

# After the Ball: How America Will Conquer It's Fear and Hatred of Gays in the 90's

Plume Books, 1989, Marshall Kirk and Hunter Madsen.

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[Codes: ( ) = page numbers / H = Homosexual, Homosexuality]

1. Campaign of unabashed propaganda, firmly grounded in long-established principles of psychology and advertising. (xxviii)
2. Address hostile public opinion about homosexuality. (xxviii)
3. List of prejudice and harmful actions is the specific agenda for change. (4)
4. Distinguish between the causes and symptoms of homohatred. Essential for agenda and strategies. (4)
5. What straights think of homosexuals?
  - a. Know very little about homosexuality and would prefer to know less. (5)
  - b. Info from myths, rumors, jokes, stories, Bible. (6)
  - c. Avoidance of events with homosexuals. (6)
  - d. Reluctance to discuss the issue in public.(7)
  - e. Willful perpetuation of ignorance about homosexuality. (7)
  - f. Don't care to read serious treatment of homosexual life. (8)
  - g. Neglect H in mass culture. Change attitude from *problem* to *condition* to be tolerated and permanently accepted. (9-10)
  - h. There are no H heroes. (11)
  - i. There aren't many H in America – spread the 10% myth. If we must draw the line somewhere and pick a specific percentage for propaganda purposes, we may well stick with the solidly conservative figure suggested by Kinsey decades ago; taking men and women together, at least 10% of the populace has demonstrated its homosexual proclivities so extensively that that proportion may reasonably be called 'gay.' This means that 25 million are H and 50 million parents, plus siblings, relatives, etc. (14-16)
  - j. When it comes to fighting the charge that H is statistically abnormal hence immoral, there is strength in numbers. (17)
  - k. Easy to recognize H, stereotype images, effeminate males, masculine females (fags and dykes). (18)
  - l. Signs of being H: Unusual intelligence, speaks certain way, dress a particular way, move specific ways, fail designated tests of manly courage, artistic (21)
  - m. Why are they H? Innate, Immutable theory – promote. (26-27)

- n. Behind theories of H is hatred and fear (black heart). Willful ignorance that is mean spirited. (28)
1. Caused by sinfulness – against natural law, voluntary and deliberate, unnatural, social contrariness
  2. Caused by mental illness – confusion over one’s gender identity, fear of opposite sex, result of masturbation, pathological, against culture norms, traced to Dr. Richard von Krafft-Ebing, 1886, “Psychopathia Sexualis,” case histories of H. Karl Ulrichs, Edward Carpenter and other sexologists in late 1800s that H due to gender confusion. Due to parental influence (33-38)
  3. Caused by recruitment – older H recruit innocent young straights, like vampires or werewolves. Rev. Falwell said, “H do not reproduce, the recruit.” Sexually depraved, mentally unstable, not to be trusted with our kids, disproportionately involved in child molestation, H and pederast interchangeable. (42) Parents beware, if recruitment is true, your kids might turn out H. Protect your kids from shameful contagion, avoid H.(44)
- o. Debunk theories of the causes of H, even if they are true. Purpose is to debunk such theories so straights cannot blame H as sexually deviants. (45)
- p. H are kinky, loathsome sex addicts. (48)
- q. H are unproductive and untrustworthy members of society. Suicidal, sick, unhappy. (52)

**6. Homosexuality portrayed as either a 1) permanent condition, or 2) temporary problem that can be fixed. This distinction between problem and condition is crucial to the way straights think about H. A problem has a solution. A condition doesn’t need to be fixed. It is simply an aspect of life that must be accommodated. It requires permanent tolerance and you must come to terms with it psychologically, practically, and morally. Must change public opinion, from problem to condition. (10-11)**

7. How straights treat H: (64)
- a. Actions that prevent H behavior
  - b. Actions which deny H their fundamental civil rights (not allowed to speak on TV, radio, newsprint, (77)
  - c. Actions which vent public disapproval of H “Though your tissues gel, and you rot in hell, don’t feel gloomy friend, it will never end, happy death, faggot fool.” From death threat Christmas cards sent to H in 1987 by Iron Fist, hate group at Univ of Chicago. (98)

8. Our Field Trip Concludes: An Agenda For Change (107-109)
1. H don’t warrant or deserve much attention from straights.  
Preferred: H are valuable part of American society; we should be familiar with their nature, culture, news and heroes.
  2. H are few in number; I don’t know any H.  
Preferred: H constitute a large minority of our society; and some of my friends/family are H.

3. H are easy to spot.

Preferred: They are not: most of them look just like anyone else.

4. H become H because of sin, insanity, seduction.

Preferred: Sexual feelings are not really chosen by anybody; H is just as healthy and natural for some persons as heterosexuality is for others.

5. H are kinky sex addicts.

Preferred: The sex and love lives of most H and straights today are both similar and conventional.

6 – H are unproductive, untrustworthy members of society.

Preferred: H are hardworking, patriotic Americans.

