



VOICE OF REASON

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The Newsletter of Americans for Religious Liberty

No. 40

The End of *Roe v. Wade*

R*oe v. Wade*, the U.S. Supreme Court's 1973 decision recognizing a fundamental constitutional right to freedom of conscience on abortion, will be dead by July 4, 1992. If *Roe* is not dispatched cleanly, it will be shot so full of holes that it might as well be dead.

Roe's demise will be at the hands of a Supreme Court packed by Presidents Reagan and Bush with justices selected largely for their indifference or hostility toward reproductive freedom. In 1989 the handwriting appeared on the wall when the Court, in *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*, upheld a Missouri law restricting abortion rights. The *Webster* ruling signalled that state legislatures could feel free to experiment with various ways to outlaw or restrict abortion rights.

Pennsylvania's legislature obliged with the law now before the Supreme Court. This bans abortion for sex selection (thus setting a precedent for subjecting women to an inquisition regarding their motives), bans abortion after six months (fewer than 100 per year are performed and almost invariably for sound medical reasons), requires spousal notification (which could increase wife-battering), requires a 24-hour waiting period (a particular hardship for poor and very young women), and mandates a list of "information" that must be shown to abortion patients regarding "risks and alternatives" to the procedure (but apparently not including information showing that first trimester abortions are considerably safer than carrying pregnancies to

(continued on page 2)

Senate Rejects Vouchers, School Prayer

January 23 was a red letter day for Americans who cherish religious freedom, church-state separation and common sense. The U.S. Senate turned down the Bush administration's so-called school choice experiment, which would have led to a voucher-aid program for private and parochial schools, by a lopsided 57-36 vote. Also rejected by 55 to 38 was an amendment sponsored by North Carolina Republican Senator Jesse Helms, to express the "sense of the Senate" that the U.S. Supreme Court reverse its school prayer decisions of 30 years ago.

Party differences were strong, especially on the voucher vote: 51 of 54 Democrats opposed the proposal, while 33 of 39 Republicans favored it. Only one Southern Democrat, John Breaux of Louisiana, voted yes, probably because of the large private school constituency in his state. Somewhat surprisingly, New Jersey's Bill Bradley and Connecticut's Joseph Lieberman favored the scheme. Lieberman, a staunch Orthodox Jew who also favored the Gulf War, is becoming the one Northern Democrat to support Bush's social and foreign policy ventures.

The school prayer vote found more than three-fourths of Democrats in opposition and two-thirds of Republicans in favor. However, 8 of 15 Southern Democrats opted for the school prayer amendment, including Texas Senator Lloyd Bentsen, the party's 1988 vice presidential nominee, and Sam Nunn of Georgia. The South is the least religiously pluralistic section of the country, the major factor in support of school prayer amendments of this nature. Support for school prayer was also

strong in the heavily Protestant Border states of Kentucky, Oklahoma, and West Virginia. (Even Jay Rockefeller voted yes.) The Senate's only ordained clergyperson, Missouri Republican John Danforth, an Episcopal priest, opposed the school prayer amendment. An unexpected no vote came from South Carolina Republican patriarch Strom Thurmond, who had always been a school prayer advocate.

Four Republicans—Cohen of Maine, Hatfield of Oregon, Specter of Pennsylvania, and Jeffords of Vermont—voted against both vouchers and school prayer. Louisiana's Breaux was the only Democrat to favor both.

Massachusetts Senator Edward Kennedy spoke out strongly against the school prayer proposal. Ohio's Howard Metzenbaum eloquently opposed the voucher scheme and observed, "Rather than providing disadvantaged children and their families with real choice and greater opportunities, in the long run so-called choice programs will actually contribute to the further segregation of our society along racial, economic and religious lines." ■

Inside . . .

A Bad Precedent? . . . Should Tax Dollars Subsidize Bigotry? . . . ARL's First Ten Years . . . Update . . . ARL in Action . . . Books . . .

The End of *Roe v. Wade*

continued from page 1

term and less traumatic than giving up babies for adoption).

Also in the wake of *Webster*, Utah, Louisiana, and the territory of Guam passed laws outlawing nearly all abortions. These laws are before lower federal courts, so it is the Pennsylvania case, *Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey*, on which the Supreme Court will be ruling.

The end of *Roe v. Wade* will mean that reproductive rights will be at the tender mercies of state legislatures, in all of which women are small minorities. State restrictions on abortion rights, whether passed in recent years or decades before *Roe*, will again have the force of law. Some states will retain relatively liberal laws; others will be so restrictive as to outlaw nearly all abortion. Women's reproductive rights will be subject to the whims of legislatures and will change radically from state to state.

In Maryland, for example, *Roe's* demise will reinstate a 1968 law which would outlaw over 90% of abortions, put clinics out of business, and subject women to inquisitions by hospital review committees.

The Maryland legislature, however, passed a bill in 1991 to place the *Roe* protections into state law. Unfortunately, opponents of freedom of conscience gathered sufficient voters' signatures on petitions to place the new law in limbo until it is voted up or down by the state's voters on November 3, 1992. Maryland pro-choice groups have formed a coalition, the Campaign to Save the Right to Choose (11231 Greenspring Avenue, Lutherville, MD 21093), to mobilize to win the referendum. Donations to the campaign are urgently needed, and Maryland residents who want to volunteer to help the Campaign are urged to write for information.

The Maryland referendum may be the only one in the country this year, so it is vitally important that the state's freedom of choice law be upheld. Half of the members of the U.S. Congress live in Maryland, so it is urgent they be sent the message that Americans will not stand for government interference with reproductive rights.

Citizens in all states will need to work to protect choice by electing people to national and state legislative and executive

offices who are committed to upholding freedom of conscience.

In addition, support is needed to get Congress to pass the Freedom of Choice Act, S. 25 in the Senate, H.R. 25 in the House. This bill provides that "a State may not restrict the right of a woman to choose to terminate a pregnancy (1) before fetal viability [about 24 weeks]; or at any time, if such termination is necessary to protect the life or health of the woman." The bill adds that, "A State may impose requirements medically necessary to protect the life or health of women" choosing abortions.

National pro-choice organizations are urging concerned citizens to urge their Representatives (address: House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515; phone 202-224-3121) and Senators (address: U.S. Senate, Washington, DC 20510; phone 202-224-3121) to support and even sign on as sponsors of H.R. 25 or S. 25.

In addition, as the Supreme Court has upheld the Reagan-Bush "gag rule" on federally funded family planning clinics—they may not discuss the abortion option with women with problem pregnancies—pro-choice groups are urging support for H.R. 3090 and S. 323, the House and Senate versions of the Title X Pregnancy Counseling Act. President Bush defeated an effort to deny him funds to implement the "gag rule" when he vetoed the Labor HHS Appropriations bill in 1991.

