VOICE OF REASON

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The Newsletter of Americans for Religious Liberty

No. 41

June 29: Black Monday for Abortion Rights

he U.S. Supreme Court's June 29 ruling in the *Planned Parenthood v. Casey* abortion rights case was, on balance, not good news for defenders of freedom of conscience.

First of all, the Court's most reactionary bloc, composed of Chief Justice William Rehnquist and Justices Antonin Scalia, Byron White, and newcomer Clarence Thomas, made it clear that they would, if they had the chance, overrule Roe v. Wade entirely and support all or nearly all state restrictions on women's right to choice. If they get one more like-minded colleague on the Court, which is quite likely if George Bush is reelected in November, Roe will be completely overturned. (These four justices, not coincidentally, were the dissenters a few days earlier in Lee v. Weisman, the ruling which reaffirmed the Court's earlier decisions holding that government sponsored or edited prayers in public schools are unconstitutional.)

Although the plurality ruling by Justices Sandra Day O'Connor, Anthony Kennedy, and David Souter upheld the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* ruling to the degree that in principle women have a fundamental right to terminate problem pregnancies, it upheld most of a Pennsylvania law which places certain obstacles in the path of women seeking to exercise that right. In the 5-4 portion of the ruling upholding *Roe* in principle, the middle-of-the-Court trio were joined by Justices Harry Blackmun, who crafted the original *Roe* ruling, and John Paul Stevens. In the 7-2 portion of the decision upholding most of the Pennsylvania restrictions, the trio were joined by the reactionary bloc, Rehnquist, Scalia, White, and Thomas.

O'Connor, Kennedy, and Souter, while insisting that *Roe* remains the basic law and stressing the importance of *stare decisis* (the principle that precedents should be overturned only for the gravest reasons), nevertheless held that states could put restrictions on the right to choose so long as they do not impose "undue burdens." Specifically, the trio, joined by the anti-*Roe* justices, upheld Pennsylvania's requirement that there be a 24-hour waiting period between the time a woman asks for an abortion and the procedure's being carried out; that the attending physician, not a nurse or counselor, provide the woman with state-mandated information, which the physician may or may not regard as accurate or relevant, regarding fetal development, her stage of pregnancy, alternatives to abortion, and the risks of abortion and childbirth; consent of one parent or a judicial bypass for minors; detailed reports on abortions to

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The Strange Case of the Missing Population Report

n April 24, 1974, President Richard Nixon ordered a study made of the "Implications of Worldwide Population Growth for U.S. Security and Overseas Interests." The order was given to the Secretaries of State, Defense, and Agriculture, the director of the C.I.A., and the administrator of the Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) in National Security Study Memorandum 200 (NSSM 200), signed by then National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger.

The study was completed on December 10, 1974, four months after Nixon's resignation, and circulated among the relevant cabinet secretaries and agency heads. Finally, on November 26, 1975, the 227-page report was endorsed by President Gerald Ford in National Security Decision Memorandum 314, signed by Ford's National Security Advisor, Brent Scowcroft.

Then a funny thing happened. Although the Ford administration endorsed the report and virtually all of its recommendations, and supported immediate steps to implement them, the 227-page study, NSSM 200, and NSDM 314 were stamped "classified" and buried with this notation, "this document can only be declassified by the White House."

The documents were somehow declassified on July 3, 1989, but still did not come to public attention until a few weeks ago when population scientist Stephen Mumford, president of the Center for Research on Population and Security (P.O. Box 13067, Research Triangle Park, NC 27709), managed to get a copy through a member of Congress after seeing a reference to it in a 1991 issue of the *National Catholic Register*.

NSSM 200 rather accurately predicted world population growth and its effects on the environment, living standards, and U.S. security interests. Among the report's conclusions:

"If future numbers are to be kept within reasonable bounds, it is urgent that measures to reduce fertility be started and made effective in the 1970s and 1980s."

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Graduation Prayers and the Supreme Court

he Supreme Court's June 24 ruling in *Lee v. Weisman*, holding officially sponsored public school graduation prayers unconstitutional, surprised most legal experts, who expected that the Reagan-Bush appointments to the Court would have produced a different result.

Justice Anthony M. Kennedy, writing for the 5-4 majority, held that prayers at graduation ceremonies coerced students into participating in religious exercises, thereby violating the federal constitutional prohibition on acts "respecting an establishment of religion." He wrote: "The Constitution forbids the state to exact religious conformity from a student as the price of attending his or her own high school graduation. This is the calculus the Constitution demands."

Kennedy was joined by fellow Reagan appointee Sandra Day O'Connor, Bush nominee David H. Souter, and by Harry A. Blackmun and John Paul Stevens, who have served on the Court since the 1970s.

