



VOICE OF REASON

Fall 1983

The Newsletter of Americans for Religious Liberty

No. 10

VOR Becomes Americans for Religious Liberty

The Voice of Reason's directors voted at their annual meeting in Washington on October 17 to change the organization's name to Americans for Religious Liberty.

Anne Lindsay, a Cleveland attorney and long time church-state separation activist, was elected president, replacing Lynne Silverberg-Master, who had guided the organization through its foundation and the merger of the original Voice of Reason with the Center for Moral Democracy.

Elected to the Board of Directors were Faith Evans, a member of the staff of the Washington office of the United Church of Christ, Bernard Freitag, immediate past vice-president of the National Education Association, Ivan Gluckman, an attorney on the staff of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, Dorothy Massie, an inquiry specialist with the National Education Association, Robert M. Stein, a New York area religious liberty activist, John M. Swomley, Jr., Professor of Christian Ethics at the St. Paul School of Theology (United Methodist) in Kansas City and chair of the American Civil Liberties Union's national Church-State Committee, David Van Strien, a prominent Unitarian Universalist minister in New Hampshire and a member of the Unitarian Universalist Association national board, and Jay Wabeke, a Michigan civil liberties and education leader.

Also elected to ARL's National Advisory Board were Professors M. David Alexander (education, Virginia Tech), Allan Powell (sociology and philosophy, Hagerstown College), and Michael E. Siegel (political science, American University). Other additions to the Advisory Board will be made in early 1984.

The name change from VOR to ARL had been under consideration for a year. Reasons for the change centered around a certain level of public confusion over the original name. The basic purposes of the organization, however, remain unchanged:

the defense of religious, intellectual, and personal freedom and their constitutional guarantees; church-state separation and the ideal of the secular democratic state; free, religiously neutral public education; the integrity of science teaching; the right of women to determine if and when they will bear children; equal rights regardless of creed, race, or sex.

Americans for Religious Liberty was developed in response to the rise in the late 1970s of powerful Radical Right organizations dedicated to the piecemeal repeal of the Bill of Rights, and to the recognition that there was no broad based educational organizational focussed squarely on the full range of religious, intellectual, and personal freedoms being attacked by the Radical Right. Existing groups had either much broader or narrower concerns, or were professional or denominational groups not available to all.

In early 1981 the Voice of Reason was founded in Michigan under the leadership of Rabbi Sherwin T. Wine, Lynne Silverberg-Master, and others. At the same time the Center for Moral Democracy was founded in the New York City area under the leadership of Edward L. Ericson, Donald Field, and others. The two groups, with virtually identical purposes, were merged in early 1982 under the Voice of Reason name. The boards of the two groups were combined and Lynne Silverberg-Master was elected president.

Since its foundation in 1981 the organ-

ization has grown to about 3,000 members, with chapters in Michigan, New York, Illinois, Missouri, and Texas. ARL is governed by a 25-person board, assisted by a 36-person National Advisory Board of scientists, scholars, writers, and religious leaders.

Editorial

Facing 1984

The year 1984 evokes in most people images from George Orwell's novel—Big Brother, thought police, "selective manipulation of history," Newspeak, the disappearance of civil liberties, totalitarianism, etc. While Orwell's dystopian nightmare will not literally come true next year, 1984 could be a watershed year for our secular democratic state and basic liberties.

The Radical Right is no longer on the outside looking in. It is on the inside, though far from being in complete control. An administration that talked about getting government off the people's backs is seeking to subject forty million public school students to daily government regimentation of their religious lives, to force a hundred million taxpayers to support selective private religious schools not subject to their control, to compel all women to adhere to a sectarian moral code that denies them the right to decide whether or not to bear children.

On the state and local level Far Right groups have stepped up their efforts to determine what children will or will not read in school, and what books children and adults will or will not find in public libraries. Having failed to convince the scientific community of the validity of their views about the age of the earth and the universe and the physical and biological

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ARL Presidents: Incoming, Anne Lindsay; Outgoing, Lynne Silverberg-Master.

