque pictures. I remind you that "Uncle Sugar," the taxpayer, was not footing the bill then.

92040900727

Ron Oberlander -- Page 3

I agree that a few Congressmen should not sit as a censorship board. Even though I have had extensive exposure to the visual arts and more than the average to the performing arts, I would not be inclined to say that contemporary art or opera ranked higher or lower than landscapes or comedy.

I would, however, as a guardian of the taxpayer's trust, be compelled to send a broadbased message that the taxpayers and citizens of this nation believe that some of those funds were squandered. That message could be interpreted as, "Clean up your act or else!"

Even with the warnings of public anger and threats of legislative reaction, the arts community insists that they are above criticism. Their response is that under the cloak of art, we can get by with damn near anything and we believe the standards of decency do not apply in this case.

The continuance of these excesses will result in elimination of all taxpayer support, so sayeth the taxpayer patron. That would indeed be sad when we consider all the outstanding performances, all the fine art, and all the great public involvement this seed money has generated.

Given these considerations, I will vote for meaningful reform. If reform is not achieved, I will vote against all funding for the National Endowment for the Arts. I do not want my name attached as a patron to a legacy of art that is degenerate, obscene, perverted, pornographic, and exceedingly offensive. Let the artist find another patron, not the taxpayer.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



P.S. A listing, documentation, and copy of some of the material is available at my offices. The Department of Justice and the Post Office have stated I could be subject to laws covering distribution of pornographic materials should I attempt to mail it out.

92040900729

Fri - Mar 16
Milwaukee Star

Rep. Williams willing to give art funding plenty of ROPE

WASHINGTON — We have been hearing a great deal lately about "rights." Not just civil rights, but also animal rights, student rights, voting rights, the right of privacy, the right to life, and so on. On March 5, a brand-new right popped into the news. This is a Right to be Offensive at Public Expense.

It evolved in this fashion. John Frohnmayer, chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts, was in Los Angeles for a public hearing on reauthorization of NEA funding. Among the spectators was Rep. Pat Williams, D-Mont. Everything was going smoothly (only friendly witnesses were on hand) when Williams asked a tough question. He asked if the NEA should permit grants for the creation of "offensive" works of art.

Frohnmayer tried to duck. Williams persisted. Finally Frohnmayer responded: "I would say yes." He would not approve a grant for anything whose sole purpose is to be offensive, but he willingly would give the taxpayers' money to an artist who created "rough stuff."

It is marvelous. Is it not? It is marvelously wacky. As the hearing continued, it developed that violation of the Right to be Offensive at Public Expense (ROPE) is "censorship." Williams praised the chairman for his attitude: "It shows real determination that the NEA not be used as a censorship agency."

Well, if an indulgent Congress gives the NEA enough of this ROPE, perhaps the agency will yet hang itself. A good thing, too. There is something fundamentally wrong in the whole business of NEA grants to individual artists, composers and jazz musicians. These grants ought to be banned.



James J. Kilpatrick

This is how the system works. Every year the NEA announces that it will give 50 fellowships of \$20,000 each in, say, the field of poetry. From across the land, hundreds of hopeful poets submit samples of their work. A panel of professional poets then winnows the entries and names the happy winners.

But hold. In any such competition (I have judged a few), the difference between No. 50 and No. 51 is minute. Judgments are entirely subjective. It is all a matter of the panel's taste. But the upshot is that No. 50 gets \$20,000 of the taxpayers' money, plus the fame and recognition that goes with being an NEA Fellow. And No. 51 gets — nothing.

Well, you say, that is how the world is. Some win, some lose. This is true enough in the private sector, but it ought not to be true in the public sector. Our government has no business creating winners and losers with public money. In a free society, poets, painters and pianists ought to compete in a free marketplace. If their work catches on, fine. If not, this is how the world really is.

It is this elementary distinction between public funds and private rights that has been so willfully blurred in the controversy over the NEA. Every would-be artist has a

right to create "offensive" work. No sensible person challenges that right. But there is no right whatever to be offensive at public expense.

In New York in mid-January, a woman named Annie Sprinkle, who describes herself as a "feminine porn activist," put on 12 performances at a Manhattan theater called The Kitchen. The performances were funded in part through a grant from the state's council on the arts, which in turn was funded in part by a \$500,000 grant from the NEA.

The New York City Tribune covered the performance. I try to be delicate, but it isn't easy. The City Tribune reported that the artist began by masturbating before the audience with various "sex toys." She concluded by opening her vaginal canal with a speculum and inviting the audience to take a close look at her cervix.

The performance might have been instructive for medical students planning to go into gynecology, but was it "art"? Bosh! Hokum! Balderdash! Nonsense! I run out of breath. That such a performance should be publicly funded is preposterous. It is equally absurd to contend, as Rep. Williams contends, that to deny a grant for such pornography is "censorship."

Look. In common with every other writer, I live by the First Amendment. Freedom of the press and freedom of speech are precious to me. At the top of my lungs I will defend the right of any poet to write whatever he pleases. Censorship — actual, formal censorship — is abhorrent. But federal grants to individuals are equally abhorrent. This alleged ROPE — this supposed Right to be Offensive at Public Expense — ought to be exposed as the lie that it is.

Space at the Trough Has a Price

Care to join the company of "jackals and hyenas" — impresario Joseph Papp's furious description of critics of the National Endowment for the Arts? Papp, the very model of a modern major general of the artsy-craftsy legion, went bananas during a Washington hearing on legislation to reauthorize the NEA for five more years. That there should be criticism from outside the arts "community" about federal grants, especially on such grounds as obscenity or blasphemy, has Papp and his pals shrieking "censorship" in an industrial-strength tantrum.

The shrapnel is flying around Capitol Hill. Perplexed politicians, including the fellow in the White House, are trying to decide whether this ruckus is a skirmish that safely can be ducked or is turning into a distinctly messy issue — and no one wants to lose his job over a lousy arts explosion. It is unlikely that a full five-year reauthorization will make it, lacking any constraints on obscenity and blasphemy. Among the alternatives being explored is one to provide sufficient plasma to keep the NEA breathing for a year while a special commission tries to concoct the usual special commission salve.

Those who believe that governmental funding of the arts is inappropriate (so sayeth deponent) and hope that Congress will weary of the combat and let the arts endowment expire probably will be disappointed: The establishment of any Washington bureaucracy is a working definition of perpetuity. But if a good many of the endowment partisans continue to be as contemptuous of the public as they have been up to now, the endowment could be pared to loose change.

Another possibility is that the bulk of grant money could devolve to state councils rather than continue to be doled out by the national arts bureaucracy. That at least would put accountability closer to the folks paying the tab.

Let's dispose of the censorship nonsense once again: There is no restriction under the sun on artistic freedom in this country. However, if artists and the rest want to gobble at the government trough, they forfeit autonomy: Anyone who takes public money incurs a public obligation. It's that simple. If assailing the ideals and traditions of middle-class America is an artist's dynamic, as so very often seems to be the case, fine — but on his own nickel.

That's the credo to which we "jackals and hyenas" subscribe. The New York Times editorial page, though, is flapping its apron frantically. It unctuously indicts

"far-right" influences that would constrict "a program of inestimable value to the entire spectrum of American artistic activity" and cites, in addition to the usual litany of museums and theaters and art galleries that the arts agency allegedly has sustained, "a 92-year-old maker of bobbin lace in South Dakota." Now, by golly, there are your tax dollars at work. The limp editorial premise is that this artistic flowering only could have been fertilized with public money.

Certainly there are uncommonly difficult elements of taste and values in the dispute over arts policy — even with the best will in the world, which ain't the case now. One reason the flap has evolved from disagreement to bare-knuckle brawl is that, as Hilton Kramer, art critic and editor of *The New Criterion*, wrote in a superb essay, too often "art is made to serve extra-artistic purposes."

That means essentially antisocial art in the service of a leftist agenda that rejects vehemently many if not most of the ideals and morals of the wider society — and for which federal support serves as validation. The immensely politicized arts community is intentionally outrageous and tendentious.

The NEA partisans are edgy about addressing that aggressive aesthetic, if aesthetic it be. For instance, Rep. Pat Williams, a Montana Democrat, tenaciously champions the endowment against what he calls "Big Brother censorship by right-wing evangelical cuckoos." Gee, Pat, it might include a few others.

It would be easy for Williams to find out. Suppose that he reproduces in the next newsletter to his Montana constituents the late Robert Mapplethorpe's "homosexual" photograph of himself nude, bent over with a bullwhip inserted in a posterior bodily orifice? The photo was part of a controversial Mapplethorpe exhibit partly underwritten by the arts endowment.

You bet Williams will do that — just as soon as he will saunter down the Mall wearing only his Stetson. And the proposition applies to the other camp followers of the endowment, congressional and otherwise.

In his autobiography, Malcolm Muggeridge warned of the risk of destroying "literature and art by making them an instrument of power rather than of truth." That's a diagnosis for today, when one can argue that art has been conscripted into the service of something that resembles cultural barbarism — nurtured by tax money.

The Last Word is personal commentary on issues of the day. West is the associate editor of Insight.



RE: Artistic Excesses

DIRECT GOVERNMENT FUNDING -

1) Mapplethorpe Exhibition - NEA provided \$30,000 to the Institute for Contemporary Art in Philadelphia to assemble a collection of Robert Mapplethorpe's photographs for exhibit which included the following:

- a) Photo of a man's arm up (to the forearm) in another man's rectum.
- b) One man urinating in another man's mouth.
- c) A bull-whip up Mapplethorpe's rectum.
- d) A man sticking a large cylinder up his own rectum.
- e) Close-up of a man sticking his "pinkie" finger up his penis.
- f) One man holding another man's genitals.
- g) A man identified as Mark Stevens (also identified as "Mr. 10 1/2 ") with his genitals stretched out on a table.
- h) A little girl with her skirt lifted exposing her genitals.
- i) A man in a polyester suit with his penis protruding from his fly.
- j) A nude young boy with his genitals prominently displayed.

2) Nueva Luz Journal - NEA gave a grant to the Nueva Luz Journal to support it's operations as a minority publication. Nueva Luz then used the funds to publish photographs by Richardo Barros of his wife and children and himself together in the nude. The Presidents of Community Boards 9 and 17 in New York City referred the issue to the U.S. Attorney for possible prosecution under the Child Protection and Obscenity Enforcement Act. Nueva Luz's editor's response to the controversy was that he "met with key government funders to which the criticism had been directed and finally took two aspirin and went to bed."