7 – H are suicidally unhappy.

Preferred: H would be as happy as anyone else, if we'd just treat them fairly.

8 – H acts, and intimate public contact, are outlawed across roughly one half of the nation.

Preferred: All sex acts among consenting adults are decriminalized; no discrimination is permitted between straights and H in content and application of laws.

9 – Freedoms of speech and assembly by H are impeded by public intolerance.

Preferred: H are provided, by special law if necessary, the same opportunity to speak (including access to mass media) and gather as straights currently enjoy.

10 – Rights of H to work, shelter, and public accommodations are limited by public intolerance.

Preferred: H are assured, by affirmative action if necessary, equal opportunity in these regards.

11 – H couples cannot legally marry (nor enjoy property rights there from): nor are their rights to parent natural or adoptive children secure.

Preferred: H are permitted all the standard rights of marriage and parenthood.

12 – H are often taunted, harassed and brutalized.

Preferred: The public no longer sanctions this behavior, which becomes as socially incorrect, discreditable, and repugnant as overt racism or anti-Semitism.

## **9. Understanding Prejudice: (112)**

**a. Prejudice is not logical. Cannot be overcome by facts and logic.**

**b. Prejudice is deep, automatic, prelogical, product of emotional conditioning unassailable by any appeal to the intellect. And so is homophobia impervious to argument.**

**c. To solve the problem, you must first understand it through and through.**

## **10. Tactics that won't work to overcome prejudice:**

**a. You can't inform or argue it away,**

**b. It's not "evil" so burning our enemies at the stake won't work,**

**c. Not illness so it can't be cured by therapy,**

**d. Not a conspiracy by sick or wicked people.**

**e. Conscious raising won't work**

**f. H parades where H looks extreme won't work**

**g. Learning to love and respect others won't work**

- h. Storming the barricades or picketing won't work
- i. Having sex in public won't work (113-114)

## 11. How prejudice works

- a. Seat of emotion is in the limbic system, a set of six or eight organs located in the center of the brain. (115)
- b. Three specific and unmixed emotions: 1) *septal region causes pure pleasure*, 2) *locus ceruleus causes fear*, and 3) *amygdala causes anger*.
- c. Emotions serve as internal drive states that motivate a mammal to do the right thing, at the right time, in order to survive and reproduce. Appropriate emotions, appropriately timed, motivate appropriate behavior. (115)
- d. Emotions fall into two major categories: 1) *trophic emotions* – which are pleasant, feel good, induce an animal to approach that which elicits them; driven by dopamine-containing nerve fibers, pleasure circuits of the mid-brain, which activate the septal region, feels good, and 2) *countertrophic emotions*, which are unpleasant, feel bad and induce an animal to avoid that which elicits them; driven by norepinephrine-containing nerve fibers, pain circuits of mid-brain, subdivide into two categories (located in separate brain-organs) and motivate two separate behavioral functions (both feel bad):
  1. Anxiety/Fear: activated in the *locus ceruleus* and causes flight response. Caused by situations that are dangerous (discretion is better than valor).
  2. Anger/Rage/Hate: activated in the *amygdala* and induces fight response, attempt to kill enemy. It is solicited by other creatures, rather than situations, that are dangerous or weaker, and more feasibly dealt with by aggression than flight. (116)
- e. **Evolutionary function of Prejudice – for survival and reproduction.**  
**Agnatic selection: “survival of the fittest.”** This means that strong, clever animals survive and reproduce passing on their offspring the genes for strength and cleverness, thus, over time, making their species as a whole stronger and more clever. And so it goes with the strongest, cleverest tribes and societies. All baboon tribes are hostile to one another, and fight viciously upon contact; the best tribe wins, gains greater land-space and food, and so reproduces in greater numbers. This process concentrates successful genes. (118)
  - f. In order for agnatic selection to work, individual baboons come equipped with the ability to discriminate at a glance, or perhaps sniff, between members of their own tribe and members of other tribes. Make snap judgments on the basis of superficial characteristics – nee-jerk reactions – without thinking. Here we see prejudice unfolding!
  - g. Having discerned the stranger at a glance, the baboon must react immediately, so as to jump the gun on his enemy. This automatic response has two stages: 1) unpleasant emotion- countertrophic fear and/or anger, which motivates 2) a behavior, either fight or flight: “see the stranger, fear the stranger; hate the stranger, kill the stranger.” (119)
  - h. Humans feel similar to baboons when they experience prejudice: rewarding a sense of fear and anger when they avoid or destroy outsiders, and an equally

rewarding sense of pride and self-righteousness, and the respect and approval of their own tribe (parents, family, neighbors, their “set,” class, nation, race). (119)