Tom Paine warned in 1776 that "what we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly." He could have been referring to *Roe v. Wade*, the abortion rights decision, which a wiser Supreme Court handed us in 1973.

"These are the times that try men's [and women's] souls," as Paine began his *Crisis* papers, "yet we have this consolation, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph." Winning back the gains for women's rights and freedom of conscience once "guaranteed" by the Supreme Court in *Roe* will be a hard won triumph to be savored. ■

MOVING?

Please send a change of address form to **Americans for Religious Liberty**, P.O. Box 6656, Silver Spring, MD 20916.

Voice of Reason is the quarterly newsletter of **Americans for Religious Liberty**, P.O. Box 6656, Silver Spring, MD 20916. (Telephone: 301/598-2447.) The newsletter is sent to all contributors to ARL.

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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 its purposes. Annual dues are \$20 for individuals, \$25 for families, \$10 for students and limited income.

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Should Tax Dollars Subsidize Bigotry?

Should public funds be used, through vouchers or other means, to support schools where material such as the following is routinely taught in history and literature classes?

- The Catholic Church “enslaves man,” is a “wicked, corrupted system which insured the people’s intellectual and spiritual ignorance by depriving them of God’s infallible word and destroyed more Bibles than the pagan emperors.” Catholic teachings and practices are continually labeled “blasphemous” and “pagan,” and the contributions of Catholics to U.S. and European history are downplayed, ignored or distorted.

- The Episcopal Church, which has given our country the largest number of Presidents and two-thirds of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, is repeatedly ridiculed. It and its sister, the Church of England, are “dead in ritualism and rationalism,” “serve mainly a ceremonial function,” lost their “scriptural authority,” and “without constitutional safeguard would destroy evangelical churches.” “Such religion,” we are told, “had little effect upon upper-class morality and left the masses little better than barbarians.”

- Quakers are “unbiblical” and “dangerous to biblical Christianity.”

- Religious liberalism is “only a modern form of the paganism of Christ’s day.” Theological liberalism “has steadily undermined the nation’s religious inheritance,” “attempts to accommodate Christianity to a godless modern view of the world,” and “deliberately elevates man’s mind over God’s.”

- The Greek Orthodox Church “claims to teach correct doctrine but many of her beliefs are contrary to Scripture.”

- The Mormon Church is a “cult.” The proliferation of many religions in a nation which cherishes religious freedom is not seen as a positive good. “All these false versions of true religion and worship contribute to the growing theological anarchy of a nation whose people do merely what seems right in their own eyes,” says a 1991 American literature text published by Bob Jones University Press.

- Secular humanism is “a substitute religion, glorifying the creation rather than the Creator . . . like Satan’s deception of Eve, secular humanism has tempted modern man with the false promise of becoming like God,” trumpets the same text.

Most of America’s major writers are treated with contempt. A newly published American literature text asserts that, “Having rebelled against Christianity and its promise of heaven or hell, writers lived only for the fleeting moment.” Poet Robert Frost “rejected God’s word as the standard for human life.” Carl Sandburg’s poems “served as vehicles for his socialistic views” and “his moral values and view of man are not those of the Word of God.” H.L. Mencken “openly repudiated the nation’s inherited system of values and beliefs.” Emily Dickinson “clearly rejected traditional Christianity.”

The above views are taught as history and literature in a series of textbooks published by Bob Jones University Press in Greenville, SC, the largest publisher of textbooks used in fundamentalist Christian schools, the fastest growing sector of American private education.

Americans and British writers are not judged on merit or from an accepted standard of universal interpretation. Instead, their religious views are dissected, and students are warned that literary craftspeople represent apostasy, pessimism, and despair. No appreciation is expressed for the literary life or the life of the mind.

Religious bias permeates the presentation of history. For example, the Bob Jones University textbook on world history has not followed the lead recommended by most Christian churches, including the Vatican, regarding the imputation of deicide to the Jewish people. This text still teaches the following: “The Jewish religious leaders, whose blindness and hypocrisy Jesus had denounced, sought to put Him to death. They brought Christ before the Roman governor Pontius Pilate, charging that Christ had disrupted the state. . . . Although Pilate found no fault in Jesus, he desired to maintain the peace. Giving in to the Jewish demands, he sentenced Jesus to death by crucifixion.”

God is said to have used the Renaissance and the printing press to weaken Catholicism and then “used Luther to break Rome’s hold by establishing biblical authority . . . and replacing Rome’s pagan system of works.” God caused the Reformation, the defeat of the Spanish Armada, and “refused to answer the prayers” of Spain’s king, according to the widely used history text.

Here are some more unique views of history found in these fundamentalist textbooks:

- The French and Indian wars “were in part an effort to preserve biblical Protestantism in America.”

- One reason for the Civil War was the South’s desire to preserve its Protestant identity. (In fact, both North and South were predominantly Protestant, and Jefferson Davis’s Cabinet included Catholics and Jews, unlike that of Lincoln.)

- Those who drafted the Constitution were “men of Christian principle, products of Puritanism, who accepted biblical principles . . . as the basis for human law.” Furthermore, “The hand of God was obvious in the adoption, ratification and support of the Constitution.”

- The Louisiana Purchase “resulted more from God’s providence than from Jefferson’s ingenuity.”

(continued on page 5)

**Join Us in Washington
on April 5, 1992, for the**

MARCH FOR WOMEN’S LIVES

Marchers will begin gathering at 10:00 a.m. at the Ellipse (between the White House and the Washington Monument). The march to the Capitol will begin at 12:00 noon.

At 9:30 a.m. an interfaith worship service for women’s rights will be held at the Sylvan Theater at the Washington Monument.

For further information call:
Americans for Religious Liberty
(301) 598-2447

A Bad Precedent?

In a February cover story a *Time* magazine investigative team led by Carl Bernstein revealed that President Ronald Reagan and Pope John Paul II secretly joined forces to bring down the Communist regime in Poland. And while most Americans would probably approve of the final result, they may not be so accepting of the high degree of church-state collusion and entanglement which brought about the change in Poland.

According to the report, "One of Reagan's earliest goals as President was to recognize the Vatican." He also selected a key team—William Casey, Richard Allen, William Clark, Alexander Haig, Vernon Walters, and William Wilson, all of whom were "devout Roman Catholics," says *Time*. Reagan and the Pope exchanged sensitive information, and took steps to make sure that the U.S.-Vatican entente was not known to the American public. "Almost everything having to do with Poland was handled outside of normal State Department channels," the report reveals. Vatican diplomat Pio Laghi "came to the White House on at least six occasions" and met secretly with the President or his top advisers. "Each time he entered the White House through the southwest gate to avoid reporters," adds *Time*. Archbishop Laghi told *Time* that he informed the White House, "Listen to the Holy Father. We have 2,000 years' experience at this."