3) Saturday Night At San Marcos - The books original publisher, Thunder's Mouth Press, received an NEA grant to publish it. The fiction novel relates the sexual abuse of 10 children in a pedophile's garage, including bestiality. After the pedophile is caught by authorities, a fictitious interview of the children is conducted in which they say how much they enjoyed the sex games and that they were not harmed by the sex games because they were already experimenting with sex.

4) Orgasms of Light: The Gay Sunshine Anthology - The NEA gave a grant to the Gay Sunshine Press, Inc. to publish this book which extolls and illustrates homosexual orgies, bestiality, and other sexual perversion.

5) Fear of Flying - Erica Jong received an NEA grant to write this book about a prostitute sex life, including bestiality.

INDIRECT GOVERNMENT FUNDING

1) The Duke Museum of Art - had a show entitled "Morality Tales: History of Painting in the 1980's" which included a painting called "First Sex." The painting depicts a nude woman on her back, legs open, knees up, masturbating, while a little boy leans against her leg looking up into her face and two older, sexually aroused, boys wait in the background.

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2) New York's Franklin Furnace - put on an exhibition of pornography entitled "The Second Coming" which showed one lesbian using a dildo on another, one lesbian inserting her foot into another, an 86 year old woman boasting about sexual escapades with teenagers, group sex photos. One painting shows a mammoth woman breastfeeding an infant and is entitle "Jesus S----." Saints were shown in sadomasochistic situations and a baby was displayed on the wall with her mouth open in around shape and was entitled "O", a title sure to inflame a pedophile. The live presentations accompanying the show included two women talking about fellatio and swallowing sperm. The Franklin Furnace recieved \$73, 370 in grants from the NEA the year this exhibit appeared.

3) Nude Painting of Baseball Player - The Chicago Public Library Cultural Center displayed an exhibition entitled "Diamonds Are Forever" which included a painting entitle "Boys at Bat" which depicts a nude man swinging at a baseball as a small, frightened, fully clothed boy stands by. The relative position of the child to the man's genitalia prompted complaints that the objective of the painting was child molestation, not art.

4) The Arkansas Art Center - felt it necessary to drape a statue of a couple making love over the summer months because of the complaints of parents who had brought their children to the museum.

5) Chicago School of Art - piece of student art work invited viewers to walk on the Aemrican flag. The Illinois state legislature slashed the the annual state grant to the school from \$70,000 to \$1.

6) Los Angeles County Museum of Art - contains an exhibit of a couple engaged in sexual intercourse in the back seat of a 1938 Dodge. A phallic structure by Robert Graham includes numerous scenes of sexual intercourse. The curator stated that "We have explicit representations of couples copulating. Are we supposed to take them off exhibit because someone doesn't approve of them being on display? Thank you, I won't do it. When an institution is intimidated by that kind of thing, there's no way of defining the limits of it. It is not going to stop at contemporary art."

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OTHER ARTS

Examples Of How The National Endowment For The Arts Uses Your Tax Dollars

Warning! Material on this sheet is extremely offensive.

• Honored Andres Serrano with \$15,000 in tax dollars in competition sponsored by the NEA. Serrano's work of art was a photo of Christ on a cross submerged in Serrano's urine. Serrano named the "work of art" Pi- Christ.

• The NEA spent \$30,000 to fund the homosexual photographs of Robert Mapplethorpe. Mapplethorpe's tax funded exhibit included these photos: "Honey", a little girl about four years old with a sad, scared face, but the focus of the camera is on the child's genitals below her uplifted dress; a man crouched over, his penis on a block, named "Mr. 10 1/2"; for pedophile homosexuals a shot of a nude little boy, about eight, proudly displaying his penis; a man dressed in a three piece suit entitled "Man in Polyester Suit" which focuses on his exposed sexual organ; a man standing nude with an erection; one man urinating in another man's mouth (homosexuals call it "golden showers"); and one man with his fist and forearm up another man's rectum (homosexuals call it "fisting"). Time magazine said that, had this not been supported by the NEA, the exhibitor would probably have been charged with distribution of child pornography.

• In Phoenix, Arizona, the NEA gave MARS Artspace \$20,000 to help fund an exhibit featuring Cactus Jack's "Pi- Helms," a photo of Senator Jesse Helms in a large jar of urine.

• The NEA gave \$40,000 to the Gay Sunshine Press to publish sexually explicit homosexual stories and \$25,000 to the Panjandum Press for the same purpose. In New York, NEA funds helped pay for an exhibit which included booklets depicting one lesbian inserting a dildo into another, one lesbian inserting her foot into another, a photo album of group sex, a collection of crude drawings which included one entitled "Jesus sucks" depicting a mammoth woman breast-feeding an infant. Another photo was of a man asking, "Is it a sin to f--- a priest?"

• With NEA help, PADD (Political Art Documentation Distribution) and Carnival Knowledge co-sponsored entertainment including a number called "Tapping and Talking Dirty" in which two feminists casually chatted about fellatio and swallowing sperm.

• The organizers of the annual San Francisco Lesbian and Gay Film Festival expect to receive \$20,000 by the NEA for their 1990 showing. The NEA gave them \$10,000 in 1989 and \$6,300 in 1988 to support their Lesbian and Gay Film Festival. The film festival features films for and about homosexual lifestyles, sexual activities and practices.

• In Houston, the NEA helped fund the exhibit "At Home with Themselves: Gay and Lesbian Couples" at the Houston Center for Photography.

• The NEA gave \$20,000 to three lesbian writers to help fund their homoerotic writings about their lesbian lifestyle.

• The NEA helped fund the exhibit "Degenerate with a capital D" in New York. The exhibit included posters that depicted Senator Jesse Helms' nailed to a cross (exhibitor Shawn Eichman even sent several of the posters to Helms' home), Dread Scott's "Proper Way to Display a U.S. Flag" which encouraged gallery-goers to walk on the flag, and a china cabinet that contained a coat hanger placed next to a vial containing fetal tissue from an abortion which "artist" Eichman underwent.

• In New York, the NEA provided \$10,000 in tax funds to help pay for an art exhibit in which angry homosexuals denounced Catholic clergyman John Cardinal O'Connor, calling him a "fat

cannibal" and a "creep in black skirts" while St. Patrick's Cathedral was promoted as the "house of walking swastikas on Fifth Avenue."

In the exhibition catalog, David Wojnarowicz writes: "At least in my ungoverned imagination I can f--- somebody without a rubber or I can, in the privacy of my own skull, douse (Senator) Helms with a bucket of gasoline and set his putrid a--- on fire or throw (Congressman) William Dannemeyer off the Empire State building."

One "work of art" was a bust of Jesus in drag (appearing as a transvestite), with a crown of thorns on His head, make-up around the eyes and female breasts.

• One of the latest exhibits which was funded with \$25,000 of tax funds was entitled "Annie Sprinkle: Post-Porn Modernist". Annie Sprinkle is a porn movie star who has appeared in more than 150 X-rated, pornographic movies.

The art exhibit included Annie Sprinkle's live performances at the Kitchen theater in New York and consisted of, among other things, the "artist" spreading her legs and inviting the audience to inspect her vagina and cervix with the aid of a flashlight, masturbating to orgasm, and performing with several dildos. As part of her federally-funded art exhibit, Annie did the following:

• Invoked the spirits of "ancient, sacred temple prostitutes" into the theater. During the performance, Sprinkle said her sexual obsessions are "new age" spirituality, and likened her art to ancient sacred prostitutes and Taoist masters who could lengthen their orgasms. She also prayed with the audience to invoke the spirits of past sex goddesses. "I like to evoke spirits," she told the crowd. "They love having sex."

In the "art exhibit", Annie Sprinkle mounted an altar of candles and lit them in honor of former friends and lovers who had died from AIDS. She then prayed to their spirits, lit incense, and, with the audience chanting along and applauding, induced an orgasm with a vibrator.

• Performed oral sex on rubber penises (dildos), and invited the audience to massage her breasts and photograph her scantily clad body. At the beginning of her tax-dollar funded exhibit she did a skit, called "100 Blow Jobs." In the skit, Sprinkle becomes very angry and despondent, and admits she "met a lot of rotten people" in her career. Then, with a background of the loud voices of demanding men shouting curses and insults at her, she proceeds to give frantic oral sex to various dildos, which represent abusive sex partners.

• To conclude her performance, she opened her vaginal canal with a gynecological tool known as a speculum and invited the audience to the stage to inspect her cervix using a flashlight.

• After the show, some 50 men and women paid \$5 each to have a picture taken with Sprinkle's large breasts resting atop their heads.

At one point during Annie Sprinkle's "art exhibit"—after inducing the first orgasm with her favorite "sex toys"—she smiles and says to the audience, "Usually I get paid a lot of money for this, but tonight it's government-funded!"

Annie's main writer and only actor in the tax-dollar funded exhibit was Annie Sprinkle. A "Post-Porn Modernist Manifesto," printed in the show's program and is signed by more than 20 people, describes the philosophy of such modernists, who "celebrate sex as the nourishing, life-giving force." It states, "We embrace our genitals as part, not separate, from our spirits. We utilize sexually explicit words, pictures and performances to communicate our ideas and emotions."

MONTANA DEMOCRATIC PARTY

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RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

March 8, 1991

Lawrence M. Noble, General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20463

Dear Mr. Noble:

On February 21, 1991, I sent you a copy of the enclosed letter. I received notice that the notary's commission had expired. After checking with the notary I know that her commission has not, in fact, expired, but rather the stamp she used was out of date.

I have enclosed a copy of the letter and related materials with the notary's correct date of her commission expiration.

Thank you for your timely consideration of this matter and please let me know if you require anything further.

Sincerely,

Jane C. Murphy

Jane C. Murphy
Executive Director

enclosures



February 21, 1991

Lawrence M. Noble, General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20463

Dear Mr. Noble:

On October 26, 1990, the Montana Democratic Party filed a complaint with the Federal Election Commission against the "Christian Coalition" for their activities opposing Congressman Pat Williams in the final days of the 1990 election.

Subsequent to that initial complaint on November 5, 1990, we provided the FEC with a video tape and transcript. On January 16, 1991, we requested that this tape be officially added as part of our complaint.

On January 16, we also requested that the complaint be expanded to include Ron Oberlander, State Director of the Montana Family Forum.

At this time, we respectfully request that the enclosed materials also be officially included as evidence in our complaint. It is our belief that the enclosed documentation demonstrates the political relationships between the Christian Coalition, the Montana Family Forum and the Infocision advertising agency.