## **12. How homohatred arises in men:**

a. Prejudice with humans: How homohatred arises in man – Have added intellectual abilities than other primates. Two highly developed abilities: 1) learn patterns of behavior, instead of being limited to those instinctive patterns with which one is born; and 2) form mental patterns, or concepts – like little models of things inside the head. (120)

b. Therefore, what was learned can be unlearned. Connections made in the brain can be broken and new connections can be learned that will counteract and nullify the effects of the old. It’s comparatively easy to train a relatively flexible human being if not to like then to feel and react neutrally to previously hated minority groups, like H! (121)

c. How mechanism of prejudice develops in children: 1) learn to hate, 2) learn anger/fear toward H, 3) learn emotional reactions towards H by

1. **Associative Conditioning:** link between two things so one evokes the other (homosexuals and hatred)
2. **Direct Emotional Modeling:** learn to hate/love/fear as our parents/others do. Not through reasoning, but by example we learn to hate or fear others. (122)

**d. Emotions motivate biologically necessary behaviors, including fight or flight; when social mammals, living in herds, are confronted by enemies of their own or other species. A child has learned, as a conditioned emotional reaction, to hate the things his parents hate.** (124)

e. Kinsey said one in three males have homosexual tendencies (???). So, many will experience H feelings. (125) He will learn to hate in others what he denies in himself:

1. Pattern One: Rage – repression and reaction formation – horrified by his SSA, represses them immediately. Has a subconscious need to seek out and destroy in others (through violence, murder, hurtful behaviors), what he cannot tolerate in himself. Ex., Roy Cohn, Joe McCarthy
2. Pattern Two: Terror – Strives to appear straight (acting and appearance). Lifelong self-hatred, avoidance of H.
3. Pattern Three: Wretched Excess – Go overboard with exaggerated effeminate behaviors, shock tactics, etc. (126-127)

**f. Picture-Label Pair: group images and labels together in the mind, e.g., fag and specific behaviors.** (129)

## **13. How homohatred works in adults: (130)**

Step 1: Bigot either sees or hears, or thinks about, an instance of the picture/label pair.

Step 2: His sighting, or thinking about, the instance evokes, from his limbic system, a conditioned response or countertrophic emotion – that is, fear and/or hate. If the emotion is sufficiently intense, he may

Step 3: Run away (by trying to ignore the instance, or by crossing the street), or attack (verbally or physically) – which discharges the fear and/or hate, and thus  
Step 4: Rewards the behavior.

Step 5: Steps 2 and, if present, Step 3 are interpreted (perhaps automatically and unconsciously) by the rest of the brain as ‘being like Mom and Dad’ – meaning, ‘those from whom I get my love and respect.’ This notion evokes

Step 6: A conditioned response of trophic emotions – felt subjectively as ‘being loved,’ and labeled ‘pride and solidarity.’ This once again

Step 7: Rewards the whole sequence.

Step 8: Rationalization. Rationalization is learned after hatred, so you cannot persuade someone to stop being prejudice by reason!!! (131)

***Rationalization is the last in the above sequence, which is why rationalization doesn't work to change bigotry. Therefore, rationalization isn't fruitful in the war on homohatred / not useful in the campaign of propaganda to change opinions. (131)***

#### **14. Three tactics that don't work:**

1. Conscious raising:
  - a. **Trying to argue people out of their homohatred doesn't work. Prejudice is not a belief, it's a feeling. Arguments cannot change feelings, only beliefs. It's not useful in the treatment of homohatred. Arguments with facts is a waste of time. (136)**
  - b. Actions/behavior help us outgrow/overcome fear/hatred. Experience the feared thing in small increments over time, then the fear peters out. Reason won't persuade. Emotional appeal works. [Perfect love casts out fear / Love covers a multitude of sins] (137)
  - c. 90% of people have low intelligence. 10% fairly/highly intelligent. Can never alter the 90% through beliefs or arguments, only through emotions. Highly intelligent can step outside themselves and analyze their feelings, the causes of their feelings, and modulate them. Sometimes, arguments directed at the 10% can trickle down to the 90%. (138)
  - d. Argument creates negative reaction and reinforces their prejudice (negative emotion when feel threatened). (139)
  - e. Cannot disprove the Bible, validity of the Bible, or other authoritative sources of moral judgment. (139)
2. Storming the Barricades
  - a. Fighting won't/doesn't work. (140)
  - b. Solving problems with fists is ill advised.
  - c. Acts of violence reinforce prejudice. (141)
3. Gender Bending
  - a. We've been shut out of the majority culture; made to feel worthless and wicked.
  - b. By demonstrating differences, it strengthens prejudice with picture/label pairing, creating hostility and anxiety. (144-145)

15. “First you get your foot in the door, by being as similar as possible; then, and only then – when your one little difference is finally accepted – can you start dragging in your other peculiarities, one by one. You hammer in the wedge narrow end first. As the saying goes, ‘Allow the camel’s nose beneath your tent, and his whole body will soon follow.’” (146)