ARL Michigan, Washington Conferences Successful

The Michigan chapters of Americans for Religious Liberty held a highly successful conference at the University of Michigan's Law School on Saturday, October 29, on the theme "The Morality of the Constitution." On Monday, October 17, the ARL national office sponsored a conference on "Values in Public Education" at the National Education Association in Washington.

The Michigan conferees heard Detroit College of Law professor Harold Norris contrast the constitutional and ARL views of morality with those of the Radical Right and the Reagan administration. Norris described the U.S. Constitution's moral dimension as its emphasis on rights as limitations of the power of government and on the fair, equal, and just use of power. ARL, he said, supports the constitutional view that government is to be democratic, limited, secular, and pluralistic, with the pursuit of truth made possible by the freedom of religion, speech, press, and assembly guarantees of the First Amendment, with fairness and equality guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.

In contrast, Norris declared, the Radical Right and the Reagan administration favor government entanglement with religion, use of public education to promote certain religions, public subsidy of religious schools, and government imposition of elements of religious orthodoxy. Examples cited were the President's proclamation of the Year of the Bible, opposition to abortion rights and the Equal Rights Amendment, support for censorship, the intrusion of "creationism" in public education, and support for government sponsorship of religious displays.

He concluded with a warning that the Constitution and Bill of Rights are not self-enforcing.

Prof. Norris' theme was expanded upon by University of Michigan public health specialist Sylvia Hacker and Ann Arbor Unitarian Universalist minister Kenneth Phifer. Conferees also heard reports on public school prayer by Presbyterian minister Scott Stephen, "creationism" in the schools by Michigan ACLU director Howard Simon, censorship by Jackson District Public Library director David Leamon, tuition tax credits by Coretta Manwaring of the Council Against Parochialism, and the threat of a national constitutional convention by ARL national executive director Edd Doerr. Doerr also reported on the status of the whole range of ARL concerns.

The Michigan ARL chapters gave their first James Madison Awards to Jay Wabeke and Albert Dilley, both from Grand Rapids. Wabeke, elected to the ARL national board in October, was honored for his years of activism in Michigan for religious liberty and public education, including a recent federal court victory over a "reverse shared time" parochial program in Grand Rapids. Dilley was honored for his work as an attorney in church-state separation cases.

Rabbi Sherwin T. Wine, a co-founder of ARL, wound up the conference with a ringing defense of the ideal of the secular state and a plea that the moral and citizenship values found in the Constitution be taught more vigorously in the public schools.

The Washington ARL conference concentrated on the subject of values education in public schools. Keynote speaker Sol Gordon, Professor of Child and Family Studies at Syracuse University and Director of the Institute for Family Research and Education, pointed out that moral concerns are found in all areas of education and that public schools may and should teach and promote moral values. The values to be

taught are the universal democratic values expressed in the Declaration of Independence, Constitution, and Bill of Rights. He distinguished between teaching moral values and being moralistic.

Jeanne Pietig, Assistant Professor of Philosophy of Education at the University of Virginia, traced the complex history of moral education in public education and agreed with John Dewey that education is a moral enterprise. She concluded that moral education should be integrated into all subject matter, as broadly conceived as possible, and sensitive to cultural diversity.

Kris McGough and Kitty Shoap explained how the Maryland Values Education Commission, on which they served, produced comprehensive guidelines for schools to deal with values.

Responding to these presentations were Herman R. Goldberg, an official of the American Association of School Administrators and a former school superintendent, Dorothy C. Massie, an inquiry specialist with the National Education Association, Jeremiah Floyd, Associate Executive Director of the National School Boards Association, Rabbi Kenneth Block, a school board president in Maryland, Sister Regina Coll, an authority on women's concerns, James Skillen, Executive Director of the Association for Public Justice, Paul E. Francis, chairperson of the Pennsylvania Federation of Teachers, and Edward L. Ericson, senior leader of the New York Society for Ethical Culture.