Thank you for your timely consideration of this matter and we look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Jane C. Murphy

Jane C. Murphy
Executive Director

enclosures

Carol Bulkhead

NOTARY PUBLIC for the State of Montana
Residing at Helena, Montana
My Commission Expires November 13, 1992

92040900737



February 21, 1991

Lawrence M. Noble, General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20463

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Sincerely,

Jane C. Murphy

Jane C. Murphy
Executive Director

enclosures

Carol Bahls

NOTARY PUBLIC for the State of Montana
Residing at Helena, Montana
My Commission Expires November 13, 1989

ARTCRAFT

92040900738



Christian Coalition

September 24, 1990

Dear Congressman Williams:

It is my understanding that the House of Representatives is scheduled to vote this week on the reauthorization of funding for the National Endowment for the Arts.

On behalf of thousands of your constituents, I strongly urge you to support the amendment offered by Congressman Dana Rohrabacher, which will prohibit funding of obscenity, pornography, and attacks on religion through the NEA. During this time of fiscal crisis, it is irresponsible to spend tax dollars on pornography that is illegal in many communities in (Montana).

I have attached a sampling of the voters in your district who have called for restrictions on the NEA. Over 27,000 signatures have been placed on this petition in the past two months. We will be informing these individuals of whether you support the Rohrabacher amendment when it comes to a vote.

Thank you for our time and consideration of our concerns. We pray that God will give you wisdom as you make the decisions affecting this great nation.

Sincerely,

Ron Oberlander
State Director

Montana Family Forum
Box 399
Somers, MT 59932

92040900739

92040900740

KALISPELL
HELENA
LIBBY
HAMILTON
MISSOULA
BASIN
MISSOULA
TOWNSEND
THREE FORKS
SWAN LAKE
KALISPELL
DILLON
CLANCY
MISSOULA
HELENA
BOZEMAN
LIVINGSTON
EAST HELENA
HELENA
KALISPELL
BOZEMAN
KALISPELL
HELENA
MISSOULA
HELENA
MANHATTAN
MISSOULA
TOWNSEND
MISSOULA
BELLE FOURCHE
HELENA
KALISPELL
MISSOULA
HUSON
BIGFORK
LIBBY
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BELGRADE
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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

March 18, 1991

Jane C. Murphy, Executive Director
Montana Democratic Party
Steamboat Block, Room 306
P.O. Box 802
Helena, MT 59624

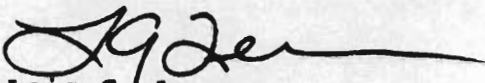
RE: MUR 3176

Dear Ms. Murphy:

This letter acknowledges receipt on March 11, 1991, of a supplement to the complaint you filed on November 16, 1990 against Christian Coalition and to the amendment you filed on January 22, 1991 to include the Montana Family Forum and Ron Oberlander, as Chairman, as respondents. The respondents will be sent copies of the supplement. You will be notified as soon as the Federal Election Commission takes final action on your complaint.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: 
Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

92040900741



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

March 18, 1991

Mr. Ron Oberlander
The Montana Family Forum
Box 1001
Kalispell, MT 59903

RE: MUR 3176
The Montana Family
Forum and Ron Oberlander,
as Chairman

Dear Mr. Oberlander:

On January 28, 1991, you were notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from the Montana Democratic Party alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. At that time you were given a copy of the complaint and informed that a response to the complaint should be submitted within 15 days of receipt of the notification.

On March 11, 1991, the Commission received additional information from the complainant pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information.

If you have any questions, please contact Mary Taksar, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

92040900742



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

March 18, 1991

Frank M. Northam, Esq.
Webster, Chamberlain & Bean
1747 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington D.C. 20006

RE: MUR 3176
The Christian Coalition
and Ralph Reed, as
Executive Director

Dear Mr. Northam:

On November 28, 1990, your clients were notified that the Federal Election Commission received a complaint from the Montana Democratic Party alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. At that time your clients were given a copy of the complaint and informed that a response to the complaint should be submitted within 15 days of receipt of the notification.

On March 11, 1991, the Commission received additional information from the complainant pertaining to the allegations in the complaint. Enclosed is a copy of this additional information.

If you have any questions, please contact Mary Taksar, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 376-5690.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: 
Lois S. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

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RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
MAIL ROOM

LAW OFFICES
WEBSTER, CHAMBERLAIN & BEAN
1747 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 785-9500
FAX: (202) 835-0243

91 APR -3 AM 11:35

GEORGE D. WEBSTER
J. COLEMAN BEAN
ARTHUR L. HEROLD
ALAN P. DYE
EDWARD D. COLEMAN
BURRETT VAN KIRK
FRANK M. NORTHAM
GERARD P. PANARO
JOHN W. HAZARD, JR.
CHARLES M. WATKINS
HUGH K. WEBSTER
ANNE S. POPE

OF COUNSEL
CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

April 2, 1991

Mary Taksar, Esq.
Office of General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20463

Re: MUR 3176; The Christian
Coalition and Ralph Reed,
as Executive Director

Dear Ms. Taksar:

In your letter of March 18, 1991, you enclosed additional materials filed by the complainant in MUR 3176.

The September 24, 1990 letter from the Christian Coalition to Congressman Williams, on its face, demonstrates that the Christian Coalition was solely engaged in issue advocacy. As the First Circuit Court of Appeals recently ruled, issue advocacy is not subject to the strictures of the Federal Election Campaign Act. Faucher v. FEC, No. 90-1832 (1st Cir. March 21, 1991).

Therefore, the complaint in MUR 3176 (as well as the complaint in MUR 3167) should be dismissed.

Sincerely,


Frank M. Northam

FMN:dla

cc: Mr. Ralph E. Reed, Jr.

91 APR -3 PM 3:25

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

92040900744

Mary Taksar
Federal Elections Commission
999 E. Street N.W.
Washington D.C. 20463

MUR 3176

Mrs. Taksar,

In response to your telephone inquiry I have located records pertaining to
EXPENDITURES OF THE FAMILY FORUM BY THE POLITICAL COMMISSION

According to records available a one time mailing was made with postage
costs of approximately \$1,099.39.

The flyer in question was produced with volunteer assistance. Paper costs
are estimated at \$200.00

The total direct expenditure therefore was approximately \$1,299.39.

As indicated in a past memo to you The Family Forum has ceased to exist
as of 1-1-91.

As a follow up to a mailing I received from your office dated 3-18-91
with information submitted by the Montana Democratic party, The
Christian Coalition letter showing my name as State Director was not
produced or distributed with my permission or knowledge. The Christian
Coalition did seek my interest as a possible state coordinator and director
however no relationship was ever developed. The list of names attached to
the correspondence is a list I am not familiar with. It is definitely not a
list of members, contacts, or contributors to the Family Forum. I would
assume that it is a list of contacts or members of The Christian Coalition.

I would ask the commission, at this time, to dismiss the complaint
brought against the Family Forum.

Sincerely,



Ronald Oberlander

former coordinator and contact for the Family Forum

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F.E.C.
SECRETARIAT

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION 6 PM 4:46
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

SENSITIVE

FIRST GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT

MURS # 3167 and 3176

DATE COMPLAINT RECEIVED
BY OGC:
MUR 3167- 11/5/90
MUR 3176- Original 11/16/90;
Amendment 1/22/91

DATE OF NOTIFICATION TO
RESPONDENTS:
MUR 3167- 11/14/90
MUR 3176- Original 11/28/90;
Amendment 1/28/91

STAFF MEMBER Mary Taksar

COMPLAINANTS: MUR 3167- Democratic Congressional Campaign
Committee
MUR 3176- Montana Democratic Party

RESPONDENTS: MUR 3167- Christian Coalition and Ralph Reed,
as Executive Director
MUR 3176- Christian Coalition and Ralph Reed,
as Executive Director,
American Family Association
Foundation and Don Wildmon, as
Executive Director,
Montana Family Forum and
Ron Oberlander, as State Director

RELEVANT STATUTES:

- 2 U.S.C. § 433
- 2 U.S.C. § 431(4)
- 2 U.S.C. § 431(8)(A)
- 2 U.S.C. § 431(9)(A)(i)
- 2 U.S.C. § 431(17)
- 2 U.S.C. § 431(18)
- 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)
- 2 U.S.C. § 434(c)(1)
- 2 U.S.C. § 441b
- 2 U.S.C. § 441d

INTERNAL REPORTS CHECKED: None

FEDERAL AGENCIES CHECKED: None

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I. GENERATION OF MATTER

These matters were generated by two external complaints filed against the Christian Coalition, one filed by the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee and one filed by the Montana Democratic Party. On January 16, 1991, the Montana Democratic Party amended its complaint to include a videotape of a November 1, 1990 broadcast of Pat Robertson's 700 Club.¹ In its amendment, the Montana Democratic Party also expanded its complaint to include two groups, the American Family Association Foundation and the Montana Family Forum, which it alleged participated in mass mailings to influence the 1990 election against Congressman Williams.

II. FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"), states that it is unlawful for a corporation to make a contribution or expenditure in connection with any election for Federal office. 2 U.S.C. § 441b. For purposes of this section, a "contribution" or "expenditure" includes any direct or indirect payment, distribution, loan, advance, deposit, or gift of money, or any service, or anything of value to any candidate, campaign committee, or political party or organization in connection with any election to Federal office. 2 U.S.C. § 441b(2).

The Act also requires that a political committee file a

1. This Office notes that a transcript of the November 1, 1990 broadcast of the 700 Club was included in the original complaint.

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statement of organization within ten days after becoming a political committee. 2 U.S.C. § 433. The term "political committee" is defined as any committee, club, association, or other group of persons, including a corporation, which receives contributions aggregating in excess of \$1,000 or makes expenditures in excess of \$1,000 during a calendar year.

2 U.S.C. § 431(4). The term "contribution" means any gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money or anything of value made by any person for the purpose of influencing any election for Federal office. 2 U.S.C. § 431(8)(A). The term "expenditure" means any purchase, payment, distribution, loan, advance, deposit, or gift of money or anything of value made by any person for the purpose of influencing any election for Federal office. 2 U.S.C. § 431(9)(A)(i).

Political committees that are not authorized committees must report independent expenditures as well as contributions from other political committees and from persons other than political committees. 2 U.S.C. § 434(b)(4)(H). The term "independent expenditure" means an expenditure by a person expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate which is made without cooperation or consultation with any candidate, or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate, and which is not made in connection with, or at the request or suggestion of, any candidate, or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate. 2 U.S.C. § 431(17). The term "clearly identified" means that the name of the candidate involved appears, a photograph or drawing of the

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candidate appears, or the identity of the candidate is apparent by unambiguous reference. 2 U.S.C. § 431(18). Any independent expenditures aggregating \$1,000 or more made after the 20th day, but more than 24 hours, before 12:01 A.M. of the day of the election must be reported within 24 hours after such expenditure is made. 11 C.F.R. § 104.4(b).

Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 441d(a), whenever any person makes an expenditure for the purpose of financing communications expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate, the communication must include an appropriate disclaimer clearly stating the name of the person who paid for the communication and indicating whether the communication was authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee.

In Federal Election Commission v. Massachusetts Citizens for Life, 479 U.S. 238 (1986), the Supreme Court recognized an exception to the prohibition of Section 441b for certain small non-profit groups. The publication at issue in MCFL was a "Special Election Edition" newsletter which urged voters to vote for pro-life candidates in the upcoming primary election. The newsletter listed all candidates for Federal office in every voting district in Massachusetts, identified each candidate as either supporting or opposing MCFL's views, and featured photographs of 13 candidates, all of whom supported MCFL's views.

In MCFL, the Court also discussed its conclusion in Buckley that express advocacy distinguishes discussion of the issues and

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candidates from exhortations to vote for particular persons. It then concluded that the publication at issue in MCFL was express advocacy because the publication urged voters to vote pro-life while identifying and providing photographs of specific pro-life candidates. In usual circumstances, the publication costs would be considered an expenditure constituting a prohibited corporate expenditure. However, the Court concluded that the prohibition on corporate expenditures was unconstitutional as it applied to MCFL based on the following characteristics possessed by MCFL: it was formed to disseminate political ideas not to amass capital; it had no shareholders or other persons having a claim on assets or earnings; it obtained funds from persons who made contributions to further the organization's political purpose; it was not established by a business corporation or labor union; and it was MCFL's policy not to accept contributions from business corporations and labor unions.

In Sandra Faucher and Maine Right to Life Committee, Inc. v. FEC, 743 F. Supp. 64 (D.Me. 1990), the court held that 11 C.F.R. § 114.4(b)(5) exceeded the FEC's authority insofar as it prohibited issue advocacy by corporations. The court noted that the statutory basis for this regulation is 2 U.S.C. § 441b and that on the basis of Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1, as construed in MCFL, the Supreme Court explicitly limited the scope of this prohibition to express advocacy of the election or defeat of clearly identified candidates. The Court of Appeals affirmed the district court decision and held that corporations are prohibited from using treasury funds to make expenditures

independent of a candidate only if the expenditures constitute express advocacy. Faucher v. FEC, 928 F.2d 468 (1st Cir. 1991). After the recent denial of certiorari in Faucher, the Commission has chosen to accept the position that under Section 441b, an independent expenditure must constitute express advocacy to be prohibited. Faucher v. FEC, 928 F.2d 468 (1st Cir. 1991), cert. denied, 112 S. Ct. 79 (1991).

This Office believes that the standard for express advocacy used by the Furgatch court is an appropriate standard to use when determining whether a communication is express advocacy. In Furgatch, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals stated that "speech need not include any of the words listed in Buckley to be express advocacy under the Act, but it must, when read as a whole, and with limited reference to external events, be susceptible of no other reasonable interpretation but as an exhortation to vote for or against a specific candidate." Furgatch at 864. Additionally, the Court stated that "speech cannot be 'express advocacy of the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate' when reasonable minds could differ as to whether it encourages a vote for or against a candidate or encourages the reader to take some other kind of action." Id.

A. The Christian Coalition and Ralph Reed, as Executive Director

1. Facts

Two similar complaints were filed against the Christian Coalition. On November 5, 1990, the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee ("DCCC") filed its complaint alleging that the

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Christian Coalition had been purchasing radio advertisements and sending direct mail into the districts of at least four members of the U.S. House of Representatives in order to influence the 1990 election.² See Attachment 1. On November 16, 1990, the Montana Democratic Party filed a complaint alleging that the Christian Coalition made independent expenditures when it purchased radio advertisements attacking Congressman Pat Williams and then failed to report these expenditures to the Commission. See Attachment 2.

The complaint filed by the DCCC alleges that the Christian Coalition purchased radio advertisements and sent direct mail into the districts of three Congressmen and one Congresswoman which were aimed at promoting the defeat of these individuals. The DCCC states that each radio advertisement or letter specifically named Congressman Jones, Congressman Stalling, Congressman Williams, and Congresswoman Unsoeld and then attacked various votes that these individuals made during their tenure in Congress.

The DCCC alleges that the Christian Coalition violated the Act's prohibition on corporate expenditures if, in fact, it is incorporated.³ The complaint alleges that even if the Christian Coalition is not incorporated, it still violated the Act by failing to register with the Commission and to report the thousands of dollars in expenditures which it spent for

2. These four members, Congressman Ben Jones of Georgia, Congresswoman Jolene Unsoeld of Washington, Congressman Richard Stallings of Idaho, and Congressman Pat Williams of Montana ran for re-election in 1990.

3. According to the Secretary of State's Office in Virginia, the Christian Coalition was incorporated in Virginia on October 4, 1989.

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advertisements and mailings. In addition, the complaint alleges that the disclaimer is deficient in clearly identifying the entity which purchased the advertising time.

The DCCC enclosed a script for the radio advertisement regarding Congressman Pat Williams which was paid for by the Christian Coalition. The script reads:

People in the state of Montana work hard for their money, but Pat Williams wants to take it away by raising our taxes. And do you know why he wants to raise our taxes? He wants to raise our taxes to pay for pornography. It's shocking but true. Pat Williams chairs the committee that voted to give one hundred eighty million dollars of our taxes to the National Endowment for the Arts, to pay for photographs showing:

- a crucifix in a jar of urine;
- two men having sexual intercourse;
- a four year old girl with her genitals exposed.

All this paid for by our taxes. And then, Pat Williams voted to raise our taxes one hundred forty nine billion dollars over the next five years, or two thousand four hundred dollars for every family of four in America. You know where Pat Williams stands on taxes and pornography. Now, let him know where you stand. Call Pat Williams today at 443-7878 - that's 443-7878- and tell him you're against his vote for higher taxes and pornography.

Paid for by the Christian Coalition.

The DCCC also alleges that the Christian Coalition sent a newsletter dated October 26, 1990 promoting the defeat of Congressmen Williams, Stallings, and Jones and Congresswoman Unsoeld to individuals in their districts. The DCCC included a letter which specifically refers to Congressman Jones

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in its complaint. The letter states that:

[o]n October 11 Ben Jones voted to spend your hard-earned tax dollars on pornography.

That's right. He voted to give \$180 million of your taxes to the National Endowment for the Arts to pay for photographs depicting:

- Jesus Christ immersed in a vat of urine;
- Homosexuals engaged in sexual intercourse;
- A 4-year old girl with her genitals exposed;
- Jesus Christ shooting heroin in his arm. . . .

And then Ben Jones voted to raise taxes \$149 billion over the next five years, or an average of \$2500 a year for every family of four in America.

Ben Jones voted against an amendment offered by Congressman Dana Rohrabacher (R-CA) that would have prohibited the NEA from spending your taxes on obscenity, child pornography, and blasphemy. I am proud to say that 60 brave Democrats voted for this amendment. But Ben Jones and 57 Republicans voted against our position, causing the amendment to fail. . . .

Now you know where Ben Jones stands on tax-funded pornography.

Let Ben Jones know where you stand.

Call him today at 371-9910 and tell him you are against his votes to raise taxes and spend your dollars on pornography. . . .

I need your help to air radio spots in your community to inform Ben Jones's constituents so that they will tell him to oppose obscenity and blasphemy. Please send your best gift of \$50, \$35, or \$25 today.

We must stop liberals like Ben Jones from supporting this outrageous assault on faith and family.

As noted earlier, the subject matters of the two complaints are the radio advertisements and the newsletters. The DCCC also enclosed the radio transcript from the November 1, 1990 broadcast of the "700 Club" in the complaint. The DCCC stated that it

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enclosed this transcript because it discussed the mailings and advertisements. It appears that the DCCC believed that the transcript made it clear that the mailings were made for the purpose of influencing certain federal elections. See Attachment 1, page 2. This Office notes that although the broadcast may raise some questions as to the purpose and intent of the radio advertisements and the newsletters, it does not alter the analysis of the question of express advocacy regarding the radio advertisements and the newsletters. The transcript of the broadcast reads as follows:

ROBERTSON: Ralph Reed is here with us from the Christian Coalition. The Christian Coalition is just up and running.

Ralph, you have some agenda items too. What is the Coalition doing?

REED: Well right now Pat we're distributing about four million voter guides in seven states to inform Christians where the candidates stand on the issues so that they can get out and vote.

If you look at the '88 election cycle, for example, there were eight-nine million votes cast for president. Twenty-five million people self identified themselves in network exit polls as either evangelicals, born again or pro-life Catholics.

If we could get that kind of a turnout again, we can see people like Jesse Helms and Tom Tauke win.

ROBERTSON: Are you sending out copies of that salacious, so-called art, the Mapplethorpe photographs?

REED: Well, yea we are (giggle). With some of these Congressmen, you read them their record back to them and they say that's a distortion, you know.

We're sending out the Mapplethorpe photographs, as we promised we would into seven states. And there are a number of congressmen that are in serious trouble because of that issue.

One of them is Ben Jones, a liberal freshman Democrat from Atlanta. Another is Jolene Unsoeld, who you mentioned in

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your piece. Another one is Richard Stallings who is in Idaho too.

So there are some congressmen in real trouble.

ROBERTSON: You're not going to tell the media who the targets of the hit list are?

REED: We want them to know with the rest of the American people, the day after the election when some of these members have career changes. (Both laughing).

ROBERTSON: But the Coalition essentially warned Congress that if they voted to refund the NEA, that there would be retribution.

REED: Well that's correct and we think that the taxpayers should be allowed to call the tune. And when their taxes are being used to fund homoerotic art, the voters in those districts have a right to know what their taxes are being used for.

We're also doing, by the way, thousand of get out the vote phone calls in North Carolina so Christians will get to the polls next Tuesday.

ROBERTSON: So that kind of activity is with the Coalition. How many states is the coalition in?

REED: We now have chapters operating, Pat, about three hundred chapters operating in forty states all over the country.

ROBERTSON: This can be a very powerful political force.