## 16. How to Halt, Derail and/or Reverse the Engine of Prejudice:

### 1. *Desensitization*:

- a. Prejudice = Alerting Signal. Warns tribal mammals that a potential alien mammal is in the vicinity and should be fought or fled. Two things can happen: 1) Strong or Weak Stimulus: fight it or flee from it; and 2) Low Grade Stimulus: don’t take action against it, irrelevancy, get used to it. (148)
- b. If H present themselves as different and threatening, then straights go on alert and fight against them.
- c. To desensitize straights, H inundate them with conscious flood of H related advertising, presented in the least offensive fashion. If straights can’t shut the shower off, they may at least eventually get used to being wet. (149)

### 2. *Jamming*:

- a. Insertion of incompatible emotion into the pre-existing system. Like sprinkling sand into a pocket watch.
- b. Jamming is more active and aggressive than desensitization.
- c. Jamming uses the rules of *Associative Conditioning* (when two things are repeatedly juxtaposed, one’s feelings about one thing are transferred to the other) and *Direct Emotional Modeling* (the inborn tendency of human beings to feel what they perceive others to be feelings). (150)
- d. Consequent internal confusion has two effects: *Unpleasant/Emotional Dissonance* will tend to result in an alteration of previous beliefs and feelings so as to resolve the internal conflict. And second, the *Internal Dissonance* will tend to inhibit over expression of the prejudicial emotion – which is, in itself, useful and relieving. (151)
- e. All normal people feel shame when they perceive that they are not thinking, feeling, or acting like one of the pack. The trick is to get the bigot into the position of feeling a conflicting twinge of shame, along with his reward, whenever his homohatred surfaces, so that his reward will be diluted or spoiled. (151)
- f. Propagandistic advertising can depict homophobic and homohating bigots as crude loudmouths and assholes – people who say not only “faggot” but “nigger,” “kike,” and other shameful epithets – who are “not Christian.” It can show them being criticized, hated, shunned. It can depict H experiencing horrific suffering as the direct result of homohatred – suffering of which even most bigots would be ashamed to be the cause. It can, in short, link homohating bigotry with all sorts of attributes the bigot would be ashamed to possess, and with social consequences he would find unpleasant and scary. The attack, therefore, is on self-image and on the pleasure in hating. (151-152)
- g. When our ads show a bigot – just like the members of the target audience – being criticized, hated, and shunned, we make use of *Direct Emotional*

*Modeling* as well. Remember, a bigot seeks approval and liking from ‘his crowd.’ When he sees someone like himself being disapproved of and disliked by ordinary Joes, *Direct Emotional Modeling* ensures that he will feel just what they feel – and transfer it to himself. This wrinkle effectively elicits shame and doubt; Jamming any pleasure he might normally feel. In a very real sense, every time a bigot sees such a thing, he is unlearning a little bit of the lesson of prejudice taught him by his parents and peers. (152)

- h. *Effect of Jamming, is achieved without reference to facts, logic or proof.* Through repeated infralogical emotional conditioning, his bigotry can be alloyed in exactly the same way, whether he is conscious of the attack or not. Indeed, the more he is distracted by any incidental, even specious, surface arguments, the less conscious he’ll be of the true nature of the process – which is all to the good. (153)
- i. In short, Jamming succeeds insofar as it inserts even a slight frisson of doubt and shame into the previously unalloyed, self-righteous pleasure. Need massive public exposure of the message to succeed. (153)

### 3. *Conversion*

- a. Desensitization aims at lowering the intensity of antiH emotional reactions to a level approximating sheer indifference. Jamming attempts to blockade or counteract the rewarding ‘pride in prejudice’ by attaching to homohaterd a pre-existing, and punishing, sense of shame in being a bigot, a horse’s ass, and a beater and murderer. Both of these techniques are preludes to our highest – though necessarily very long-range – goal, which is conversion. (153)
- b. Conversion of the average American’s emotions, mind, and will, through a planned psychological attack, in the form of propaganda fed to the nation via the media. We mean ‘subverting’ the mechanism of prejudice to our own ends – using the very process that made America hate us to turn their hatred into warm regard – whether they like it or not. (153-154)
- c. *If Desensitization lets the watch run down, and Jamming throws sand in the works, Conversion reverses the spring so that the hands run backward.* (154)
- d. In conversion, the bigot, who holds a very negative stereotypic picture, is repeatedly exposed to literal picture/label pairs, in magazines, and on billboards and TV, of H – explicitly labeled as such – who not only don’t look like his picture of H, but are carefully selected to look either like the bigot and his friends, or like any one of his other stereotypes of all-right guys – the kind of people he already likes and admires. This image must, of necessity, be carefully tailored to be free of absolutely every element of the widely held stereotypes of how ‘faggots’ look, dress, and sound. He or she must not be too well or fashionably dressed; must not be too handsome, that is mustn’t look like a model, or well groomed. The image must be that of an icon or normality – a good beginning would be to take a long look at Coors beer and Three Musketeers candy commercials. Subsequent ads can branch out from that solid basis to include really adorable, athletic teenagers, kindly grandmothers, avuncular policemen, ad infinitum. (154)
- e. But it makes no difference that the ads are lies; not to us, because we’re using them to ethically good effect, to counter negative stereotypes that are every bit



as much lies, and far more wicked ones; not be bigots, because the ads will have their effect on them whether they believe them or not. (154)