An even more disturbing revelation is that the United States changed its position on birth control and abortion as a result of Vatican pressure. Vatican Secretary of State Cardinal Casaroli admitted, "There was a real coincidence of interests between the U.S. and the Vatican." *Time* concludes: "In response to concerns of the Vatican, the Reagan Administration agreed to alter its foreign-aid program to comply with the church's teaching on birth control." As a result, the U.S. banned funds to any nations or international health organizations which promoted birth control or abortion.

The United States' first ambassador to the Vatican, California businessman and Reagan pal William Wilson, told *Time* that the U.S. "selected different programs and abandoned others as a result of [Vatican] intervention."

This is not all. *Time* also reported that the Reagan White House "consulted with the Vatican on other matters" and "adopted policies favoring the interests of the church and Maronite Christians in Lebanon."

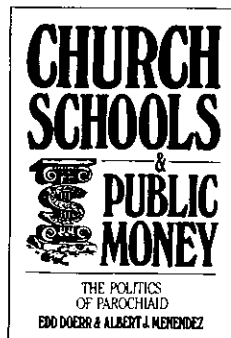
Many Americans will question whether this "Holy Alliance" is in the long-range interests of the United States and whether it is in harmony with our constitutional principles. Regrettably, neither the federal courts nor the Congress seem to care. ■

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Should Tax Dollars Subsidize Bigotry?

continued from page 3

● Evolution, it is said, is “unsupported by scientific law or investigation. . . . The main selling point for evolution is not that it has abundant support, but that it explains the universe without referring to God, and so it relieves man of any responsibility to his Creator.” The Scopes trial of 1925 is dismissed as “a mockery of those who believed that the Bible was the Word of God.” Those who accept Darwin’s explanations are called “sinful men [who] demonstrated their rebellion against God and His Word.”

● The Puritans and their society are seen as models to be emulated. “They were able to establish a civil society that was governed by Bible-believing Christians.” Their repression of dissenters is whitewashed as understandable in a society “that emphasized morality and respected the Bible.” The Puritan colonies attracted pure Christians while Roger Williams’ Rhode Island experiment in freedom “encouraged many religious malcontents to settle there.”

● Most early immigrants to the U.S. were “hardworking and thrifty Protestants” but Catholic immigrants soon “poured in” and “aroused fear and resentment among Protestants and others who feared the potential political power of the Roman church.” Immigrants “aggravated labor unrest.”

● Black Americans are treated with relative indifference and are always referred to as Negroes, even in 1991 editions. Students are reminded that “the Bible does not specifically condemn slavery.” The treatment of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. is far from friendly. “Because he couched his speeches in peaceful terminology, he gained a reputation as a man of peace; he was even awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964. . . . King had become a symbol of civil rights; his death brought violence and destruction in several part of the country. Like Kennedy, he was viewed by many as a martyr for human rights; his increasing shift to the left, especially in the last year of his life, was soon forgotten.”

● Native Americans are treated with disdain. “The concept of sin was foreign to the Indian culture; discipline was intended to teach children to survive rather than to make them moral. This amoral philosophy was often discouraging to Christian missionaries, who found it difficult to teach Indians the difference between right and wrong. . . . The Indian culture typified heathen civilization—lost in darkness without the light of the gospel.”

● The United Nations is “unbiblical.”

● Imperialism is seen as a positive good because it was “a means by which the gospel was spread to the far corners of the globe.”

● President Franklin D. Roosevelt was a failure. His programs “did more harm than good.”

● The Peace Corps is “less than successful.”

● Many of Senator Joseph McCarthy’s “accusations were true” but “the liberal media soon discredited him.”

● The Warren Court “attempted to remold society.”

● Labor unions “create turmoil,” and fail “to govern the greed of their members.” Furthermore, “most of the major labor strikes in our history have been immoral.”

If sectarian special interests, ultraconservative critics of public education (and sometimes even of the very idea of public education itself), and their political allies succeed in getting Congress and/or state legislatures to create voucher plans for supporting nonpublic schools, and if a Supreme Court dominated by Reagan and Bush appointees upholds such programs,

American taxpayers will find themselves supporting the kinds of indoctrination and bigotry cited above.

Public subsidization of nonpublic schools using such textbooks would not only offend most taxpayers, but it would also stunt the education of hundreds of thousands of children and increase social and interfaith tensions. While the fundamentalist schools using these books might claim to be open to children of all faiths, few if any parents are likely to enroll their children in a school which systematically denigrates all faiths and world views other than Protestant fundamentalism. Nor would teachers of nonfundamentalist persuasions be likely to be hired by or comfortable teaching in such schools.

It is bad enough that fundamentalist schools offer such bigoted, slanted curricula to impressionable students, which is their legal right, but tax support for such institutions would add substantial injury to insult.

— Albert J. Menendez

ARL in Action

ARL president John M. Swomley testified as an expert witness before the Kansas Senate Federal and State Affairs Committee on March 9 in favor of pro-choice legislation previously approved by the House. Dr. Swomley also spoke recently before church and clergy audiences in Albuquerque, NM, and in Kansas and Missouri.

Articles by ARL’s Edd Doerr and Al Menendez appear in a new college textbook, *Education in America: Opposing Viewpoints*, published by Greenhaven Press in San Diego. One article, reprinted from the Winter 1991 *Voice of Reason*, presents the case against including denominational schools in tax-funded school choice programs. The other, excerpted from their new book, *Religion and Public Education: Common Sense and the Law*, deals with the question of government sponsored prayer in public schools. The book will be reviewed in our next issue.

Copies of ARL research director Al Menendez’s report in this issue, “Should Tax Dollars Subsidize Bigotry?,” have been sent to every member of the U.S. House of Representatives, where an effort is likely to be made to amend the Neighborhood School Improvement bill to include voucher support for nonpublic schools.

ARL executive director Edd Doerr recently addressed the U.S. Department of State’s Foreign Service Institute and the American Medical Students Association conference, plus church and other audiences in Bethesda, Potomac, Reisterstown, Baltimore, Adelphi, Rockville, and Bel Air, MD. He also appeared as a guest on radio talk shows in Providence, RI, Pittsburgh, PA, and Washington, DC, and debated fundamentalist leader Tim LaHaye on the Christian Broadcast Network.

ARL's First Ten Years

Americans for Religious Liberty completed its first ten years in March 1992. From its modest beginnings, it has grown to a membership of over 8,000 and has made an impact on the national scene well out of proportion to its small size. It has submitted important amicus curiae briefs to the Supreme Court and is supporting federal court litigation challenging religious liberty and church-state separation violations. Its president and executive director have addressed audiences from coast to coast. In the last three years ARL has published four significant books covering the major current religious liberty problem areas. (An interesting bit of trivia: ARL's staff, board, and advisory board members have published an aggregate total of nearly 1,000 books and uncounted thousands of articles.)