REED: There's no question about it. As you have so eloquently said on this program if pro-family Roman Catholics and evangelicals will unite at the ballot box, there is almost no candidate anywhere in the country that we can't elect.

ROBERTSON: Where could somebody get in touch with you if they want to work more closely with the coalition?

REED: Well they can give me a call here in Chesapeake, Virginia at (804) 424-2630. And we will let them know how they can get their hands on those voter guides or we'll be glad to get them more information.

ROBERTSON: Well that's a tremendous service.

The DCCC concludes its complaint by stating that it cannot be

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contested that the advertisements and letters were aimed at promoting the defeat of Congressmen Williams, Jones, and Stallings, and Congresswoman Unsoeld. The DCCC notes that the timing of the letters and radio advertisements were just prior to an election. The DCCC states that although the Christian Coalition has carefully avoided the buzzwords "defeat" or "elect," there can be no other purpose intended by the timing of these advertisements.

In its complaint, the Montana Democratic Party alleged that the Christian Coalition purchased radio advertisements attacking Congressman Williams. The complainant alleged that the advertisements which ran on radio stations in Congressman Williams' district from October 29th through November 5th were independent expenditures. The radio advertisement in question is the same advertisement which is part of the complaint filed by the DCCC. See page 8 for the text of the advertisement.

According to the complainant, the Christian Coalition was required to register and file disclosure reports with the Commission because it made independent expenditures when it purchased these advertisements. The complainant also alleges that the disclaimers in the advertisements were not adequate under the FECA.

In the response to the complaint, counsel for the Christian

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Coalition⁴ requests that no further action be taken in this matter because all of the activities referenced in the complaint constitute issue advocacy and are, therefore, outside the scope of the FECA. See Attachments 3, 8, and 9. Counsel references a December 11, 1990 letter to the Commission from Ralph Reed, Executive Director of the Christian Coalition, and has attached Mr. Reed's letter to the response.⁵

In his December 11, 1990 letter, Mr. Reed states that the allegations in the DCCC and Montana Democratic Party complaints are completely false. Mr. Reed states that the primary purpose of the Christian Coalition is to influence the passage of legislation before federal, state, and local legislative and regulatory bodies, including Congress. He indicates that on June 20, 1990, the Christian Coalition announced a "nationwide petition drive to prevent further federal funding of obscenity, child pornography, and blasphemous art through the National Endowment for the Arts." See Attachment 3, page 5. Mr. Reed describes this campaign as consisting of radio spots broadcast on 300 Christian radio stations, television spots, and full-page advertisements purchased in dozen of newspapers including the Washington Post, USA Today, News and Observer (Raleigh, NC), Winston-Salem Journal, Daily Times (Farmington, NM), News-Press (Valdosta, GA), and Star

4. Counsel is representing the Christian Coalition and Ralph Reed, as Executive Director, in MUR 3167 and MUR 3176. Counsel indicated in writing that the response submitted in MUR 3167 was to serve as a response in MUR 3176.

5. Ralph Reed responded to the complaint with this letter prior to being represented by counsel.

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Courier (Plano, TX). He also indicates that the Christian Coalition gathered 27,000 petition signatures and reached 52 million newspaper readers and television viewers from June through September and that the petitions were delivered to members of Congress on October 2, 1990, days before an expected vote on the NEA.⁶ See Attachment 3, page 6.

According to Mr. Reed, Christian Coalition's full-page advertisements promised members of Congress that it would "give out 100,000 copies of the Mapplethorpe and Serrano 'art' to registered voters in your district."⁷ He states that the message was clear that the Christian Coalition would distribute copies of offensive photographs funded by the National Endowment for the Arts in the districts of those members of Congress who voted against restrictions on arts funding. He indicates that on October 11, 1990, the date for the vote on NEA, Christian Coalition staff hand-delivered another letter to every member of Congress which stated "we are preparing to distribute copies of Mapplethorpe photographs in the districts of those members of Congress who fail to support real restrictions on NEA funding, or, in the absence of those restrictions, to abolish the agency." See Attachment 3, page 6.

Mr. Reed notes that 27 days before the election, the House rejected restrictions on funding of pornography by a vote of 252

6. Mr. Reed makes no mention of the voter guides to which he referred in the November 1, 1990 broadcast of the "700 Club" on CBN.

7. This Office has not seen copies of these advertisements.

to 176.⁸ He indicates that the Christian Coalition immediately began informing Christian Coalition members and supporters of the outcome of the vote.⁹

According to Mr. Reed, the mailings and the radio spots were part of a five-month legislative battle over a bill to restrict funding of the NEA. Mr. Reed states that the Christian Coalition invested over \$200,000 into the entire effort and that the radio spots in question cost \$10,000. He indicates that the Christian Coalition never made an effort to elect or defeat any candidate and that there was never any communication between the Christian Coalition and any candidate, treasurer, campaign manager, or officer of a campaign. Mr. Reed states that "[o]ur purpose was simply to send a clear message to Congress: the Christian Coalition was serious enough about this issue to communicate with our supporters in their districts and urge a vote in our favor on the NEA." See Attachment 3, page 6.

Mr. Reed also states that "Mr. Bates alleges that my remarks on the '700 Club' on November 1 demonstrate that my real intent was to influence the outcome of federal elections. That is untrue. I was asked to be a guest on the '700 Club' as a political analyst to discuss the upcoming elections. I only observed that the arts controversy had become an issue in certain campaigns and made reference to several of those campaigns (we had

8. The House vote took place on October 15, 1990 and the Senate vote took place on October 24, 1990.

9. It is unclear to this Office exactly how this was done and what publications or newsletters the Christian Coalition might have used to inform members and supporters.

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not mailed our issue letters or purchased radio and newspaper advertisements in many of them)." See Attachment 3, page 7.

Mr. Reed then refers to two interviews which he gave near election time, one with the Associated Press on November 1, 1990 and one with the New York Times on November 3, 1990. In his interview with the Associated Press, Mr. Reed stated that "[o]ur position has nothing to do with his [Congressman Williams] re-election" and explained that "the ads don't urge votes against Williams, but only suggest they complain about the bill. . . ." In his interview with the New York Times, Mr. Reed stated that "[o]ur interest is not in removing Pat Williams from office. . . . Our interest is in securing votes against tax-funded pornography." See Attachment 3, page 7.

Mr. Reed concludes his letter by stating that the radio spots, television commercials, and letters merely asked Christian Coalition supporters to contact their member of Congress and urged them to oppose tax-funded pornography.¹⁰ He also indicates that the radio spots, commercials, and letters neither advocated the election or defeat of any candidate nor used language such as "election," "defeat," or "vote" which was identified in Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1 (1986), as express advocacy. See Attachment 3, pages 7-8.

In counsel's response, he reiterates many of the statements

10. This Office notes that in his letter responding to the complaint, Mr. Reed made no reference to the voter guides which the Christian Coalition prepared and distributed. However, in his November 1, 1990 interview on the "700 Club," he stated that the Christian Coalition was distributing four million voter guides in seven districts. See page 10.

made by Mr. Reed in his December 11, 1990 letter. Counsel states that as an organization dedicated to "'professing the Christian faith . . . support[ing] and uphold[ing] values and moral principles that accord with the Holy Bible . . . and promulgat[ing] and teach[ing] concern for . . . traditional family values . . . ,'" the Christian Coalition became involved in the public debate concerning the funding of the NEA. Counsel also indicates that the Christian Coalition became a participant in the public debate by making its views on the issue known through media advertising and direct mail to the citizenry. See Attachment 3, page 2.

According to counsel, the Christian Coalition notified the citizenry of the positions that had been taken by key legislators involved in the NEA appropriations bill and urged the citizenry to contact those legislators and inform the legislators of the citizens' positions on that bill. Counsel states that all of the media advertisements and direct mail pieces disseminated by the Christian Coalition focused solely on the issue of restricting the NEA's ability to expend funds for obscenity, child pornography, and blasphemous art, and urging citizens to contact their representatives in order to influence their votes on that issue. Counsel states that none of the Christian Coalition's materials, either expressly or impliedly, urge the recipients to vote for or against the election of any of the key legislators that are identified in those materials. Counsel argues that none of the materials disseminated constituted "express advocacy" of the election or defeat of a candidate for Federal office. Counsel

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states that in the absence of the Christian Coalition's having engaged in any "express advocacy" activities, those activities are not subject to the FECA. See Attachment 3, page 2.

Counsel further states that since Buckley, the courts have recognized a distinction between "issue advocacy" and "express advocacy." Counsel indicates that in FEC v. Massachusetts Citizens for Life, Inc., 479 U.S. 238 (1986), the Supreme Court definitively held that activities of a section 501(c)(4) organization (such as Christian Coalition) could not be subjected to the provisions of the FECA unless those activities amounted to "express advocacy."¹¹ Counsel paraphrases language from FEC v. Furgatch, 807 F.2d 857 (9th Cir. 1987), which states that FEC provisions regarding independent expenditures can only be applied where the individual or entity expending money has engaged in express advocacy. Id. at 860. Counsel also quotes Faucher v. FEC, 743 F. Supp. 64 (D.Me. 1990), in which the court stated "issue advocacy by a corporation cannot constitutionally be prohibited. . . ." Id. at 69 (emphasis in original and citing FEC v. Massachusetts Citizens for Life, 479 U.S. 238 (1986)). See Attachment 3, pages 2-3.

11. Counsel concludes that because the Christian Coalition is a section 501(c)(4) organization, its activities are not subject to the FECA. Counsel fails to note that the Supreme Court based its decision that the prohibition on corporate expenditures as it related to MCFL was unconstitutional because of the specific characteristics possessed by MCFL. Counsel does not indicate whether the Christian Coalition possesses any or all of the characteristics identified by the Supreme Court in MCFL.

According to counsel, the grassroots lobbying¹² of the Christian Coalition in connection with NEA funding is an example of issue advocacy. Counsel states that the Christian Coalition publicized the issue, alerted the citizenry to its importance, urged the citizenry to make their views known to their congressional representatives and, after the vote, notified the citizenry as to how their representatives voted, and again urged them to attempt to change the positions of those representatives who had voted contrary to the Coalition's position. Counsel states that in the materials in which the Christian Coalition

12. This Office notes that for tax purposes, "[a] grass roots lobbying communication is any attempt to influence any legislation through an attempt to affect the opinions of the general public of any segment thereof." Treas. Reg. §56.4911(b)(2). A communication is treated as a grass roots lobbying communication under §56.4911-2(b)(2) if the communication refers to specific legislation, reflects a view on such legislation, and encourages the recipient of the communication to take action with respect to such legislation. Id. The Treasury regulations state that encouraging a recipient to take action means that the communication: states that the recipient should contact a legislator or an employee of a legislative body, or should contact any other government official or employee who may participate in the formulation of legislation (but only if the principal purpose of urging contact with the government official or employee is to influence legislation); states the address, telephone number, or similar information of a legislator or an employee of a legislative body; provides a petition, tear-off postcard or similar material for the recipient to communicate with a legislator or an employee of a legislative body, or with any government official or employee who may participate in the formulation of the legislation (but only if the principal purpose of so facilitating contact with the government official or employee is to influence legislation); or specifically identifies one or more legislators who will vote on the legislation as opposing the communication's view with respect to the legislation, as being undecided with respect to the legislation; as being the recipient's representative in the legislature, or as being a member of the legislative committee or subcommittee that will consider the legislation.