The stimulating discussion of the program speakers and conference participants provided a good background for the project announced at the end of the meeting by outgoing ARL president Lynne Silverberg-Master. ARL will develop comprehensive guidelines for moral and values education in public schools. ARL board member Sol Gordon is chair of the committee to draft the document. ■

Voice of Reason is the quarterly newsletter of Americans for Religious Liberty (formerly The Voice of Reason), P.O. Box 6656, Silver Spring, MD 20906. (Telephone: 301-598-2447).

The newsletter is sent to all contributors to ARL.

Editor: Edd Doerr

Americans for Religious Liberty is a nonprofit public interest educational organization dedicated to preserving the American tradition of religious, intellectual, and personal freedom in a secular democratic state. Membership is open to all who share that purpose. Annual dues are \$15 for individuals, \$20 for families, \$5 for students.

President: Anne Lindsay; Vice-President: Donald Field; Treasurer: Stephen Fenichell; Secretary: Bruce Southworth. Executive Committee includes the above Officers and Edward L. Ericson, Lynne Silverberg-Master, Sol Gordon, Sherwin T. Wine.

Board of Directors includes Officers, Executive Committee, and Gary Crawford, Faith Evans, Gilbert Feldman, Florence Flast, Bernard Freitag, Ivan Gluckman, Donald S. Harrington, Paul Kurtz, Dorothy Massie, Ronald Modras, O. Eugene Pickett, Robert M. Stein, John M. Swomley Jr., David Van Strien, Jay Wabeke, Martha L. Ware, James E. Wood Jr.

Executive Director: Edd Doerr

According to a survey by People for the American Way, organized group prayer is conducted in nearly a third of North Carolina public schools, daily classroom prayer occurs in a sixth of the schools, and in 6% of the schools students receive academic credit for Bible study as part of the regular curriculum.

Invasion of the Soul Snatchers

American public schools are required to be religiously neutral both by the Constitution (the First Amendment) and by the pluralistic nature of our society. Indeed, our country's religious pluralism may accurately be said to have been both cause and effect of our adoption of the principle of separation of church and state in the First Amendment and state constitutions. No country enjoys our level of religious liberty or has anything like the degree of pluralism found here.

While implementation of the principle of religious neutrality in public education has gone on and would go on without help from the courts, Supreme Court and lower court rulings have accelerated the process and have provided useful, fairly firm guidelines for state governments and local school districts.

In 1948 the Supreme Court ruled that religious instruction classes could not be conducted in public schools. In 1962 and 1963 the Court outlawed government sponsored or mandated group prayer and devotional Bible readings in the schools, while leaving intact the right of individual students to voluntarily engage in personal prayer and while encouraging schools to teach objectively and neutrally *about* religion. In 1968 the Court struck down a religiously motivated state law banning the teaching of evolution. In 1980 the Court overturned a state law requiring the posting of the Ten Commandments.

Lower courts have barred the distribution of religious literature in schools, the teaching of Transcendental Meditation (a religious movement which tries to disguise itself as secular), the requirement that equal time be given in science classes for the teaching of "scientific creationism," the use of schools during the school day for student religious group meetings, and state-mandated periods of silence "for prayer or meditation."

Sticky problems remain in many school districts regarding religious holiday observances (Is Halloween a pagan religious festival? Are Christmas hymns other than sung prayers?), while an unknown number of schools have yet to comply with the Supreme Court's prayer rulings.

Congress adjourned before Thanksgiving without passing President Reagan's proposed constitutional amendment to authorize government sponsored group prayer or bills to require schools to allow student religious group meetings, but the struggle over these measures will resume in

early 1984.

Our main concern in this editorial, however, is with the growing sectarian intrusions into public schools, a veritable "invasion of the soul snatchers," to borrow from a popular movie title.

Some fundamentalist creationist groups are encouraging individual teachers, whose own scientific and professional training seem to be inadequate, to bootleg "creationism" into science classes, a practice that violates the First Amendment as much as the Arkansas law requiring the teaching of "creationism." Other groups are encouraging fundamentalist teachers to promote their religious views in the classroom. If a school may not constitutionally promote a religion, then an individual teacher, a public functionary, may not do so either.