To mark ARL's tenth anniversary, its principal founders, Edward L. Ericson and Sherwin T. Wine, contributed the following articles.

Edward L. Ericson

The events that led to the birth of ARL read like a fictional adventure in serendipity. (Readers will recall that the word was coined by Walpole from a tale in which a series of remarkable chance encounters produces astonishing results.)

Two separate beginnings—in Michigan and New York—each unknown and unrelated to the other—led to the ultimate formation of ARL as it exists today. I took the initiative in New York City and Rabbi Sherwin Wine did similarly in Michigan. Each of us contemplated a nationwide effort to defend secular democracy and the separation of church and state.

During the presidential campaign of 1980, I became increasingly concerned by the strident attacks of the Radical Right on religious diversity and the principles of secular public education. When that September, following summer recess, I opened the new season of the New York Society for Ethical Culture, where I served as Senior Leader, I announced my determination to organize a broadly-based grassroots movement to counter the New Right's political juggernaut.

At a Sunday meeting devoted to this challenge, a well-known Unitarian layman, Donald Field, chanced to be present and offered to help organize our fledgling effort, especially to involve Unitarian Universalists. The Rev. Carl Flemister, Executive Minister of the American Baptist Churches of Metropolitan New York—a respected black leader of an integrated denomination—also joined in. My friends Isaac Asimov and his wife Dr. Janet Jeppson were early and generous supporters.

Through his Unitarian Universalist connections, Don Field recruited Sen. Frank Church to be our principal speaker at a

mass rally, held in February, 1981 at the Ethical Society Meetinghouse. More than 1600 people packed the main hall and wired lecture rooms of the Society, with hundreds of others turned away. Recently defeated for reelection by an anti-abortion crusade, Sen. Church warned us that the nation was in for a period of repressive legislation and hate-driven politics. Church readily consented to be the first name on our National Advisory Board and was an enthusiastic supporter until his death from cancer not long after.

As a result of these and other efforts, we were able to expand our network of concerned activists from the Atlantic states to California. Only then we chanced to learn that Rabbi Sherwin Wine and a supportive group in Michigan—during the same interval—were engaged in a virtually identical effort. Although Rabbi Wine and I had known each other in earlier years, neither of us knew of the other's undertaking. Once we discovered the coincidence, it was short work to agree that the two efforts should be merged. Americans for Religious Liberty is the outcome of that resolution.

But the crowning stroke of serendipity occurred at the very conference that united our endeavor. Edd Doerr—already recognized as one of the leading champions of church-state separation in the nation—stepped forward and volunteered to direct a fully professional national office in Washington. Both Rabbi Wine and I had previously known and worked with Edd on public affairs issues. There was no question that his leadership would bring success and distinction to the new organization.

But our combined budget was sufficient only to cover printing costs and mailings, since all previous services had been rendered by volunteers. Despite this, Edd generously offered to accept the post of full-time executive director without compensation until such time as a salary could be gradually phased in. Without this devoted sacrifice by Edd, his wife, and their family, we would not today enjoy the dynamic national presence that ARL has attained. Our staff has been augmented by Edd's capable assistant Marie Gore and indefatigable researcher-writer Al Menendez.

As we look back upon the decade that has transpired since ARL's beginnings, it is fully evident that the concern that motivated us to organize was fully justified. Two consecutive presidents have assiduously aided and abetted the Radical Right's social agenda. Piecemeal undermining of the First Amendment by crippling equivocation is required of judges to be considered for appointment to the Supreme Court. The lower courts—from which future Supreme Court justices will be selected—are being filled with right-wing ideologues who must pass the litmus tests of anti-abortion, school prayer, and Willy Horton jurisprudence. The Chief Justice, zealous point-man for the assault on First Amendment freedoms, has contemp-

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tuously shrugged off Jefferson's "wall of separation" between church and state as bad history and bad law. Justice Rehnquist obviously pretends never to have read Madison's historic *Memorial and Remonstrance Against Religious Assessments*, when he perversely claims "original intent" to justify breaching that wall.

Those who contended a decade ago that we were overreacting to the danger posed by the Extreme Right—and many in the liberal, moderate, and responsible conservative communities made that mistake—have been proved grievously, perilously wrong. The constitutional barbarians were even then at the gates. They now occupy the inner temple.

Those who love "freedom, tolerance, and diversity in moral, religious, and intellectual life"—the announced values of our fledgling grassroots organization—need Americans for Religious Liberty more than ever before. On ARL's tenth anniversary, which roughly coincides with the two-hundredth anniversary of the Bill of Rights, Americans are faced once again with the necessity to struggle to regain lost ground and safeguard our imperiled human rights.

Sherwin T. Wine

Ten years ago the Voice of Reason was established in Michigan to fight Jerry Falwell and the Moral Majority. Reagan was our new president. The invasion of Afghanistan had revived the Cold War. Political fundamentalism was feeling the euphoria of political victory.

Jerry Falwell assaulted the foundations of the secular state. He demanded prayer in the public schools. He called for the purification of educational literature. He insisted that creationism belonged in the science classroom. He equated the neutral stand of state secularity with a religion called "secular humanism" and insisted that it receive no more state support.

We were frightened because political fundamentalism is different from religious fundamentalism. Religious fundamentalism is a religious option and has been around for many centuries. As long as the state did not interfere with its freedom of action it was willing to accept the secular state. In fact, its historic dislike for the Catholic Church made it an ardent defender of the secular state against Catholic Church encroachment. But political fundamentalism is different. It is a deliberate campaign by radical conservative Protestants to take over the government of the United States and to remold the lives of Americans to conform to fundamentalist ideals. Religious neutrality is anathema to political fundamentalists. They want a "Christian America," using their own constricted definition of "Christian."

In 1981 everything seemed to be going well for the supporters of the Radical Religious Right. They had a painful recession. They had a resurgent aggressive Communism. They had crime and moral decay in the cities of America. They had a disillusioned progressive movement exhausted from the Vietnam War. They had a declining and confused Protestant establishment. They had a secure base in a revived South, angry over Black power, affirmative action and civil liberties.

They brought to these unearned assets their own genius and commitment—a simple explanation for complex ills, absolute certainty on moral and life style issues, armies of well-trained and enthusiastic volunteers, the willingness to infiltrate the Republican Party and to elect its own spokespersons, and the foresight to blend the message of the past with the media technology of

the future.

In the end, political fundamentalists did not achieve their political goal. They failed to take power. The campaign of Pat Robertson was their final gasp of the 1980s. Scandal, the decline of communism and insufficient numbers subverted their effort. But they did succeed in changing the political leadership and the American political agenda. The demand for radical religious solutions to America's "moral decay" was still abroad. And they had managed to forge an alliance with their historic enemy, the conservative Catholics, to fight legal freedom of choice on abortion.