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named individual congressmen, it did so to enable the recipients of the materials to identify the congressmen to whom they should voice their complaints concerning the congressman's vote on NEA funding. Counsel indicates that the materials do not exhort the recipients to vote for or against the election of the named congressman, do not make reference to whether the congressman is running for election, and do not identify any opponent of the congressman or an opponent's position on NEA funding issue. Counsel argues that the mere naming of the congressman does not constitute "express advocacy." See Attachment 3, pages 3-4.

Counsel also argues that the fact that some of the Christian Coalition's materials were disseminated close to the election day adds no weight to the DCCC's allegations. Counsel states that the Christian Coalition initiated its grassroots lobbying campaign in June 1990 and continued with it through Congress' vote on NEA funding. Counsel states that the timing of the lobbying campaign was entirely dependent on Congress' scheduling of voting on the NEA funding bill. Counsel has enclosed a letter from Mr. Richard Dykema of Congressman Dana Rohrabacher's office which states that it was Congress that delayed the final vote on NEA funding until shortly before election day. Counsel cites MUR 1723 and states that the Commission has previously concluded that the proximity of the dissemination of a communication to election day will not convert a permissible communication into an impermissible communication. See Attachment 3, page 4.

2. Legal Analysis

The alleged violations regarding these respondents involve a

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radio advertisement and an October 26, 1990 newsletter. See pages 8-9 for the text. This Office notes that on their face, the radio advertisements and newsletters do not appear to expressly advocate the election or defeat of a federal candidate.

However, this Office notes that the timing of the radio advertisement and the October 26th newsletter make it questionable as to whether these communications were actually for the purpose of influencing the House vote on NEA funding. As indicated earlier, the House vote on NEA funding was on October 15, 1990, while the radio advertisement was broadcast from October 29th through November 5th, just days before the election, and the newsletter distributed on October 26th. If their purpose was to influence the vote on NEA funding, it does not seem logical that the advertisement be broadcast and the newsletter distributed after the House vote on NEA funding. However, this Office notes that timing alone is not sufficient to make a communication express advocacy.

A. Newsletter

The October 26, 1990 newsletter which was allegedly sent to individuals in the districts of Congressmen Williams, Stallings, and Jones and Congresswoman Unsoeld states that the respective Representative voted to spend tax dollars on pornography by voting to give \$180 million of taxes to the NEA. The newsletter identified the photographs as those which depict Jesus Christ immersed in a vat of urine, homosexuals engaged in sexual intercourse, a four year old girl with her genitals exposed, and Jesus Christ shooting heroin in his arm. The newsletter then

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states that the respective Representative voted against the amendment offered to prohibit the NEA from spending tax dollars on obscenity, child pornography, and blasphemy. The newsletter then encourages individuals to let the respective Congressman or Congresswoman know where that individual stands on tax-funded pornography by calling that Representative at the telephone number provided. In closing, the newsletter states "[w]e must stop liberals like [respective Representative] . . . from supporting this outrageous assault on faith and family."

This Office notes that the October 26, 1990 newsletter encourages voters to let their respective Representative know where they stand on this issue and closes with a call to action, "[w]e must stop liberals like [respective Representative] . . . from supporting this outrageous assault on faith and family."

This Office notes that the call to action appears to suggest action other than telephoning the respective Representative, as is suggested in the newsletter. However, in our view, after reading the entire newsletter, reasonable minds could differ as to whether the newsletter and the specific statement that "[w]e must stop liberals like [respective Representative] from . . . supporting this outrageous assault on faith and family" is encouragement to vote the respective Representative out of office. This Office also notes that the newsletter makes no mention to the candidacy of the respective Representative or to any election.

It is a close call as to whether the October 26th newsletter expressly advocates the election or defeat of a Federal candidate. However, based on the foregoing, this Office concludes that the

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newsletter does not expressly advocate the election or defeat of a Federal candidate.

B. Radio Advertisement

The radio advertisement which was broadcast throughout Congressman Williams' district identifies Congressman Williams as chairman of the committee that oversees funding for the NEA. The advertisement states that Congressman Williams is raising taxes in order to pay for pornography such as photographs showing a crucifix in a jar of urine, two men having sexual intercourse, and a four year old girl with her genitals exposed. The advertisement also states that this art was paid for with taxpayer dollars. The advertisement closes by urging individuals to call Congressman Williams at a number provided in order to let him know where they stood on taxes and pornography. A statement was then made that the advertisement was paid for by the Christian Coalition.

This Office notes that the radio advertisement encourages voters to write to Congressman Williams in order to let him know where they stand on this issue. The radio advertisement makes no mention to the candidacy of Congressman Williams or to any election. As noted earlier, the fact that the radio advertisement was broadcast after the House vote on NEA funding and up until a few days before the election raises some question as to the purpose and intent of the radio advertisement; however, timing alone is insufficient to make a communication express advocacy. When read as a whole, the communication must be susceptible of no other reasonable interpretation but as an exhortation to vote for or against a specific candidate. Furgatch at 864. After reading

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the entire advertisement, this Office concludes that reasonable minds could differ as to whether the communication encourages a vote for or against Congressman Williams.

Based on the foregoing, this Office is recommending that the Commission find no reason to believe that the Christian Coalition and Ralph Reed, as Executive Director, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b. As the communications themselves do not expressly advocate the election or defeat of a Federal candidate, this Office also recommends that the Commission find no reason to believe that the Christian Coalition and Ralph Reed, as Executive Director, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441d by failing to include an adequate disclaimer.

B. American Family Association Foundation

1. Facts

On January 16, 1991, the Montana Democratic Party filed an amendment to the original complaint received on November 16, 1990. According to the amendment, American Family Association Foundation ("AFAF") participated in mass mailings to influence the 1990 election. See Attachment 4, page 1. The amendment states that American Family Association Foundation's mailings specifically mention Congressman Pat Williams and were mailed to thousands of voters in his district. The Montana Democratic Party alleges that AFAF's mailing activities constitute independent expenditures opposing the election of Congressman Pat Williams. The Montana Democratic Party provided as exhibits three AFAF publications, one newsletter and two information sheets which were sent to voters in Congressman Pat Williams' district a week before the election.

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See Attachment 4, pages 3-7. The following is a discussion of the contents of the newsletter and information sheets.

The newsletter is a letter on AFAF letterhead which is addressed to "Dear Friend of the Family" and signed by Donald Wildmon, Executive Director of AFAF. See Attachment 4, pages 3-4. The letter indicates that the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), a government agency, is using taxpayer dollars to pay artists to create pornographic and anti-Christian art. It then states that "[s]ome members of Congress openly and wholeheartedly approve of this abusive waste of taxpayer dollars" and that "[t]hese Congressmen, led by Congressman Pat Williams of Montana, are attacking those who oppose the NEA's use of your tax dollars to fund hateful, obscene and blasphemous 'art.'" See Attachment 4, pages 3-4.

The letter also states that Congressman Williams, the chairman of the House committee which oversees NEA, "calls those who oppose being forced to fund pornographic and anti-Christian 'art' with their tax dollars 'right-wing, evangelical cuckoos.'" The letter then asks taxpayers if they like paying for works of art which show Jesus nailed to the cross in a jar of urine, depict Jesus as a drug addict complete with syringe in his arm, have a play featuring Jesus as a foul-mouthed bigot, feature homosexual men performing sodomy, and feature children in sexual poses. The letter then urges taxpayers to "[w]rite Congressman Williams. Tell him you oppose the NEA's use of your tax dollars to fund pornographic and anti-Christian 'art.' And tell him you resent his calling those who oppose government funded pornography

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'right-wing, evangelical cuckoos.'" See Attachment 4, pages 3-4.

According to the letter, as chairman of the House committee which oversees NEA, Congressman Williams could stop government funding of this so-called art almost single-handedly. The letter states that Congressman Williams refuses to do this because he supports the NEA's use of tax dollars to pay for such "art." The letter again urges taxpayers to contact Congressman Williams because "Congressman Williams thinks that people in Montana also support spending tax dollars to support this kind of 'art.'"

Then AFAF encourages taxpayers to do the following:

Write Congressman Williams. Tell him you're upset that he would arrogantly classify you as some nut just because you don't like how the NEA spends your tax dollars.

Tell him he needs to be more sensitive to the needs and beliefs of the millions of Christians in the U.S.

Tell him he needs to be more respectful of the people of this country like you who work hard just to make ends meet.

Tell him he needs to be more in touch with real, down-to-earth people, and less concerned about an "elite" vocal minority "arts" crowd.

This is your chance to tell Congressman Williams you resent his calling those who oppose spending tax dollars to fund pornography and anti-Christian bigotry "right-wing, evangelical cuckoos. . . ."

[I]f enough of us act together, we can, perhaps, convince Congressman Williams to change his support for government funded pornography and anti-Christian bigotry.

The letter closes with "write Congressman Williams. And use the enclosed sheet to help convince others to write the Congressman too." See Attachment 4, pages 3-4.

AFAF enclosed an information sheet with the above-mentioned

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letter. The information sheet entitled "Your Tax Dollars Helped Pay For These Images" displays smaller images of larger artworks which were exhibited at Universities Galleries at Illinois State University. See Attachment 4, page 5. The exhibit was partly funded through a \$15,000 NEA award.

This information sheet states that for years, efforts have been made to prevent the NEA from funding sexually explicit and blasphemous imagery. Many of the statements made in the information sheet are statements similar to those made in the newsletter noted earlier. The information sheet also states that "because the NEA has friends such as Congressman Williams in key positions in Congress, it has been unwilling to stop funding pornography and anti-Christian bigotry supported by the NEA." It closed with the statement "[i]f you disagree with Congressman Williams and don't think that you should be forced to pay for this kind of 'artistic' imagery with your tax dollars, write Congressman Williams. His address is House of Representatives, Washington D.C. 20515."