A more serious and growing problem is that of professional adult missionaries operating in public schools. According to a recent report in *Education Week*, about 4,500 such missionaries operate in and around public schools, reaching an estimated 10% of the nation's high school students.

Their usual modus operandi is to hang around school athletic and other events and circulate in school cafeterias and corridors, *with the permission of the school administration*, to make friends with students. Later many of the missionaries try to get onto school staffs as volunteer assistant coaches or tutors.

While the missionaries seem to reserve overt, hard-sell proselytizing for meetings held off-campus, they use the schools to

make contacts, to post notices of their meetings (they have been known to use school public address systems), and to persuade kids to attend off-campus religious meetings.

The purpose of this activity is clear: "to build relationships with kids in order to expose them to the Gospel," as one Young Life missionary put it; "to introduce adolescents to Jesus Christ and His relevance to life today," according to another.

The proselytizing groups are not those often referred to pejoratively as "cults" but, rather, fundamentalist or conservative evangelical groups drawing members and support from people of a number of conservative Protestant denominations and, occasionally, conservative Catholics.

The main groups are: "Young Life, with over 400 paid missionaries and a \$15 million annual budget; Campus Life, the high school program of Youth for Christ, with 800 paid missionaries; Student Venture (formerly Student Life), an operation of Bill ("I Found It") Bright's Campus Crusade for Christ International, with 120 paid missionaries; High Schol Huddle and Junior High Huddle, programs of The Fellowship of Christian Athletes, with 168 paid missionaries and 3,200 volunteer leaders and coaches.

We do not question the religious beliefs of the missionaries operating in the schools, or their right to proselytize. What is objectionable and unconstitutional is the use of public schools for proselytizing. While schools may admit outside adults as resource persons in classrooms or as volunteers, these must be utilized solely for legitimate academic purposes.

No missionaries of any kind should be allowed to operate in the schools. And the responsibility of keeping such activity out falls to school principals, superintendents, and boards. Schools and school districts should adopt and enforce policies against even indirect proselytizing in the schools.

Concerned citizens and groups should be prepared to litigate in cases where school districts refuse to halt proselytizing. In that connection, ARL members and chapters would do well to check the policies of their local school boards. ARL's national office will assist local members and chapters in dealing with these problems.

Now is the time for us to finish the job of bringing all our public schools into compliance with the religious neutrality required by the Constitution and needed to preserve the religious liberty of all our students. ■

Editorial

On the day the Senate rejected President Reagan's tuition tax credits, an ad promoting the plan appeared in the *Washington Post* claiming that non-public schools operate "at no cost to the general public." The ad was sponsored by sectarian special interests plus Falwell's Moral Majority, Schlafly's Eagle Forum, and other Radical Right groups.

Since sectarian school interests know they are receiving a considerable amount of tax aid, their ad violates one of the commandments they claim to teach. If the parochial school interests and their Radical Right allies want to improve the country's moral climate, they should follow the biblical injunction against bearing false witness and remember that Jesus did not ask Rome to coerce people to support his teaching.

ARL Study Reveals Billion Dollar Parochial Subsidy

Over one billion dollars in state and federal tax aid goes annually to parochial and private elementary and secondary schools, according to a study recently complete by Americans for Religious Liberty executive director Edd Doerr.

Most people think that little tax aid goes to nonpublic schools because most parochial proposals are defeated in the legislative process, parochial aid has lost in every statewide referendum since 1967, and the Supreme Court ruled unconstitutional in the 1970s all major parochial plans to come before it—the “purchase of services” from parochial schools, tuition reimbursement grants and tax credits, parochial teacher salary supplements, etc.

However, the Supreme Court has allowed states to provide such “minor and peripheral” forms of parochial aid as bus transportation, textbook “loans,” payments for testing and recordkeeping, and certain diagnostic, remedial, and “auxiliary” services. And federal aid for parochial schools, provided since 1965, has yet to have its day before the Supreme Court.