Today the Radical Right is making a new appearance, a more dangerous one than that of Jerry Falwell and the Moral Majority. David Duke and Patrick Buchanan have made their political debut. They add racism and chauvinism to the pleas for a Christian America. The context of their messages is an economic recession far deeper and far more serious than that of ten years ago. Americans are filled with fear about the future. And they are looking for simple and clear answers to their problems.

Ironically, the fall of Communism has not served to diffuse the fundamentalist message. It has mainly served to discredit the Left and all its causes. Secularism and socialism seem to go together in the eyes of many people. The secular state and interventionist economies are a team in the fantasies of the new propaganda. Deep religious commitment is equated with the love of freedom. Religious faith is touted as the foundation of a moral democracy. All the "crazies" of the Right—anti-Black, anti-Oriental, antisemitic—who were reluctant to speak out before have been given courage by their comrades in Eastern Europe who now openly proclaim fascist alternatives to Communism more frightening than institutional Communism.

With the absence of the Communist enemy, the new enemy of the Right in America may be a trio of "welfare Blacks," Jews and secular humanists. This odd combination may be joined by a backlash against all non-white foreigners, especially the hated Japanese. The racism of David Duke will be joined to the neo-isolationism of Pat Buchanan and the fundamentalist credo of Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell. The code word for this terrifying mish-mash will be "Christian America." The election of 1992 will be a mean election. Both establishment Republicans and Democrats will feel the fury of the revived Radical Right. And they will have a hard time resisting the demands of their opponents. The call for school prayer, "Bible values" and "right to life" will be combined with appealing cries for protective tariffs and walls against immigrants.

(continued on page 8)

Bush's Test

The U.S. Constitution, at Article VI, stipulates that "no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States." But, speaking to 1,700 people at the National Religious Broadcasters conference on January 27, President Bush declared that "You cannot be America's President without a belief in God or a belief in prayer."

ARL's First Ten Years

continued from page 7

If ever there was a need for a voice of reason, now is the time. Hard times and the new confidence of the Radical Right will make the advocacy of a secular state difficult and controversial. We have no choice but to speak out as we spoke out ten years ago.

The secular state, which we offer as the alternative to the vision of the proponents of a "Christian America" rests on four foundations. The first is personal freedom, the right of individuals to choose their life style, with no interference from government or private associations. The second is religious freedom, the refusal of the state to endorse or support any particular religious or anti-religious movement and the refusal of

the state to participate in the affairs of any denomination. The third is the defense of science and rational inquiry from the encroachments of religious dogma, especially in public schools and universities. And the fourth is the promotion of civic virtue through the public teaching of responsible self-discipline, compassion and tolerance, these values deriving their authority not only from religious faith but also from shared reason and common sense.

The secular state will not cure our economic woes. But it will protect our human dignity. Both the American Bill of Rights and the French Declaration of Human Rights were its founding documents. Although they have just celebrated their 200th anniversaries, the political vision they offer is still extremely vulnerable. They need our help to survive. ■

Update

Reproductive Rights

The U.S. Supreme Court will hear oral argument on April 22 in *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*, the challenge to Pennsylvania's restrictive abortion law. Hundreds of organizations, including ARL, will file *amicus curiae* briefs on that day supporting freedom of conscience on abortion. In addition, 146 members of Congress and more than 1000 elected officials have joined in briefs calling for the Court to reaffirm *Roe v. Wade*.

The U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals heard oral argument on February 6 in *Sojourner T. v. Roemer*, a challenge to Louisiana's anti-choice law, which bans nearly all abortions and some forms of contraception in the state. The law defines human life as beginning upon contact of sperm and egg. Doctors violating the law would face 10 years of prison at hard labor and fines ranging up to \$100,000.

Utah, seeking to avoid a lengthy and damaging trial detailing the effects of its law banning nearly all abortions, has asked a federal court for summary judgment in its favor without hearing any witnesses. Plaintiffs in *Jane L. v. Bangerter* are insisting on a fair trial so as to establish a record for appeal. Utah is also asking that all the religious plaintiffs be dismissed, apparently out of fear that the court will find the anti-choice law related to the Mormon religion of the majority of Utah lawmakers and thus suspect on church-state grounds.

Missouri's 1983 law prohibiting health insurance coverage for abortions, except those to protect a woman's life or if a woman pays an extra charge for an optional rider, was upheld on March 2 by the Eighth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Louis. The court held that the restriction did not place an "undue burden" on women. Missouri is the only state to have this restriction, as similar laws in Pennsylvania and Rhode Island were earlier ruled unconstitutional.

A January poll by Hickman-Brown Public Opinion Research showed that 62% of registered voters believe that *Roe v. Wade* "was a good decision to begin with" and that the Supreme Court would make "a bad change in the law" if they overturn it. An even larger majority, 69%, favor a federal Freedom of Choice Act. More than 60% of Republicans and 65% of Republican women favor a Freedom of Choice Act.

A majority of Marylanders say they will vote for a pro-choice bill on the election ballot on November 3, according to a February poll by the *Baltimore Sun*. In response to the question,

"Would you support a law allowing abortion up to the point when a fetus could survive, or later if the mother's life is at stake or if the fetus is deformed?" 57% said they would vote for the measure, 31% said they would vote against, and 12% didn't know how they would vote. (See our feature story "The End of *Roe v. Wade*" for more details.)

State legislatures are considering bills to restrict abortion rights in Alabama (SB 267 would ban all abortions except those to save a woman's life); Georgia (HB 1522 would bar parents of impaired children from suing on "wrongful birth" grounds); Iowa (parental notification for minors); Kentucky (HB 479 would require parental consent or physician certification of medical emergency; HB 565 is similar to the Pennsylvania law now before the Supreme Court); Michigan (SB 141 would require mandatory delays and doctor "lectures"); Missouri (HB 1048, to ban nearly all abortions, held in committee by an 8-8 vote); Virginia (one-parent notification bill sent to Gov. Wilder). In more favorable developments, the Kansas House has passed HR 2788, a pro-choice bill; West Virginia lawmakers have defeated an attempt to restrict state Medicaid funding for low-income women's abortion services.

A Planned Parenthood clinic in Helena, MT, and an abortion clinic in Beaumont, TX, were both destroyed by fire in February. Officials suspect arson in both cases.