The case, *Lee v. Weisman*, originated in Rhode Island in 1989 when the Weismans, who are Jewish, objected to a rabbi's invocation and benediction at the Nathan Bishop Middle School graduation in Providence. Their attorney, ACLU lawyer Steven Shapiro, called the decision "an important restatement of core principles about the importance of separation between church and state."

President Bush, whose administration had urged the Court to support graduation prayers and to discard its usual tests for determining constitutionality in church-state cases, said he was "very disappointed."

The decision left no doubt that public school involvement with religious activities is wrong. "The government involvement with religious activity in this case is pervasive, to the point of creating a state-sponsored and state-directed religious exercise in a public school," Kennedy wrote.

Kennedy emphasized that government may never coerce, even indirectly, the religious opinions of individuals. Defenders of the prayers claimed that students did not have to attend graduation ceremonies, but the Court majority held that attendance at such a major rite of passage is important for most families. "It is beyond dispute that, at a minimum, the Constitution guarantees that government may not coerce anyone to support or participate in religion or its exercise or otherwise act in a way which establishes a religion or religious faith, or tends to do so," the Court held. The breadth of this ruling is clear.

The Court rejected the Bush administration's arguments that coercion was minimal or nonexistent. "The undeniable fact is that the school district's supervision and control of a high school graduation ceremony places public pressure, as well as peer pressure, on attending students to stand as a group or, at least, maintain respectful silence during the invocation and benediction. This pressure, though subtle and indirect, can be as real as any overt compulsion. . . . the state may not, consistent with the Establishment Clause, place primary and secondary school children in this position."

An unusually strong dissent was announced from the bench by Justice Antonin Scalia, a Reagan appointee, who was joined by 1991 Bush appointee Clarence Thomas, Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist, and Byron R. White, a long time supporter of school prayer.

Scalia blasted the majority, accusing it of "laying waste" to ancient American traditions of "nonsectarian prayer to God at public celebrations." Scalia said he reads the First Amendment only as a prohibition on coercion and religious establishment "by force of law and threat of penalty." Scalia said the Rhode Island prayer was "characteristically American," whatever that means, and was desired by "a majority of the community." Scalia has long held that religious majorities may impose their viewpoints on minorities without infringing on the Constitution. He admitted, for example, that public school graduations are "official and patriotic" occasions.

The Scalia argument, like his majority opinion in the *Employment Division v. Smith* decision in 1990, which denied certain (continued on page 6)

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state agencies by physicians. While upholding these requirements, the five justices held unconstitutional a further requirement that women seeking abortions must advise their husbands.

The outcomes and consequences of the June 29 Casey ruling are not hard to predict:

With four justices panting with eagerness to overrule *Roe* entirely, the next appointment to the Supreme Court will be crucial. President Bush has shown that he would likely appoint another anti-choice justice like Clarence Thomas. Candidate Bill Clinton announced immediately after the ruling that he would appoint only pro-*Roe* justices and that he would sign a Freedom of Choice Act currently being considered by Congress (and which Bush has promised to veto). Candidate Ross Perot has declared himself pro-choice but has as yet said nothing about Supreme Court appointments.

Meanwhile, lawyers and courts will be kept busy in many states, including Pennsylvania, trying to sort out what state regulations or laws do or do not impose "undue burdens" on a woman's right to choose. This will not be easy, because what is not an "undue burden" for some women may be a serious "undue burden" for others. At present, 24 states have laws requiring waiting periods and physician-dispensed information, 33 states have parental notification or consent laws, and at this time no one knows how soon any of the laws will start to be enforced.

The 24-hour, or even the two clever by half 8-hour, waiting period will surely impose an "undue burden" on women who have to travel considerable distances, hundreds of miles for many women, just to get to a medical facility that provides abortion. The waiting period could necessitate a night's hotel bill and two days or more away from home and job. These are surely undue burdens for large numbers of poor women and very young women. One third of all women having abortions are below the poverty level. Another third have family incomes between poverty level and \$25,000.

Requiring parental consent or a judicial bypass for minors imposes particular hardships. While most minors have parental consent for abortions, a great many others know or believe that their parents might severely punish them if consent is sought. A teenager's having to retain a lawyer and go to court for a judicial bypass of parental consent would place serious hardships on some of the poorest and most vulnerable members of society.

Requiring a physician, rather than a nurse or counselor, to provide state-specified counseling to every patient will place extra and medically unnecessary burdens on the physician's time and will result in cost increases which will generally have to be passed on to patients. Again, this will place an additional burden on the poorest women.

Compelling physicians to report to the state the name of the referring doctor or agency could expose the referring doctor or agency to the kinds of harassment and even terrorism which have become increasingly common.