Although the annual *Digest of Educational Statistics* produced by the U.S. Department of Education indicates that no federal or state tax dollars go to support sectarian and other private schools, other surveys have shown that 32 states provide transportation services for nonpublic schools (often under more generous terms than to public schools), that 25 states provide textbook “loans” (“loaning” textbooks for several years is analogous to “lending” someone a stick of gum; it’s not really intended to be repaid), that eight states provide various “auxiliary” services, and that nonpublic schools receive federal aid in all states.

Of the five million students in nonpublic schools, 3.1 million are in states which provide full transportation services for their schools. Since 57% of public school students are transported at an average cost of \$176 per year (all figures are for the 1980-81 school year, the latest for which data are available), then nonpublic school transportation costs taxpayers at least \$311 million annually. However, nonpublic enrollments are more scattered than those of public schools and their attendance areas usually do not coincide with those of public schools, so nonpublic school transportation costs more—44% more in New Jersey, 63% more in New York, and 156% more in the Washington metropolitan area. (In one extreme case in upstate New York, two

children are transported to a Christian day school well outside their public school district at an annual cost of almost \$10,000 for the pair). Averaging these differentials, ARL estimates \$585 million as the probable annual cost to taxpayers of nonpublic school transportation in the “full service” states.

In addition, partial transportation service in nine other states costs, by conservative estimate, another \$22.5 million.

In 25 states textbooks are “loaned” to nonpublic schools enrolling 2.8 million students, at an annual cost of \$42.5 million, based on the New York-New Jersey average of about \$15 per student per year.

Seven states provide nonpublic schools with about \$20.6 million for such “state mandated” services as testing and record-keeping. Extensive “auxiliary” services, such as diagnostic and remedial programs, are provided by Ohio, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York at an annual cost of about \$138 million. Minnesota funnels \$3 million per year to nonpublic schools through tuition tax deductions (a plan upheld by the Supreme Court in June ostensibly because public schools also received an insignificant amount of benefit). Until the program was ruled unconstitutional recently, Grand Rapids, Michigan, channeled \$3 million per year to nonpublic schools by placing tax-paid teachers in them.

Federal aid to parochial and private schools, at an average of \$38 per student (the average reported for New York and New Jersey) amounts to about \$190 million per year. That total might be as high as \$300 million if the \$60 per nonpublic student estimate by some authorities is correct.

Adding these figures, we find that parochial and private schools are receiving at least one billion dollars per year in services and materials paid for out of federal, state, and local taxes. This total does not include federal and state aid for school lunches or health programs; the considerable benefits of tax deductibility of donations (or of tuition payments disguised as donations, a widespread practice known as “tuition laundering”) to religious bodies operating private schools; or the benefits of local property tax exemption.

The ARL study also found that, by shifting the billion dollars in federal and state parochial aid from the public to the nonpublic school expenditure columns in the Department of Education statistics, per student nonpublic school spending for the

1980-81 school year reached \$2,850 while per student public school spending was only \$2,517. It may be noted in passing that the Census Bureau reports that nonpublic school families have average incomes 37% higher than public school families.

The preceding, of course, are only the monetary costs of parochial aid. The social costs of tuition tax credits or other forms of aid would or do include public subsidy of the religious, class, academic, ideological, ethnic, gender, and other forms of selectivity and discrimination common in nonpublic schools, and the consequent division of children and adults along these lines; public subsidy of religious institutions, in violation of the constitutional right not to be taxed for religion; weakening of support for democratic public education; compulsory support for private institutions not under meaningful public control.

News Briefs

In October the Louisiana supreme court ruled that the state legislature has authority to require public schools to teach “creationism.” The ruling clears the way for a federal court to decide whether the state’s “equal time for creationism” law violates the First Amendment. In 1982 an Arkansas federal court ruled a similar law unconstitutional.

The Supreme Court declined in November to review a federal appeals court ruling that Rhode Island may not constitutionally provide greater transportation benefits to nonpublic than to public schools. This leaves state governments in a quandary, as the Supreme Court several years ago let stand a Pennsylvania law similar to the Rhode Island law.