- f. When a bigot is presented with an image of the sort of person of whom he already has a positive stereotype, he experiences an involuntary rush of positive emotion, of good feeling; he's been conditioned to experience it. But, here, the good picture has the bad label – H! (The ad may say something rather like 'Beauregard Smith-beer drinker, Good Ole Boy, pillar of the community, 100% American, and H as a mongoose.') The bigot will feel two incompatible emotions: a good response to the picture, a bad response to the label. At worst, the two will cancel one another, and we will have successfully Jammed, as above. At best, Associative Conditioning will, to however small an extent, transfer the positive emotion associated with the picture to the label itself, not immediately replacing the negative response, but definitely weakening it. (155)
- g. You may wonder why the transfer wouldn't proceed in the opposite direction. The reason is simple: **pictures are stronger than words and evoke emotional responses more powerfully**. The bigot is presented with an actual picture, its label will evoke in his mind his own stereotypic picture, but what he sees in his mind's eye will be weaker than what he actually sees in front of him with the eyes in his face. **The more carefully selected the advertised image is to reflect his ideal of the sort of person who just couldn't be H, the more effective it will be**. Moreover, he will, by virtue of logical necessity, see the positive picture in the ad before it can arouse his negative picture, and first impressions have an advantage over second. (155)
- h. **In Conversion, we mimic the natural process of stereotype-learning, with the following effect: we take the bigot's good feelings about all-right guys, and attach them to the label 'gay,' either weakening or, eventually, replacing his bad feelings toward the label and the prior stereotype.** (155)
- i. Understanding Direct Emotional Modeling, you'll readily foresee its application to Conversion; whereas in Jamming the target is shown a bigot being rejected by his crowd for his prejudice against H, **in Conversion the target is shown his crowd actually associating with H in good fellowship**. Once again, it's very difficult for the average person, who, by nature and training, almost invariably feels what he sees his fellows feeling, not to respond in this knee-jerk fashion to a sufficiently calculated advertisement. In a way, most advertisement is founded upon an answer of Yes, definitely! To Mother's sarcastic question: I suppose if all the other kids jumped off a bridge and killed themselves, you would too? (155-156)

17. Success depends on flooding the media, and that, in turn means MONEY, MAN HOURS, and UNIFYING THE H COMMUNITY FOR A CONCERTED EFFORT. (157)

18. Learn from Madison Avenue, to roll out the big guns! H must launch a large-scale campaign – we've called it the **Waging Peace Campaign** – to reach straights through the mainstream media. We're talking about propaganda. (161)

19. The term propaganda applies to any deliberate attempt to persuade the masses via public communications media. Its function is not to perpetrate, but to propagate; to propagate, that is, to spread new ideas and feelings (or reinforce old ones) which may themselves be either evil or good depending on their purpose and effect. The purpose and effect of progay propaganda is to promote a climate of increased tolerance for H. (162)

**20. Three characteristics distinguish propaganda from other modes of communication and contribute to its sinister reputation: 1) Relies on emotional manipulation – through desensitization, jamming and conversion; 2) Use lies, and 3) Subjective and one-sided. Tell our side of the story as movingly as possible. In the battle for hearts and minds, effective propaganda knows enough to put its best foot forward. This is what our own media campaign must do. (162-163)**

21. Must train leaders, national workshops for full acceptance in America. Begin a national “Positive Images Campaign.” Recognition is dawning that antigay discrimination begins, like war, in the minds of men, and must be stopped there with the help of propaganda. (163)

22. Principle goal of the campaign is to gain tolerance and acceptance by straight community. (165)

23. Show, in the media, that H community lives by an ethical code in order to achieve our goal of tolerance and acceptance. (166)

24. Publicly “Come Out” to desensitize, jam and convert straight America. Jamming means interrupting the smooth workings of bigotry by inducing inconsistent feelings in the bigot. Extreme bigots become less confident that their incitements will generate applause and are further inhibited by the majority of ‘mild bigots, who now become uneasy that a fag slur might provoke an unpleasant scene. Once these dynamics get going, displays of homohatred suddenly become off-color and boorish. Thus, when H come out, they help transform the social climate from one that support prejudice to one that shuts homohaters up. Coming out is critical catalyst for the all-important ‘conversion’ process. To make straights actually like and accept H as a group, enabling straights to identify with them. Coming out is the key to sociopolitical empowerment, the ability of the gay community to control its own destiny. (167-168)

25. Coming out process is too slow so we also need a national media campaign. After meeting enough likeable H on TV, Jane Doe may begin to feel she knows H as a group, even if none has ever introduced himself to her personally. Thwart bigotry. (169)

**26. Carefully crafted, repeatedly displayed mass-media images of H could conceivably do even more to reverse negative stereotypes than could the incremental coming out of one person to another. (169)**