Buffalo, NY, will be targeted for mass anti-choice demonstrations led by Operation Rescue beginning on April 20. Although the City Council has voted to bar the group from setting up blockades, Mayor James Griffin has said that Randall Terry and his demonstrators are "welcome" in the city. State Attorney General Robert Abrams has filed a federal lawsuit against Terry, seeking to bar demonstrators from blockading either of Buffalo's two clinics, from photographing people entering clinics, and from picketing the homes of clinic staff members. Mayor Griffin declared: "I think they should get rid of all the abortionists in a nice legal way. An abortionist is probably on a level with reporters. I don't know who's worse." Buffalo is hoping to avoid the mess which Operation Rescue caused in its 6-week siege of clinics last summer in Wichita, Kansas, which led to more than 2,600 arrests and cost the city and county over \$550,000 in police overtime and law enforcement expenses, plus \$293,000 for federal marshalls ordered in by a federal judge.

Efforts to initiate an anti-choice amendment on the Wyoming

ballot have apparently failed. Anti-choice forces could not gather enough verified signatures.

Scout Discrimination Wins Round

On March 13 Chicago federal district judge Ilana Rovner ruled that the Boy Scouts of America are not covered by the 1964 U.S. Civil Rights Act. Marc Welsh and his father Elliott had used the act to challenge religious discrimination in admissions to the Scouts. The Chicago ruling may not affect the outcome of a similar case in state court in California, *Randall v. Orange County Council of Boy Scouts of America*, in which a ruling is due shortly. Whether *Welsh v. BSA* will be appealed has not yet been decided. Americans for Religious Liberty has been supporting the Welshes in their challenge to religious discrimination by the scouting organization.

'Religious Freedom Restoration Act'

Efforts are gathering momentum in Congress to rectify the Supreme Court's 1990 ruling in *Employment Division v. Smith* which undermined individual religious freedom. Justice Scalia's ruling in that case overturned years of settled law by holding that "facially neutral" laws or regulations which restrict religious conduct "need not be justified by a compelling state interest." The case concerned sacramental use of the drug peyote by Native Americans, who have used the drug sacramentally since well before Europeans took over North America. The *Smith* ruling especially damages religious minorities who have no hope of legislative redress.

A broad coalition of mainstream religious and other groups, including ARL and the ACLU, the Coalition for the Free Exercise of Religion, is supporting the Religious Freedom Restoration Act, H.R. 2797, in the U.S. House of Representatives, which as of mid-March had 160 House co-sponsors. The RFRA would require government to have a "compelling interest" to be able to deny religious freedom claims. (For example, the state would have a "compelling interest" in forbidding religion-based human sacrifice.) The coalition supporting the RFRA is urging concerned citizens to ask their Representatives (c/o House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515) to support H.R. 2797.

Meanwhile, the Catholic Church hierarchy and some fundamentalist leaders are trying to derail the RFRA, which they erroneously claim would support abortion rights, by promoting a rival bill, H.R. 4040. This curious bill, while ostensibly aimed at overturning the *Smith* ruling, adds language aimed at blocking litigation which might seek to challenge restrictions on abortion rights, which might challenge "the tax status of any other person," or which might challenge "the use or disposition of government funds or property derived from or obtained with tax revenues." These provisions are obviously designed to inhibit legal efforts to defend abortion rights, to challenge tax aid to church institutions, or to seek enforcement of tax laws affecting political activity by churches. H.R. 4040, then, is nothing but a slick effort to weaken church-state separation.

Baird v. Eisenstadt Anniversary

March 22 marked the 20th anniversary of the Supreme Court's historic 1972 ruling in *Baird v. Eisenstadt*, the ruling on contraception that set the stage for the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* ruling. In *Baird* the Court held that, "if the right of privacy means anything, it is the right of the individual, married or single, to be free

from unwarranted government intrusion into matters so fundamentally affecting a person as the decision to bear or beget a child."

Baird came seven years after the Court's ruling in *Griswold v. Connecticut* that married couples have a "fundamental and basic" privacy right to practice contraception.

The *Baird* ruling came 5 years after Bill Baird was arrested by the Boston Police Vice Squad for lecturing on birth control and handing out sample contraceptives to students at the packed Boston University Hayden Auditorium.

Baird, who has never received adequate recognition for his pioneering work for reproductive rights, still runs the Parents Aid Society in Hempstead, NY, a birth control and abortion counseling agency serving poor and minority women. On March 20 Baird spoke at Boston University to mark the 25th anniversary of his arrest there in 1967.

Federal Parochialism Nixed Again

Public school districts may not lease church buildings or place mobile classrooms on church school grounds to provide federally funded remedial education services to parochial students. So ruled federal district judge William H. Orrick of San Francisco on December 31 in *Walker v. San Francisco Unified School District*. In 1985 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Aguilar v. Felton* that federally funded remedial services could not be provided on the grounds of sectarian schools.

Hasidic District Unconstitutional

A separate religiously segregated public school district, created by the New York State legislature in 1989 to serve exclusively members of the Satmar Hasidic Jewish sect, was ruled in January to violate both the New York and U.S. Constitutions by the Albany County State Supreme Court. Residents of the Hasidic enclave, the Village of Kiryas Joel, who send most of their children to private religious schools, demanded the special public school district for children requiring special education. They refused to send them to regular public schools. The suit was brought by the State School Boards Association.

Justice Lawrence E. Kahn concluded that "this school district was created solely and exclusively to meet religious needs. Such a law clearly violates the establishment of religion clause of both the State and Federal Constitution. The establishment of a governmental unit, in this case, a school district, constitutes a most direct affront to the establishment clause. The legislation is an attempt to camouflage, with secular garments, a religious community as a public school district." The court found that the statute had no secular purpose, had the effect of "advancing, protecting and fostering the religious beliefs of the inhabitants of the school district," and fostered "excessive entanglements with religion."

Justice Kahn added that, "The strength of our democracy is that a multitude of religious, ethnic and racial groups can live side by side with respect for each other. The uniqueness of religious values, as observed by the Satmar Sect, is especially to be admired as non-conformity becomes increasingly more difficult to sustain. However, laws cannot be enacted to advance and endorse such parochial needs in violation of our deep-rooted principle of separation of Church and State."

Defendants in the suit, including the state education department, state officials, and the Kiryas Joel school district, said they would probably appeal the ruling.

Evolution 1, Creationism 0 in Orange County

John Pelozo, a biology teacher in the Capistrano Unified School District in California, has lost his federal court suit charging that the school district had wrongfully reprimanded him for adding fundamentalist creationism in his science class lectures. Federal judge David W. Williams ruled on January 16 that Pelozo, whom he characterized as a "loose cannon," has no right to teach theories of his own choosing which "are not authorized by and are prohibited by the state Board of Education curriculum."

School Superintendent James A. Fleming commented that Pelozo's "religious view has no place in the teaching of a public school's biology class. I sincerely hope that Mr. Pelozo and his advisers reconsider their position to appeal this case."

Judge Williams said Capistrano Valley students have a right to be taught biology without religious bias and disagreed with Pelozo's assertion that he has a right to speak to students during lunch hours and free time about creationism.