On November 14 the Supreme Court, without comment, let stand a lower federal court ruling that held unconstitutional a New Mexico law providing for a daily moment of silence for prayer. On October 24 a New Jersey federal court struck down a similar state law. The Supreme Court’s New Mexico ruling will probably doom the Reagan administration’s plan to intervene in a school “moment of silence” case.

In August the 11th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals declined to review its May ruling against two Alabama school prayer laws.

Senate Rejects Reagan Parochial Bill

On November 16 the U.S. Senate defeated President Reagan's tuition tax credit bill 59 to 38. In a bipartisan effort, 24 Republicans joined with 35 Democrats to reject the measure.

Supporting the bill, which would have provided up to \$1.5 billion annually to parochial and private schools enrolling about 10% of the nation's children, were conservative Catholic, Protestant evangelical, and Orthodox Jewish school interests, plus such Radical Right groups as Rev. Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority, Rev. Virgil Blum's Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights, Christian Voice, Connaught Marshner's Coalitions for America, Paul Weyrich's Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, Phyllis Schlafly's Eagle Forum, and William Billings' National Christian Action Center.

The Senate leaders in defeating the parochial measure were Ernest F. Hollings (D-SC), David L. Boren (D-OK), John H. Chafee (R-RI), and Lawton Chiles (D-FL).

Although the Senate defeat of tuition tax credits was a victory for public education and church-state separation and a defeat for the Radical Right, the battle goes on. The 1984 congressional elections will determine how the next showdown on tax credits turns out, assuming the issue does not come to a vote in 1984. But the next battlegrounds will probably be in the state legislatures. Since the Supreme Court last June upheld a Minnesota tuition tax deduction law, on the grounds that the aid was "attenuated" and that public schools come in for a miniscule portion of the aid, parochialists in many state legislatures are preparing similar bills. Education, labor, parents, civil liberties, and other public interest groups will need to organize effective coalition efforts to counter the pressures being built up by sectarian and Radical Right groups.

In other action, on September 23 the U.S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld a lower federal court ruling holding unconstitutional the placing of tax-paid teachers in parochial schools. The program had involved the city of Grand Rapids paying 470 teachers in 41 denominational private schools (28 Roman Catholic, 7 Christian Reformed, 3 Lutheran, 1 Baptist, 1 Seventh-Day Adventist, 1 secular), at a cost to taxpayers of \$3 million. The suit was brought by Jay Wabeke, who was recently elected to the ARL board of directors, with Albert Dilley as attorney. Wabeke and Dilley were honored with James Madison Awards by the Michigan ARL chapters on October 29.

Women's Rights

Women's rights did not fare too well in Congress in 1983. On November 15 the House of Representatives fell six votes short of passing the Equal Rights Amendment. A two-thirds majority is required for a constitutional amendment. The ERA came to the House floor under a limited debate, no amendments rule because the House leadership wanted a clear vote on the ERA, uncluttered with crippling amendments.

On November 14 President Reagan signed into law the stopgap Continuing Resolution, H.J. Res. 413, needed to keep several federal agencies running. Attached to the resolution was an amendment prohibiting federal employee health insurance plans from covering abortions except in cases of life endangerment. The anti-choice rider will be effective through September 30, 1984.

In other developments, since the Senate's and the Supreme Court's rejection of an anti-abortion amendment and anti-abortion statutes in June, harassment of abortion clinics has increased. Instances of harassment include impeding patients' access to clinics, telephone harassment, bomb threats, picketing, destruction of signs, photographing patients, damaging and defacing clinic property, car tires slashed, disruptive trespassing. Many clinics are forced to take

security measures, use legal processes against harassers, and provide clergy or other escort for patients.