AFAF also published and distributed an information sheet entitled "Is This How You Want Your Tax Dollars Spent?" See Attachment 4, pages 6-7. In this information sheet, AFAF provides descriptive examples of the type of art or the works of art given awards by the NEA. This sheet refers to Congressman Williams in the first two paragraphs. In regard to Congressman Williams, the information sheet states that "[t]his is the kind of 'art' Congressman Pat Williams (D-MT), chairman of the NEA House oversight committee, feels taxpayers should be forced to pay for.

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Congressman Williams has been a leading spokesman for the use of tax money to fund the kind of 'art' described on this sheet."

In response to the complaint, AFAF states that the mailings which it distributed and the activities in which it engages do not fall within the category of activities which the FECA regulates.¹³ See Attachment 5. AFAF states that it is a non-profit organization whose purpose is to "educate the American public and the elected officials to the negative effects various decisions have upon the family and to promote responsiveness to the needs of the traditional American family."¹⁴ See Attachment 5, page 2. AFAF states that it relies on grassroots advocacy and citizen awareness of the workings of the democratic process to make its constituency heard. AFAF indicates that it encourages individuals, through mailings and other communications, to make elected officials aware of concerns and needs.

AFAF notes that in October 1990, it sent an information packet concerning the funding of the NEA to various individuals in

13. AFAF is represented by in-house counsel.

14. According to the Encyclopedia of Associations (25th Ed. 1991), AFAF was founded in 1977 and was formerly called the National Federation for Decency. The description of AFAF provided states:

[f]osters "the biblical ethic of decency in American society with primary emphasis on television." Urges viewers to write letters to networks and sponsors, protesting shows that promote "violence, immorality, profanity, and vulgarity" and encouraging the airing of programs that are "clean, constructive, wholesome and family oriented." Compiles statistics on broadcasts of scenes involving television sex, profanity, and alcoholic beverage use. Maintains speakers' bureaus.

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Montana. AFAF indicates that this was one of several mailings and public statements made by AFAF and its sister organization, American Family Association, Inc., made regarding NEA funding. This particular mailing consisted of a cover letter, two information sheets, and a post card addressed to Congressman Williams along with a reply memo.

AFAF states that the existence of an election or Congressman Williams' campaign for re-election were not the subject, implicit or explicit, of the mailing. AFAF cites Federal Election Commission v. Central Long Island Tax Reform Immediately Committee (CLITRIM), 616 F.2d 45 (1980), as support for its position that AFAF's activity is not prohibited by the FECA because the publications which are the object of the Montana Democratic Party's complaint do not refer to, expressly or impliedly, any forthcoming election. AFAF notes that the mailing in question included a card for the recipient to send to Congressman Williams and the specific request that recipients write to Congressman Williams and "[t]ell him you oppose the NEA's use of your tax dollars to fund pornographic and anti-Christian 'art.'" AFAF indicates that the only action called for by its mailing is one of writing to Congressman Williams. AFAF states that the mailing does not call for the election or defeat of Congressman Williams or any other member of Congress. Quoting CLITRIM, AFAF states that in its mailing, there "is no reference anywhere in the [mailing] to the congressman's party, to whether he is running for re-election, to the existence of an election or the act of voting in any election; nor is there anything

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approaching an unambiguous statement in favor of or against the election of Congressman [Williams]." (quoting CLITRIM at 53). See Attachment 5, page 8.

AFAF also states that Congressman Williams has placed himself in the midst of a public controversy concerning the funding of the NEA. AFAF notes that the controversy has been ongoing since 1989 and that the controversy did not and should not be expected to take a hiatus during the time which members of Congress were in an election contest. AFAF concludes its response by stating that the mailing was an attempt to influence the voting record of Congressman Williams with respect to the funding of NEA and that a mailing such as this one is exactly the type of advocacy that AFAF may use to influence legislation. AFAF reiterates that there was no attempt, express or implied, to oppose Congressman Williams in any future election.

2. Legal Analysis

The newsletter and two information sheets published by AFAF specifically mention Congressman Williams and his voting record regarding NEA funding. However, neither the newsletter nor the information sheets make any reference to Congressman Williams' candidacy or to an upcoming election or expressly advocate his election or defeat. Although the newsletter and information sheets were mailed close to the election, the mailing was also in proximity to the vote on NEA funding. We note that this mailing is consistent with AFAF's policy of opposing pornography.

Based on the foregoing, this Office recommends that the Commission find no reason to believe that the American Family

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Association Foundation, an incorporated entity, and Don Wildmon, as Executive Director, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b by making prohibited corporate expenditures.

C. Montana Family Forum

1. Facts

The amendment to the complaint filed by the Montana Democratic Party also included the Montana Family Forum ("MFF") as a respondent. See Attachment 4. According to this amendment, MFF participated in mass mailings to influence the 1990 election against Congressman Williams. See Attachment 4, pages 1-2. The Montana Democratic Party states that the mailing, which was distributed throughout Congressman Williams' district on November 2, 1990, made reference to Congressman Williams re-election and actually encouraged voters not to vote for him. The Montana Democratic Party alleges that the Montana Family Forum's activities constitute independent expenditures opposing the election of Congressman Pat Williams.

On March 11, 1991, the Montana Democratic Party filed a supplement to its complaint. See Attachment 6. In the supplement, the Montana Democratic Party requested that an enclosed letter be included as evidence in its complaint. The enclosed letter is a letter appearing on Christian Coalition letterhead, dated September 24, 1990, addressed to Congressman Williams and signed by Ron Oberlander, the State Director of MFF. The letter has the Montana Family Forum's name and mailing address in the bottom left hand corner. The Montana Democratic Party argues that a letter written by the MFF on

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Christian Coalition letterhead is evidence of a political relationship between the MFF and the Christian Coalition.

In its response to the complaint, Mr. Ron Oberlander of MFF states that it was established in January 1990 "as an educational forum for issues affecting traditional family values." See Attachment 7, page 2. Mr. Oberlander states that MFF functioned informally as an unincorporated volunteer organization for a period of one year. According to Mr. Oberlander, as of January 1, 1991, MFF has been inactive due to the lack of ongoing financial support.

Mr. Oberlander notes that during the year that it was active, decency was a critical issue for MFF. Because of its concern with this issue, MFF prepared a mailing to inform the public on the issue of taxpayer funding for "Questionable Art." Mr. Oberlander states that although its activities regarding educating the public coincided with the re-election campaign of Congressman Williams, "[i]t is the Family Forum's position that the mailing was for educational purposes only in regard to the issues of decency and continued tax payer funding of 'questionable art.'" See Attachment 7, page 2. Mr. Oberlander also states that all references to positions or statements by Congressman Williams on the decency issue were on the public record.

Mr. Oberlander states that he and MFF have not participated at any time in activities or funds to elect or defeat any Federal candidate. He indicates that MFF "did not hold or advocate an independent position nor make public statements in regard to the election of Congressman Williams." See Attachment 7, page 3. MFF

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concludes its response by stating that MFF's overall activities were so limited that if it was believed or understood that a qualifying independent expenditure had occurred, such expenditures and activities would have been appropriately declared and reported.

In its response, MFF included a video including a three minute ABC news story with Peter Jennings regarding the NEA and a 30 minute Kalispell City Council meeting with public testimony regarding a decency ordinance. In its response, MFF also included publications which it distributed during the Kalispell decency debate, membership information used to describe MFF activities, and an information sheet which describes art works which were exhibited partly through NEA funds. Also included was an information sheet entitled "Examples of How The National Endowment for the Arts Uses Your Tax Dollars" which described the art for which the NEA awarded funds for the purpose of exhibits.

In its response, MFF did not include the information sheet which the Montana Democratic Party included in its complaint as having been sent to voters in Congressman Williams' district.¹⁵ See Attachment 4, page 13. The information sheet which was referenced earlier states:

"Your Tax Dollars At Work- Pat Williams says this is art. . .

And as chairman of the committee which oversees the National Endowment for the Arts, Pat Williams actively

15. The information sheet does not identify MFF as the sender. MFF never denied or addressed this issue in its response to the complaint. However, based on a telephone conversation with staff from this Office, we concluded that MFF was not arguing this point.

fought for and spent your tax dollars to support it However, the arrogance he has shown by spending your dollars, then labeling anyone who opposes him as a 'rightwing evangelical political cuckoo' demands his removal from office.

The issue is graphically clear . . . if you agree Pat, return him to represent you in the United States Congress. If not, vote to retire him."

As noted earlier, in the flier distributed by MFF, an unincorporated entity, MFF advocates the defeat of Congressman Williams in the upcoming election. The flier which was distributed in Congressman Williams' district on November 2, 1990, MFF discusses Congressman Williams' role in NEA funding and describes artworks exhibited with NEA funds. In the flier, MFF states "if you agree with Pat, return him to represent you in the United States Congress. If not, vote to retire him."

In a letter dated February 25, 1992, Mr. Oberlander stated that the flier in question was a one-time mailing with postage costs of approximately \$1,099.39 and paper costs of approximately \$200. See Attachment 10. Mr. Oberlander indicated that there were no printing costs because the flier was produced through volunteer assistance. Therefore, the total cost of the mailing was \$1,299.39.

In reference to the March 11, 1991, supplement filed by the Montana Democratic Party, Mr. Oberlander stated that the letter which appeared on Christian Coalition letterhead and closed with his name was not produced or distributed with his permission or knowledge. See Page 32. Mr. Oberlander indicated that the Christian Coalition sought his interest as a possible state coordinator and director, but that no relationship ever developed.

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2. Legal Analysis

Based on the language in this communication, this Office concludes that MFF expressly advocated the defeat of Congressman Williams in a flier which was distributed in his district just a few days before the election. Because it appears that MFF spent more than \$1,000 on the publication and distribution of this flier, it should have registered with and filed reports with the Commission as a political committee. The flier appears to have been distributed on November 2, 1990. Therefore, it appears that expenditures aggregating \$1,299.39 were made after the twentieth day but more than 24 hours before 12:01 A.M. of the day of an election. MFF failed to file a report disclosing these independent expenditures within 24 hours after such expenditures were made.

Because MFF made expenditures for a communication which expressly advocated the defeat of a clearly identified candidate, it should have included a disclaimer in the communication. The disclaimer should have indicated the name of the person who paid for the communication and stated that the communication was not authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee.