The judge dismissed Pelozo's claim that he wants only to teach his own brand of science. Pelozo "has not comported himself in the manner of one who only wants to teach science," the judge said. "In the classroom he has stated more than once that he is a creationist and does not believe in the theory of evolution. Additionally, plaintiff has had various conversations with members of his class, espousing his Christian views."

The issue arose in February 1991 when school officials told Pelozo to stop proselytizing, to cease teaching creationism, and instead to follow district guidelines that evolution be taught as the scientific explanation of the development of organisms, including humans. According to the reprimand, Pelozo had told his students that he saw Jesus Christ save his brother and sister and told students they will go to hell if they are not Christians.

Colorado Vouchers Dead

Promoters of a voucher scheme for tax support of nonpublic schools in Colorado have failed to get the necessary 49,729 signatures on petitions for a November referendum on the issue. The main promoter is Hugh Fowler, former Republican Chair of the State Senate Education Committee. Fowler had also failed in a similar 1990-petition drive. The Republican-dominated House turned down a watered-down voucher plan in 1991 on church-state separation grounds.

Tom Tancredo, regional director of the Bush administration's Department of Education and long time Fowler ally, said that people who support vouchers "seem to melt away" when the time comes to back the idea in practice.

Colorado Republican Party chair Bruce Benson told the press that a voucher initiative may still be brought up this year.

Mixed Rulings on Crosses

San Diego Federal district judge Gordon Thompson, Jr., ruled in January that a 35-foot-high concrete cross, erected on Mt. Helix in 1925 on land later deeded to San Diego County, must be removed. The court also ruled that the cross logo must be removed from the seal of the LaMesa police department. The same month federal district judge John Vukasin ruled in San Francisco that the city does not have to remove a 103-foot-high cross on Mt. Davidson. Vukasin said the cross was in a remote site and did not show the city's approval of one religion over another. (Oh!) The ACLU sponsored both lawsuits.

Diocese Liable

In September a Colorado jury awarded \$1.2 million in damages to a woman who had an affair with an Episcopal priest and counselor in 1985. The jury found Bishop William Frey and the Episcopal Diocese of Colorado liable for psychological damages sustained by Mary Moses as a result of this relationship. The state district court jury found the diocese negligent in supervising the priest and in handling the situation after it was reported. The diocese is expected to appeal the decision.

Some church-state specialists see this as a continuing trend of harassment of religious bodies and of state intervention in ecclesiastical decisions. Decisions like this, they say, are comparable to finding a hospital liable if one of its attending physicians has an affair with a patient.

Bush's IRS and the Churches

The Bush administration's 1993 federal budget recommendations, submitted to Congress in January, contained a proposal to allow the Internal Revenue Service to examine lists of large donors, over \$5,000 per year, to churches. Conservative churches attacked the proposal, while presidential aspirant Pat Buchanan attacked Bush in TV ads for breaking a promise to conservatives to keep government out of church affairs (except, of course, for promoting tax support for church schools and government sponsored devotions in public schools).

Vice-president J. Danforth Quayle gave assurances in late February that the proposal was an ill-conceived "nonsense rule" and did not have Bush's backing. On March 5, however, White House Chief of Staff Samuel Skinner said that the Bush administration was still considering the proposal. Skinner said, "It's not dead. Nobody has killed it."

This affair reminds us of the IRS "revenue procedure" proposed during the Carter administration. The IRS proposed to yank the tax deductible status of church schools with too small an enrollment of minority students. The procedure was unworkable, as most denominational schools are not separate entities but parts of churches. The Carter administration failed to block the IRS proposal, so Congress removed the IRS's power to enforce it. The proposal came back to haunt the Carter administration in 1980, as it became a rallying point in the Religious New Right campaign to elect Ronald Reagan.

Maryland Parochial Bill Nixed

The Maryland House of Delegates Constitutional and Administrative Law Committee voted 17 to 5 in early March to defeat a bill to provide public funding for sectarian private schools. The bill would have allowed overcrowded public schools to send students to parochial schools and have their tuition paid from public funds. ARL, the ACLU, and other groups had opposed the bill.

Wisconsin Vouchers Upheld

Wisconsin's limited voucher experiment, confined to secular private schools only and applicable to a maximum of 1000 students in the Milwaukee area, was upheld on March 3 by a 4-3 vote of the state supreme court. The ruling overturned a lower court decision that the voucher plan was a local matter that should not have been included in a state budget bill. Since the controversial program did not include religious schools, there

was no church-state issue involved.

Although only about 550 students participate in the plan, it has drawn strong opposition from education organizations and State Superintendent of Public Instruction Herbert Grover. The state legislature allocated \$250,000 for the experiment in 1990.

Hispanic MCs Pro-Choice

Seven of the 10 Hispanic members of the U.S. House of Representatives are pro-choice on abortion, according to a survey by the Catholics for a Free Choice Hispanic Project. Two others have a mixed voting record, while the only Hispanic Republican in the House, Ros-Lehtinen of Florida, is anti-choice.

The CFFC survey also showed that the pro-choice Hispanic MCs voted 86.8% of the time for child and social welfare programs, while the mixed record Hispanic MCs voted so 76.1% of the time, and the lone anti-choice MC only 51% of the time. As we reported in Newsletter 38, in the House as a whole, pro-choice MCs voted for child and social welfare legislation 82% of the time, while anti-choice MCs did so only 36% of the time.

ACLU v. 'Bible Man'

The ACLU of Oklahoma filed suit in January to halt public school assemblies by Rev. George Warrington, an Oklahoma City preacher known as the "Bible Man." The New Lima School District has invited him to preach to students for 30 years and has permitted him to assign students religious studies.

Coin Redesign Torpedoed

A bill to redesign U.S. coins by putting Bill of Rights themes on the "tails" side was defeated in the U.S. House of Representatives on Feb. 20 in a 241-172 vote. The bill by Sen. Alan Cranston (D-CA) passed the Senate last November. Its defeat was reportedly owed in part at least to lobby efforts by Phyllis Schlafly's Eagle Forum claiming that the bill could result in removal of the "In God We Trust" motto from the coins, a baseless charge. Cranston had said that the redesigned coins would have brought in additional revenues and honored Bill of Rights "ideals which are the essence of our freedoms and our system of justice."

Falwell Redux?

Jerry Falwell, erstwhile fuhrer of the defunct Moral Majority, is keeping his options open. Waiting in the wings is his six-year-old "Liberty Alliance," a tax-exempt organization (to which donations are not tax-deductible) which the Lynchburg, VA, preacher

says he may activate for political lobbying if and when the Supreme Court overturns *Roe v. Wade*. The group could also transfer funds to Falwell's other enterprises.

The tax-exempt status of Moral Majority, Inc. and the Liberty Federation, a tax-deductible entity, was ended in December in a deal with the Internal Revenue Service. The IRS had believed that the two groups had acted too closely and that the Liberty Federation had been involved in political activity inconsistent with its tax status.