Creationism-Evolution

Thanks to the efforts of People for the American Way and other groups, the ability of Radical Right censors in Texas to influence the content of textbooks used throughout the country may be weakening. Until this year, Radical Right critics of evolution and moderate content in textbooks were allowed to attack books up for adoption by the Texas Textbook Selection Committee. Those wishing to defend textbooks were not allowed to testify. National textbook publishers, not wishing to lose out in the lucrative Texas textbook market, were often willing to water down their books, especially biology texts, to be acceptable to the Texas Radical Right. This year, however, textbook supporters were allowed to testify before the Commission, raising hopes that censorship may decline.

The Texas State Board of Education, meanwhile, continues to require that textbooks teach evolution as "not fact, but theory," and to identify evolution "as only one of several explanations of the origins of humankind." People for the American Way has been leading the effort to get the Board to drop the rule, which PAW chairman John Buchanan stated in testimony

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How the Senate Voted

The following is a breakdown of how the Senate voted on November 16 to table President Reagan's tuition tax credit parochial proposal.

Voting against (to table) tax credits: Abdnor (R-SD), Andrews (R-ND), Baker (R-TN), Baucus (D-MT), Bentsen (D-TX), Biden (R-DE), Bingaman (D-NM), Boren (D-OK), Boschwitz (R-MN), Bumpers (D-AR), Burdick (D-ND), Byrd (D-WV), Chafee (R-RI), Chiles (D-FL), Cochran (R-MS), Cohen (R-ME), Dodd (D-CT), Domenici (R-NM), Eagleton (D-MO), Evans (R-WA), Exon (D-NE), Ford (D-KY), Garn (R-UT), Glenn (D-OH), Gorton (R-WA), Hart (D-CO), Hatfield (R-OR), Heflin (D-AL), Hollings (D-SC), Inouye (D-HI), Kassebaum (R-KS), Kennedy (D-MA), Lautenberg (D-NJ), Leahy (D-VT), Levin (D-MI), Mathias (R-MD), Matsunaga (D-HI), Mattingly (D-GA), Melcher (D-MT), Metzenbaum (D-OH), Mitchell (D-ME), Nickles (R-OK), Nunn (D-GA), Pell (D-RI), Percy (R-IL), Pressler (R-SD), Pryor (D-AR), Randolph (D-WV), Riegle (D-MI), Rudman (R-NH), Sarbanes (D-MD), Sasser (D-TN), Simpson (R-WY), Specter (R-PA), Stafford (R-VT), Stennis (D-MS), Tsongas (D-MA), Warner (R-VA), Weicker (R-CT).

Voting for tax credits: Armstrong (R-CO), Bradley (D-NJ), D'Amato (R-NY), Danforth (R-MO), DeConcini (D-AZ), Denton (R-AL), Dixon (D-IL), Dole (R-KS), Durenberger (R-MN), East (R-NC), Goldwater (R-AZ), Grassley (R-IA), Hatch (R-UT), Hawkins (R-FL), Hecht (R-NV), Helms (R-NC), Huddleston (D-KY), Humphrey (R-NH), Jepsen (R-IA), Johnston (D-LA), Kasten (R-WI), Laxalt (R-NV), Long (D-LA), Lugar (R-IN), McClure (R-ID), Moynihan (D-NY), Murkowski (R-AK), Packwood (R-OR), Proxmire (D-WI), Quayle (R-IN), Roth (R-DE), Stevens (R-AK), Symms (R-ID), Tower (R-TX), Tribble (R-VA), Wallop (R-WY), Wilson (R-CA), Zorinsky (D-NE).

Absent: Cranston (D-CA), Heinz (R-PA), Thurmond (R-SC).

Facing 1984, continued

processes scientists term evolution, certain fundamentalist activists are increasing their efforts to weaken the teaching of science and to give non-science equal time in science classes.

The new year could see two more states passing the necessary resolutions to bring on a constitutional crisis, the first constitutional convention since 1787, at which all of our constitutional liberties could be up for grabs.

Elections late next year will determine who will shape the Supreme Court, the watchdog of the Constitution, for the next crucial generation, and who will vote in Congress and state legislatures on matters affecting our basic freedoms.