27. The wide range of favorably sanitized images that might be shown in the media could eventually have a more positive impact on the H stereotype than could exposure to H

friends, since straights will otherwise generalize a suboptimal impression of gays from the idiosyncratic admixture of good and bad traits possessed by their one or two H acquaintances. Portray only the most favorable side of gays, thereby counterbalancing the already unfairly negative stereotype in the public's mind. (170)

28. The media campaign will work well in tandem with the Everyone Comes Out strategy because it is actually a catalyst to coming out. (170)

29. Two different avenues to gay liberation: Education (i.e., propaganda) and Politics. (170) Politicians must be responsive to public sentiment on sensational issues if they value their careers. (171) But this often happens in politics, especially on the H issue where, as Yeasts would say, "The best lack all conviction, while the worst are full of passionate intensity." Our political success could be greatly advanced by media campaign conducted prior to, or simultaneously with, political initiatives. (172)

### **30. WAGING PEACE CAMPAIGN: 8 Practical Principles For The Persuasion Of Straights:**

a. "Those who have supreme skill use Strategy to bond others without coming to conflict." Sun Tzu, The Art of War

b. Three points of effective propaganda: 1) Employ images that desensitize, jam and/or convert bigots on an emotional level. This is, by far, the most important task; 2) Challenge homohating beliefs and actions on a (not too) intellectual level. Remember, the rational message serves to camouflage our underlying emotional appeal, even as it pares away the surrounding latticework of beliefs that rationalize bigotry; and 3) Gain access to the kinds of public media that would automatically confer legitimacy upon these messages and, therefore, upon their gay sponsors. To be accepted by the most prestigious media, such as network TV, or messages themselves will have to be – at least initially – both subtle in purpose and crafty in construction. (173)

#### **Principle 1: Don't just express yourself, communicate!**

- c. Genuine public outreach requires careful communication. Key: Put yourself in the listeners shoes. "If I were straight and felt the hostility most straights feel towards gays, what would it take to get me to change my antigay feelings?" (174)
- d. Don't start by deciding what you most ardently wish to tell straights: start by determining what they most need to hear from you. (174)
- e. Straights must be helped to believe that you and they speak the same language. (174)
- f. Dress and speak like them. (175)

#### **Principle 2: Seek ye not the saved nor the damned: Appeal to the skeptics**

- a. Intransigents (Core) 30-35% / Ambivalent Skeptics (Swing) 35-45% / Friends (Pansexual) 25-30% (175)
- b. Silence those that oppose homosexuality (Intransigents) because of their religious beliefs.

- c. Ambivalent skeptics are our most promising targets (176).
- d. Ambivalent skeptics are more or less passively negative toward H (176).
- e. Focus the media campaign on the ambivalent skeptics: Desensitize/Jam/Convert them.
- f. Silence the Intransigents (Core).
- g. Mobilize the Friends (Pansexuals). (177)

### **Principle 3: Keep Talking**

- a. Help straights view homosexuality with neutrality rather than keen hostility. In the beginning, seek desensitization and nothing more. (177)
- b. **“You can forget about trying right up front to persuade folks that homosexuality is a good thing. But if you can get them to think it is just another thing – meriting no more than a shrug of the shoulders – then your battle for legal and social rights is virtually won.”** (177)
- c. *“Application of the keep-talking principle can get people to the shoulder-shrug stage. The free and frequent discussion of gay rights by a variety of persons in a variety of places gives the impression that homosexuality is commonplace. That impression is essential, because, as noted in the previous chapter, the acceptability of any new behavior ultimately hinges on the proportion of one’s fellow accepting or doing it.”* (177)
- d. *“The fastest way to convince straights that homosexuality is commonplace is to get a lot of people talking about the subject in a neutral or supportive way.* (178)
- e. **“Talk about gayness until the issue becomes thoroughly tiresome.”** (178)
- f. **“In the early stages of the campaign, the public should not be shocked and repelled by premature exposure to homosexual behavior itself. Instead, the imagery of sex per se should be downplayed, and the issue of gay rights reduced, as far as possible, to an abstract social question.”** (178)
- g. *“As it happens, the AIDS epidemic – ever a curse and boon for the gay movement – provides ample opportunity to emphasize the civil rights/discrimination side of things, but unfortunately it also permits our enemies to draw attention to gay sex habits that provoke revulsion.”* (178)
- h. **Accuse religious people: “Gays can use talk to muddy the moral waters, that is, to undercut the rationalizations that ‘justify’ religious bigotry and to jam some of its psychic rewards.” “Portray such institutions as antiquated backwaters, badly out of step with the times and with the latest findings of psychology.”** (179)
- i. *“Where we talk is critical.”* TV, films, magazines – most powerful image makers in the Western civilization. (179) Marshall McLuhan said, *“Where desensitization is concerned, the medium is the message...of normalcy.”* (179)