In addition to these adverse consequences of the June 29 *Casey* ruling, that ruling, like the 1989 *Webster* decision, will spur efforts in most state legislatures to create new obstacles in the path of women seeking to exercise their fundamental right to choose.

Pro-choice leaders are urging concerned citizens to urge their U.S. senators and representatives to support the Freedom of Choice Act (S. 25 in the Senate, H.R. 25 in the House of Representatives), a bill to prohibit states from interfering with

freedom of choice on abortion prior to fetal viability (24 weeks) and permitting choice after viability if necessary to protect a woman's health. (Addresses: U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510; U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515.)

The only abortion rights referendum scheduled in the country this year will be on November 3 in Maryland, where anti-choice groups have petitioned onto the ballot a pro-choice law, S.B. 162, designed to code the principles of *Roev. Wade* into state law. The anti-choice groups have already begun their high-powered propaganda campaign to defeat the pro-choice law. Concerned citizens, whether they live in Maryland or not, may support the Maryland FOR Choice Coalition, P.O. Box 22324, Baltimore, MD 21203.

The June 29 ruling will not put an end to the national conflict over abortion rights. It will exacerbate it as powerful anti-choice groups and churches press their restrictive legislative agenda in Congress and state legislatures while trying to block all efforts by supporters of freedom of conscience to roll back restrictions already enacted.

The struggle over free choice will be a major component of this year's presidential election campaign and many races for Congress and state legislatures.

Most Americans are tired of the abortion rights controversy, but it will not go away as long as certain religious bodies and their political allies continue to enact or try to enact laws which allow government to impose restrictions on freedom of conscience. ■

Other Supreme Court Actions

The Supreme Court's blockbuster abortion rights and school prayer rulings during the last week of its session were not the only actions the Court took on church-state issues. In addition, the Court:

 ruled 5-4 in a Hare Krishna case that distribution of free literature may not be banned from airports, but held 6-3 that soliciting for donations may be banned.

The Court also let stand lower court rulings that Christian symbols on the city seals of Zion and Rolling Meadows, Illinois, are unconstitutional government endorsements of religion; that North Carolina judge H. William Constangy violated the First Amendment by opening his court with prayer; that Denver public school teacher Kenneth Roberts established an unconstitutional "Christian tone" in his elementary classroom by keeping a Bible on his desk and including The Bible Pictures and The Story of Jesus in his classroom library; that a Catholic mass in a public park in Crestwood, Illinois, during a "Touch of Italy" festival is "a religious service under governmental auspices [that] necessarily conveys the message of approval and endorsement"; that Hawaii's making Good Friday a holiday is not unconstitutional because it has a "secular purpose," providing "an extra day of rest for a weary public labor force."

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"In some overpopulated areas, rapid population growth presses on a fragile environment in ways that threaten longer-term food production, through cultivation of marginal lands, overgrazing, descrification, deforestation, and soil erosion, with consequent destruction of land and pollution of water, rapid siltation of reservoirs, and impairment of inland and coastal fisheries."

"Rapid population growth creates a severe drag on rates of economic development otherwise attainable."

"There is a major risk of severe damage to world economic, political, and ecological systems, and as these systems begin to fail, to our humanitarian values."

"Adverse economic factors which generally result from rapid population growth include: reduced family savings and domestic investment; increased need for large amounts of foreign exchange for food imports; intensification of severe unemployment and underemployment; the need for large expenditures for services such as dependency support, education, and health which would be used for more productive investment; the concentration of developmental resources on increasing food production to ensure survival for a larger population, rather than on improving living conditions for smaller total numbers."

"Most experts agree that, with fairly constant costs per acceptor, expenditures on effective family planning services are generally one of the most cost effective investments for an LDC [Less Developed Country] seeking to improve overall welfare and per capita economic growth. We cannot wait for overall modernization and development to produce lower fertility rates naturally since this will undoubtedly take many decades in most developing countries, during which time rapid population growth will tend to slow development and widen even more the gap between rich and poor."

Rapid population growth "threatens political stability" and may "contribute to high and increasing levels of child abandonment, juvenile delinquency, chronic and growing underemployment and unemployment, petty thievery, organized brigrandry; food riots, separatist movements, communal massacres,

NSSM 200 on Abortion

"Certain facts about abortion need to be appreciated: "No country has reduced its population growth without resorting to abortion."

"Thirty million pregnancies are estimated to be terminated annually by abortion. . . ."