Falwell set up the Liberty Alliance in 1986 because he was afraid that Moral Majority had acquired a "negative image."

International

Dublin: After two weeks of legal maneuvering and both domestic and international protest, the Irish Supreme Court on February 26 overturned a ruling of the Dublin High Court barring a 14-year-old rape victim from travelling to England for an abortion. (Americans for Religious Liberty sent a protest to the Irish government and also joined with Catholics for a Free Choice and other groups in a protest.)

A constitutional ban on abortion was approved by Irish voters in 1983 by 2-1. Between 4,000 and 5,000 Irish women travel to England each year to obtain abortions.

Books

The Tragedy of Belief: Division, Politics and Religion in Ireland, by John Fulton (Oxford/Clarendon Press, 260 pp., \$68).

Religion, says sociologist Fulton, has "direct relevance to the underlying structural conflict and to the battle for domination" in Ireland, North and South. "Protestant solidarity exists in Northern Ireland because Protestant polity is under threat, and a part of the threat is monopoly Catholicism." This excellent book concentrates on the inextricable links between religious conviction and political identity in Ireland. One superb chapter concludes that "the dual school system in Northern Ireland encourages, supports or at least reinforces the sectarian divide and forms part of the vicious circle maintaining conflict in Ulster." Other informative chapters look at religion and law in the Republic and trends in mixed marriages in Ulster.

— *Albert J. Menendez*

Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women, by Susan Faludi (Crown Publishers, 552 pp., \$24.00).

Although women's rights and interests have made some gains during the past twenty years or so, a backlash has virtually stalled progress and threatened to undo gains once thought secure. Pulitzer Prize journalist Susan Faludi explores this backlash in devastating detail, showing how the news and entertainment media, the fashion industry, business, government, popular pundits, and ultraconservatives and the Fundamentalist Right, have all contributed to the steady stream of attacks on women's rights and interests since about the time of Reagan's entry into the White House. If the book has a flaw, it is its inadequate treatment of the powerful influence of traditional patriarchal religion on the backlash trend. Her chapter on "Reproductive Rights Under the Backlash" is especially good.

— *Edd Doerr*

(continued on page 12)

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Books, continued from page 11

The Darker Side of Virtue: Corruption, Scandal and the Mormon Empire, by Anson Shupe (Prometheus Books, 186 pp., \$21.95).

Sociologist Anson Shupe skewers the Mormons in this lively survey, which concentrates on demolishing certain myths about Mormon superiority in family life and moral virtue. (Utah has a high child-abuse and spouse-abuse problem.) Shupe also looks at the Mormon connection in the Challenger space shuttle disaster and details the well-documented cases of religious discrimination by Mormon officials against Hispanic Catholic agents in the F.B.I. Shupe notes that "the Reagan administration witnessed an unprecedented influx of Latter-Day Saints into key positions in the federal government, including the White House staff."

Shupe's book is hard-hitting but essentially fair, though he does tend to exaggerate Mormon influence, which still pales compared to that of other religious groups in U.S. public life.

— Albert J. Menendez

The Population Explosion, by Paul R. Ehrlich and Anne H. Ehrlich (Simon and Schuster, 320 pp., \$18.95).

Our planet's steadily growing human population, now at 5.3 billion, has become too large for nature to sustain at decent living standard levels for all. Increasing consumption of nonrenewable resources, coupled with overuse, misuse, and waste of nonrenewable resources, clearly threatens the future of civilization. The Ehrlichs, eminent scientists both, spell out the details of this overarching problem in this very readable and convincing book. They show that halting population growth and bringing world consumption into line with the carrying capacity of our world environment is imperative, that time is running out much more rapidly than most people think, and that we must either control our numbers and our resource consumption rationally, humanely, and fairly or nature will do it for us brutally and nastily.

The authors score the Vatican's position on birth control and challenge the do-nothing population-environment policies of the Reagan and Bush administrations.

Harvard biologist, and ARL activist, E.O. Wilson calls this book "a primer of the global environmental crisis (and what to do about it!) that I can recommend to all."

— Edd Doerr

Religion in the Soviet Republics, edited by Igor Troyanovsky (Harper San Francisco, 210 pp., \$24.95).

The most comprehensive and up-to-date survey of religious activities in the former Soviet Union, this guide has been compiled by the chief of the religion section of the Soviet Information Agency. Included in this indispensable volume are the texts of the new 1990 laws on religious freedom, discussions of charitable and educational programs conducted by religious bodies, religious programming on radio and television, and portraits of the seven clergy members of the Soviet Parliament. Finally, there are official documents, interviews and a kaleidoscopic panorama of all religious groups—Christian, Muslim, Buddhist, and Jewish—which now operate openly. This book is so complete that it even includes the telephone number of the Russian Orthodox Patriarch Alexis II!

If there is any sour note, it is the editor's comment that "Godless church bureaucrats are loathe to surrender their power." This seems to be a rather sweeping generalization. Two interesting facts emerge in this study. One is that "there is a shortage of clergy in nearly all faiths and a shortage of money "to

restore church buildings, build seminaries and engage in publications." Also, we learn that "the church is the main vehicle of Soviet charity," which seems to be a truly revolutionary change after 75 years of repression. If the churches are so financially weakened, how can they provide for the needs of a desperately poor and mismanaged country?

— Albert J. Menendez

The American Dream Renewed: The Making of a World People, by Edward L. Ericson (Continuum Publishing Co., New York, 180 pp., \$18.95).

In this short but readable and comprehensive book, Edward Ericson, one of the co-founders of Americans for Religious Liberty, explains and celebrates the unique character of Americans as a "world people" with roots in and links to most other nations and cultures. That uniqueness is, of course, highlighted by the disintegration of the Soviet empire and the difficulties of the Europeans in forging a united Europe. Ericson traces much of this uniqueness to this country's assimilation, however imperfect, of peoples of the most diverse religious, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds. Two of the book's best chapters show how religious dissent contributed to this country's development of church-state separation and a constitution emphasizing individual rights.

— Edd Doerr

Revolutions in Eastern Europe: The Religious Roots, by Niels Nielsen (Orbis Books, 175 pp., \$16.95).

Nielsen looks at how religious movements contributed to the Communist downfall in Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Russia, and East Germany. Nielsen's brief overview is insightful, and will help Western readers understand the magnitude of the changes and the problems that still remain. His observation about Rumania remains valid for the entire region. "Christians of different traditions have lived together for eight hundred years with little ecumenical progress." Nielsen's observation about Eastern Christianity will also help Western readers understand an important fact. "The Eastern churches have been much more isolated and on the defensive than the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches in the West. Eastern European Christendom has yet to come to terms with modern historiography, biblical criticism and modern science."

— Albert J. Menendez

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