Based on the foregoing, this Office recommends that the Commission find reason to believe that the Montana Family Forum and Ron Oberlander, as State Director, violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 433 and 434(b) by failing to register with and report to the Commission. This Office also recommends that the Commission find reason to believe that the Montana Family Forum and Ron Oberlander, as State Director, violated 2 U.S.C. § 434(c) by

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failing to report, within 24 hours after expenditures were made, independent expenditures aggregating \$1,000 or more made after the 20th day, but more than 24 hours before any election.

Additionally, this Office recommends that the Commission find reason to believe that Montana Family Forum and Ron Oberlander, as State Director, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441d by failing to include an adequate disclaimer in the communication.

Although it appears that a number of fliers could have been distributed for \$1,299.39, the total expenditures for the flier were only \$300 more than the \$1,000 expenditure threshold which makes an entity a political committee. This Office also notes that at the time MFF was active, it was a volunteer organization and that MFF has not been active since January 1991. If MFF were the subject of its own matter under review (MUR), this Office would recommend that the Commission expend no further resources on this matter and take no further action. Therefore, based on the foregoing, this Office recommends that the Commission take no further action in regard to MFF and Ron Oberlander, as State Director.

III. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Find no reason to believe that the Christian Coalition and Ralph Reed, as Executive Director, violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441b and 441d.
2. Find no reason to believe that American Family Association Foundation and Don Wildmon, as Executive Director, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b.
3. Find reason to believe that the Montana Family Forum and Ron Oberlander, as State Director, violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 433, 434(b), 434(c), and 441d and take no further action in regard to these respondents.

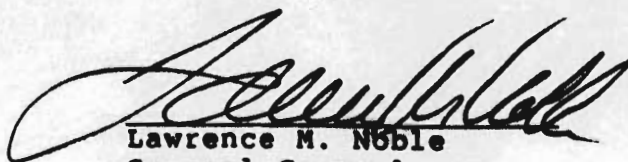
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4. Approve the appropriate letters and attached factual and legal analysis.

5. Close the files.

Date

3/6/92



Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

Attachments

1. DCCC complaint
2. Montana Democratic Party complaint
3. Christian Coalition's response
4. Amendment to the complaint
5. AFAP's response
6. Supplement to the complaint
7. MFF's response
8. Christian Coalition's February 11, 1991 letter
9. Christian Coalition's April 2, 1991 letter
10. MFF's February 25, 1992 letter
11. MFF Factual and Legal Analysis

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM

TO: LAWRENCE M. NOBLE
GENERAL COUNSEL

FROM: MARJORIE W. EMMONS/DONNA ROACH *DR*
COMMISSION SECRETARY

DATE: MARCH 12, 1992

SUBJECT: MURS 3167 AND 3176 - FIRST GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT
DATED MARCH 6, 1992

The above-captioned document was circulated to the
Commission on MONDAY, MARCH 9, 1992 at 4:00 P.M..

Objection(s) have been received from the
Commissioner(s) as indicated by the name(s) checked below:

Commissioner Aikens	_____
Commissioner Elliott	_____
Commissioner McDonald	XXX
Commissioner McGarry	XXX
Commissioner Potter	XXX
Commissioner Thomas	XXX

This matter will be placed on the meeting agenda
for WEDNESDAY, MARCH 25, 1992.

Please notify us who will represent your Division before
the Commission on this matter.

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

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MEMORANDUM

TO: Marjorie W. Emmons
Commission Secretary

FROM: Commissioner Trevor Potter TP (JAB)

RE: Withdrawal of objection in MURs 3167 & 3176 and
casting vote of approval

Due to Commissioner Potter's absence from the Executive Session Meeting scheduled for March 25, 1992, he requests that his objection in MURs 3167 and 3176 be withdrawn, and that the tally instead reflect that he is voting in approval of the First General Counsel's Report in those matters circulated on March 9, 1992.

cc: Chairman Aikens
Anton Reel
Judy Hawkins

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of)
) MURS 3167 AND 3176
Democratic Congressional Campaign)
Committee (MUR 3167);)
Montana Democratic Party)
(MUR 3176);)
Christian Coalition and Ralph Reed,)
as Executive Director)
(MUR 3167 and MUR 3176);)
American Family Association)
Foundation and Don Wildmon, as)
Executive Director (MUR 3176);)
Montana Family Forum and Ron)
Oberlander, as State Director)
(MUR 3176))

CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, recording secretary for the Federal Election Commission executive session on March 25, 1992, do hereby certify that the Commission took the following actions with respect to the above-captioned matters:

1. Failed in a vote of 3-2 to pass a motion to take the following actions:
 - a) Find reason to believe that the Christian Coalition and Ralph Reed, as Executive Director violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441b and 441d.
 - b) Find reason to believe that American Family Association Foundation and Don Wildmon, as Executive Director, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b.

(continued)

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- c) Find reason to believe that the Montana Family Forum and Ron Oberlander, as State Director, violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 433, 434(b), 434(c), and 441d and take no further action in regard to these respondents.
- d) Approve appropriate Factual and Legal Analyses and appropriate letters pursuant to the actions noted above.

Commissioners McDonald, McGarry, and Thomas voted affirmatively for the motion; Commissioners Aikens and Elliott dissented; Commissioner Potter was not present.

2. Failed in a vote of 2-3 to pass a motion to take the following actions:

- a) Find no reason to believe that the Christian Coalition and Ralph Reed, as Executive Director, violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441b and 441d.
- b) Find no reason to believe that American Family Association Foundation and Don Wildmon, as Executive Director, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b.
- c) Find reason to believe that the Montana Family Forum and Ron Oberlander, as State Director, violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 433, 434(b), 434(c), and 441d and take no further action in regard to these respondents.

(continued)

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Federal Election Commission
Certification for MURS 3167 and 3176
March 25, 1992

Page 3

- d) Approve the appropriate letters and factual and legal analysis as recommended in the General Counsel's report dated March 6, 1992.
- e) Close the files.

Commissioners Aikens and Elliott voted affirmatively for the motion; Commissioners McDonald, McGarry, and Thomas dissented; Commissioner Potter was not present.

3. Decided by a vote of 5-0 to close the files in MURS 3167 and 3176.

Commissioners Aikens, Elliott, McDonald, McGarry, and Thomas voted affirmatively for the decision; Commissioner Potter was not present.

Attest:

3/29/92
Date

Marjorie W. Emmons
Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary of the Commission

92040900787



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

April 7, 1992

Peggy M. Coleman, Legal Counsel
American Family Association Law Center
P.O. Drawer 2440
Tupelo, Mississippi 38801

RE: MUR 3176

Dear Ms. Coleman:

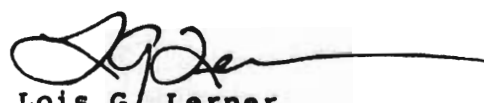
On January 28, 1991, the Federal Election Commission notified American Family Association Foundation and Don Wildmon, as Executive Director, of a complaint alleging that American Family Association Foundation and Don Wildmon, as Executive Director, had violated certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended.

On March 25, 1992, the Commission considered the complaint but there was an insufficient number of votes to find reason to believe that the American Family Association Foundation and Don Wildmon, as Executive Director, violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b. Accordingly, the Commission closed its file in this matter. This matter will become part of the public record within 30 days. Should you wish to submit any materials to appear on the public record, please do so within ten days of your receipt of this letter. Please send such materials to the General Counsel's Office.

If you have any questions, please direct them to Mary Taksar, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel


BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure
General Counsel's Report

92040900788



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

April 7, 1992

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Randy Dix, Legal Counsel
Montana Democratic Party
Steamboat Block, Room 306
P.O. Box 802
Helena, MT 59624

RE: MUR 3176

Dear Mr. Dix:


The Federal Election Commission has reviewed the allegations contained in your complaint dated October 26, 1990 and the amendment to the complaint dated January 16, 1991. On March 25, 1992, the Commission considered your complaint, but there was an insufficient number of votes to find reason to believe that the Christian Coalition and Ralph Reed, as Executive Director, the American Family Association Foundation and Don Wildmon, as Executive Director, and Montana Family Forum and Ron Oberlander, as State Director, violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.

Accordingly, on March 25, 1992, the Commission closed the file in this matter. The Federal Election Campaign Act allows a complainant to seek judicial review of the Commission's dismissal of this action. See 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(8).

If you have any questions, please contact Mary Taksar, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: 
Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure
General Counsel's Report
and Certification

92040900789



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

April 7, 1992

Ron Oberlander, State Director
Montana Family Forum
P.O. Box 1001
Kalispell, MT 59903

RE: MUR 3176

Dear Mr. Oberlander:


On January 28, 1991, the Federal Election Commission notified you of a complaint alleging that Montana Family Forum and Ron Oberlander, as State Director, had violated certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended.

On January 28, 1991, the Commission considered the complaint but there was an insufficient number of votes to find reason to believe Montana Family Forum and Ron Oberlander, as State Director, violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 433, 434(b), 434(c), and 441d. Accordingly, the Commission closed its file in this matter. This matter will become part of the public record within 30 days. Should you wish to submit any materials to appear on the public record, please do so within ten days of your receipt of this letter. Please send such materials to the General Counsel's Office.

If you have any questions, please direct them to Mary Taksar, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel


BY: Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure
General Counsel's Report

92040900790



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

April 7, 1992

CLOSED

Christian Coalition and
Ralph Reed, as Executive Director
c/o Frank M. Northam, Esq.
Webster, Chamberlain & Bean
1747 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

RE: MURS 3167 and 3176

Dear Mr. Northam:

On November 17, 1990 and November 28, 1990, the Federal Election Commission notified your clients, the Christian Coalition and Ralph Reed, as Executive Director, of a complaint alleging that the Christian Coalition and Ralph Reed, as Executive Director, violated certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended.

On March 25, 1992, the Commission considered the complaint but there was an insufficient number of votes to find reason to believe that the Christian Coalition and Ralph Reed, as Executive Director, violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441b and 441d. Accordingly, the Commission closed its file in this matter. This matter will become part of the public record within 30 days. Should you wish to submit any materials to appear on the public record, please do so within ten days of your receipt of this letter. Please send such materials to the General Counsel's Office.

If you have any questions, please direct them to Mary Taksar, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 219-3400.

Sincerely,

Lawrence M. Noble
General Counsel

BY: 
Lois G. Lerner
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure
General Counsel's Report

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

THIS IS THE END OF MUR # 3176

DATE FILMED 4/24/92 CAMERA NO. 2

CAMERAMAN S.E.G.

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