### **Principle 4: Keep the message focused: You’re a homosexual, not a whale.**

- a. *Talk about gay rights issues and nothing more: be single minded.* (180)

- b. Michael Denny said, “We have no natural allies and therefore cannot rely on the assistance of any group; we have only tactical allies – people who do not want barbarous things done to us because they fear the same thing may someday be done to them.” (181)
- c. *Be focused in your efforts to reach the public via mass media. Talk, talk, talk about gay rights, and leave it at that.* (182)

**Principle 5: Portray gays as victims, not as aggressive challengers.**

- a. “Gays must be portrayed as victims in need of protection so that straights will be inclined by reflex to adopt the role of protector. If gays present themselves instead, as a strong and arrogant tribe promoting a defiantly nonconformist lifestyle, they are most likely to be seen as a public menace that warrants resistance and oppression.” (183)
- b. **KEY:** *“The purpose of victim imagery is to make straights feel very uncomfortable; that is, to jam with shame the self-righteous pride that would ordinarily accompany and reward their antigay belligerence, and to lay groundwork for the process of conversion by helping straights identify with gays and sympathize with their underdog status.”* (183)
- c. *“Persons featured in the media campaign should be wholesome and admirable by straight standards, and completely unexceptional in appearance; in a word, they should be indistinguishable from the straights we’d like to reach.”* (183)
- d. “Conventional young people, middle-aged women, and older folks of all races would be featured, not to mention the parents and straight friends of gays. One could also argue that lesbians should be featured more prominently than gay men in the early stages of the media campaign.” (183-184)
- e. Two different messages about gay victims:
  1. Public persuaded that gays are victims of circumstance, that they no more chose their sexual orientation than they did, say, their height, skin color, talents, or limitations. **“TO SUGGEST IN PUBLIC THAT HOMOSEXUALITY MIGHT BE CHOSEN IS TO OPEN THE CAN OF WORMS LABELED ‘MORAL CHOICE’ AND ‘SIN’ AND GIVE THE RELIGIOUS INSTRANSIGENTS A STICK TO BEAT US WITH. STRAIGHTS MUST BE TAUGHT THAT IT IS AS NATURAL FOR SOME PERSONS TO BE HOMOSEXUAL AS IT IS FOR OTHERS TO BE HETEROSEXUAL: WICKEDNESS AND SEUDCITION HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH IT. AND SINCE NO CHOICE IS INVOLVED, GAYNESS CAN BE NO MORE BLAME WORTHY THAN STRAIGHTNESS. IN FACT, IT IS SIMPLY A MATTER OF THE ODDS – ONE IN TEN – AS TO WHO TURNS OUT GAY, AND WHO STRAIGHT. EACH HETEROSEXUAL MUST BE LED TO REALIZE THAT HE MIGHT EASILY HAVE BEEN BORN HOMOSEXUAL HIMSELF.”** (184)
  2. *Gays should be portrayed as VICTIMS OF PREJUDICE. Straights don’t fully realize the suffering they bring upon gays, and must be shown: graphic pictures of brutalized gays, dramatizations of job and housing insecurity, loss of child custody, public humiliation, etc.* (184)

- f. Help straights become homosexual protectors. (185)
- g. Play for sympathy and tolerance. (186)
- h. March if you must, but don't parade (look good for the camera/newspaper). Look ordinary, not disenfranchised drag queens, bull dykes, exotic elements of the gay community. (186)
- i. Desensitization works gradually or not at all. (186)

**Principle 6: Give potential protectors a just cause.**

- a. Use anti-discrimination as the campaign, not homosexual behavior. (187)
- b. *“Our campaign should not demand explicit support for homosexual practices, but should instead take antidiscrimination as its theme. Fundamental freedoms, constitutional rights, due process and equal protection of laws, basic fairness and decency toward all of humanity – these should be the concerns brought to mind by our campaign.”* (187)

**Principle 7: Make gays look good.**

- a. In order to make a gay victim sympathetic to straights, you have to portray him as Everyman. (187)
- b. Paint gay men and lesbians as superior, veritable pillars of society. (188)
- c. Use famous historical homosexual figures,
- d. Use celebrity endorsements of homosexuals because people like celebrities so they will like homosexuals. (188-189)

**Principle 8: Make victimizers look bad.**

- a. *“The objective is to make homohating beliefs and actions look so nasty that average Americans will want to dissociate themselves from them.”* (189)
- b. *“The best way to make homohatred look bad is to vilify those, who victimize gays. The public should be shown images of ranting homohaters whose associated traits and attitudes appall and anger Middle America.”* (189)
- c. In TV and print, images of victimizers can be combined with those of their gay victims by a method propagandists call the ‘bracket technique’, e.g. Rev. Fred Phelps picketing at Matthew Shepards funeral saying “God hates gays.” Then people are disgusted by him, so they dissociate from him and his hateful attitude. (189)
- d. *“Every time a viewer runs through this comparative self-appraisal, he reinforces a self-definition that consciously rejects homohatred and validates sympathy for gay victims. Exactly what we want.”* (190)

31. Tactics for eating the media alive:

- A. Three main ways: 1. Public Relations, 2. News Reporting, and 3. Advertising. (193)
- B. Make a big noise. People love scandals, gossip. Cultivate liaisons with broadcast companies and newsrooms in hope of seeing issues important to the gay community receive some coverage. (194)
- C. Public disturbances: 1. Look light a mass event, 2. Behavior must be nonviolent, 3. Disobedient acts must be portrayed as a last resort, 4.