Each and every citizen must view 1984 as

Creationism, continued

"wrongfully places religion in science classes, inhibits the teaching of evolution, damages the quality of our children's science education and violates our great democratic principle of church-state separation."

PAW is urging concerned citizens throughout the country to write to Joe

ARL in Action

Executive director Edd Doerr debated New Right columnist John Lofton on WTTG-TV in Washington in October, and appeared for two hours on WAMU-FM in Washington in September. In October he was interviewed on radio stations WEMU, WAAM, WIQB, and WPAG in Michigan.

Doerr spoke at the Hagerstown, MD, Unitarian Universalist Society on September 11, at the Washington Ethical Society on October 9, and at American University on October 10. He spoke on the threats to civil liberties of a national constitutional convention at a Maryland Citizens Action Coalition conference in Annapolis on December 3, and conducted a workshop on that subject at the November 5 conference of the Legislative Committee of Unitarian Universalists of Maryland.

Doerr serves on the national church-state committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, the executive committee of the National Coalition for Public Education and Religious Liberty, and the boards of the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights and the ACLU of Maryland. Americans for Religious Liberty is a member of the National Coalition for Public Education and Religious Liberty, the National Coalition for Public Education, Citizens to Protect the Constitution, and Marylanders for the Constitution.

the most critical year of our lifetimes. And those citizens who do not involve themselves, one way or another, in the process of shaping opinion and making public policy in constructive directions will be part of the problem.

Americans for Religious Liberty will be doing all it can as a public interest educational organization to defend the ideals and liberties of our secular democracy. We call upon all our members and supporters to give us the tools and strength to do the job that must be done. You can help with your checkbook, your time, your experience, and your abilities and strengths. We want 1984 to record ARL's significant growth in membership, new chapters, and influence.

The Orwellian nightmare can be avoided. You can help to head it off. ■

Kelly Butler, Chairman, Texas State Board of Education, 201 E. 11th St., Austin, TX 78701, to urge that the restrictions on teaching evolution be lifted.

Vatican Ambassador

On November 22 President Reagan signed a bill repealing the 1867 law barring funding for a U.S. ambassador to the Vatican. The measure, sponsored in the Senate by Sen. Richard Lugar (R-IN) and the House by the late Rep. Clement Zablocki, will now permit the President to name an ambassador, subject to Senate approval.

ARL and other groups have opposed a Vatican envoy on the ground that, since the Vatican is simply the headquarters of a church, diplomatic relations would violate the First Amendment by entangling the federal government with a church and by preferring one religious denomination over all others.

Resources

Available from ARL, P.O. Box 6656, Silver Spring, MD 20906.

A Delicate Balance: Church, State, and the Schools, by Martha M. McCarthy. An up-to-date, comprehensive yet concise (178 pp.) summary of Supreme Court and lower court rulings on religion in public education, government aid to religious schools, religious exemptions from public school programs, religious challenges to public school curriculum, and governmental regulation of parochial schools. An excellent basic resource for lawyer and layperson alike. \$6 plus \$1 for postage and handling.

American Freedom and the Radical Right, by ARL co-founder Edward L. Ericson. An excellent guide to the aims and methods of the movement bent on "piecemeal repeal of the Bill of Rights." \$4.95 plus \$1 for postage and handling.

"Will Religious Liberty Survive the 1980s?" Address by ARL executive director Edd Doerr. \$1 each includes postage and handling.

Pamphlets

"Tuition Tax Credits: Threat to Religious Liberty and Public Education."

"A New Constitutional Convention: Threat to the Bill of Rights."

"Creationism, Evolution, and the Public Schools."

"Prayer and the Public Schools."

10 for \$1; 75 for \$5. Titles may be mixed.

Available from ARL, P.O. Box 16, Franklin, MI 48025.

"Sex Education vs. the New Right," audio cassette of Dr. Sol Gordon's address to the Oakland County, MI, ARL chapter. \$10 each includes postage and handling.

Americans for Religious Liberty P.O. Box 6656, Silver Spring, MD 20906

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