Viewing public must be helped to understand that gay protestors accept and expect arrest, they're not just out to break laws, 5. Public must understand the logical connection between the gay rights issue and the particular act of civil disobedience adopted. (196-197)

D. Public relations tactics:

- 1) Creative formatting: need fresh angle, way to make gay rights argument more topical,
- 2) Use news to make news – gay persons can respond to a new law, court case, death, or scandal,
- 3) Human interest – people more interested in the human personal side of your story,
- 4) Celebrity spokespersons – a celebrity does not simply make news – she is news – she can get on the air and tout the gay cause relatively easily, without further pretext. (198)

E. TV is OK, but advertising campaign is necessary to be successful, in order to desensitize, jam and convert people. (199)

F. Advertising tactics / five big media outlets:

1. TV best because it teaches the widest amount of people. It's the most intrusive medium. Change picture/label pair, best on TV.
2. Radio: reaches millions daily, intimate medium.
3. Magazines: good vehicle for the gay message. More affordable than TV blitz, less intrusive and packs less punch.
4. Newspapers: do even less to build legitimacy than magazines.
5. Outdoors: billboards, display ads in public areas, subway placards, etc. Excellent job of reaching a broad audience over and over again. Message must be simple and benefit from being seen over and over again.

***Goal is to desensitize straights to homosexuality.*** (204)

G. Over long term, TV and Magazines are probably the two media of choice. TV is more persuasive and magazines are the most affordable. (204)

H. Fairness doctrine by FCC to get on shows, etc. Personal Attack Rule by FCC, get on shows. Equal Time Rule of FCC – equal time for each office. (206)

I. How to get on TV, radio, newsprint:

1. Make ads like white bread, completely unobjectionable. go after middlebrow or upper-middlebrow publications and then work your way down.
2. Use free access – PSAs.
3. Run symbolic gay candidates for every high political office. (212) Through such political campaigns, mainstream America would get over the initial shock of seeing gay ads.
4. Waging Peace Campaign: Launch media messages of open support for the civil rights of gay people in ads that work directly to jam homohatred and convert straight to feelings of greater tolerance. (213)

**32. Create One Unified National Gay Organization for tactical purposes. (249)**

- A. "We're more willing to attack one another than to go after our common enemy." Jeff Levi, Executive director of NGLTF.
- B. *AFL-CIO learned many years ago there is tremendous strength in unification under a single run organization. (249)*
- C. Fund Raising: two phases:

PHASE ONE: Name, mission, tax-deductibility, good ladder (continue all tactics after campaign is launched):

- 1. Trademark name of the campaign
- 2. Statement of mission: prioritize objectives, make measurable milestone goals, working plan
- 3. Funding: Government grants, foundation grants, business contributions, individual contributions. (265)
- 4. The more directly personal your contact with donors, the more funds you will raise. (266) Fundraisers ladder chart.
- 5. Lion's share of individual donations usually come from a few wealthy individuals and business executives who must be wooed in person. (267)
- 6. List of fundraising ideas for phase one (268-269):
  - a. Cultivate gay upper class
  - b. Conduct direct mail appeals
  - c. Place fundraising ads in the gay press
  - d. Develop dedicated fundraising events
  - e. Introduce an affinity credit card for the campaign.
- 7. Exposed-root appeals (269):
  - 1. Let other gay organizations contribute directly to the campaign
  - 2. Persuade gay bars and other gay-patronized businesses to donate regularly to the campaign.

PHASE TWO: Solicit additional funds from gays and straights via straight media, through ads themselves.

**33. MOTIVATING OVER THE LONG HAUL: SUSTAINING EMOTIONAL STEAM THAT COMES NOT FROM LOVE BUT FROM RAGE.**

**"YOU MAY DISCOUNT WHAT THE PIOUS TELL YOU, BECAUSE IT IS ACTUALLY RAGE, NOT LOVE, THAT LAY BEHIND ALL THOSE PROGRESSIVE EVENTS."**

**"LIKE ALL EMOTIONS, RAGE HAS ITS PURPOSE, AND ITS TIME AND PLACE. WHEN A SITUATION BECOMES INTOLERABLE, AN OPPRESSION UNBEARABLE, WHEN MILLIONS DO NOT EVEN DARE TO CRY OUT BENEATH THE HEEL OF INJUSTICE, RAGE IS THE APPROPRIATE RESPONSE." (382)**