"Indeed, abortion, legal and illegal, now has become the most widespread fertility control method in use in the world today. \dots "

"It would be unwise [for Congress] to restrict abortion research for the following reasons: 1. the persistent and ubiquitous nature of abortion; 2. Widespread lack of safe abortion techniques; 3. Restriction of research on abortifacient drugs and devices would: A. Possibly eliminate further development of the I.U.D. B. Prevent development of drugs which might have other beneficial uses. An example is methotrexate (R) which is now used to cure a hitherto fatal tumor of the uterus—choriocarcinoma. This drug was first used as an abortifacient."

revolutionary actions and counterrevolutionary coups."

"In international relations, population factors are crucial in, and often determinants of, violent conflicts in developing areas."

The NSSM 200 report's recommendations, virtually all of which were endorsed by the Ford administration, include:

U.S. policy "aim should be for the world to achieve a replacement level of fertilty (a two-child family on the average), by about the year 2000." This would mean "increased assistance for family planning services, information and technology" and "development of a worldwide political and popular commitment to population stabilization."

"The World Population Plan of Action and the resolution adopted by consensus by 137 nations at the August 1974 U.N. World Population Conference, though not ideal, provide an excellent framework for developing a worldwide system of population/family planning programs. We should use them to generate U.N. agency and national leadership for an all-out effort to lower growth rates."

Sensitive to individual liberties, the NSSM 200 report insists that the U.S. "repeatedly assert . . . the right of the individual couple to determine freely and responsibly their number and spacing of children and to have information, education, and means [emphasis in report] to do so."

The vast majority of experts on population and ecology today would surely agree with the NSSM 200 report's conclusions and recommendations. Since 1975 environmental degradation and overuse of finite resources has increased. The Reagan and Bush administrations cut back U.S. population and family planning aid and tried to limit women's rights regarding abortion. World population is now increasing at the rate of 97 million more people per year.

Because of inadequate nutrition and prenatal health care, poor access to family planning information and technology, the low state of women's rights in most countries, and widespread unavailability of the means for safe, legal abortion, 500,000 women die annually from complications of pregnancy and childbirth, while 182,000 women die annually from complications from unsafe abortions, according to recent World Health Organization data.

In part because of inadequate family planning aid, about 55 million abortions are performed annually.

Then, too, the International Human Suffering Index, just published by the Population Crisis Committee (1120 19th St. NW, Suite 550, Washington, D.C. 20036), shows rather clearly that human suffering tends to increase with a country's annual rate of population growth. The index for 141 countries is based on measures of life expectancy, daily calorie supply, access to clean drinking water, infant immunization, secondary school enrollment, per capita GNP, the inflation rate, level of communication technology, and the degree of political freedom and civil rights.

Efforts to deal effectively with the problems of overpopulation and excessively high birth rates have obviously been hampered by the suppression of the NSSM 200 report. Millions of people have remained mired in poverty and condemned to lives of misery shortened by disease, starvation, and malnutrition. Millions of children have been born to face lives of neglect, abandonment, and abuse.

Why, then, was the NSSM 200 report suppressed? Who stood to gain by its suppression? Who has the political clout to have such a report suppressed?

While no smoking gun has been found, the evidence seems to point to the unelected leadership of the Roman Catholic Church, the pope and his appointed bishops. We hasten to point out that no criticism is aimed at Catholic religious beliefs or at ordinary Catholics, probably a majority of whom disagree with the Vatican on issues having to do with reproduction and reproductive freedom.

In 1968, Pope Paul VI, against the recommendations of his own experts, issued the encyclical *Humanae Vitae* condemning contraception and abortion and reaffirming the papacy's traditional stand on reproductive issues. Although the encyclical triggered a massive revolt among priests and lay persons, the condemnation of "artificial" (sic!) birth control remains not only Vatican policy, but seems to be the centerpiece of the Vatican's and its bishops' political aims. The Vatican's opposition to effective family planning overshadows the humanitarian work of many Catholic agencies and individuals.

Church politicking was apparently behind the removal of Dr. R.T. Ravenholt as director of the U.S. Agency for International Development's Office of Population in 1979 after 13 years. Ravenholt had received AID's Distinguished Honor Award in 1973 "in recognition of his distinguished leadership in development of worldwide assistance programs to deal with the challenge of excessive population growth."

According to Dr. Ravenholt, Catholic hierarchy pressures have deprived American women of two important fertility control products, Depo-Provera, a contraceptive approved for use in over 90 countries, and RU-486, the abortifacient pill approved for use and in use in France and Britain.

Ravenholt has written that, "Following a meeting of presidential candidate Jimmy Carter and his campaign staff with 15 Catholic leaders at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D.C. on August 31 of 1976, on which occasion they pressed Carter to deemphasize federal support for family planning in exchange for a modicum of Catholic support for his presidential race, President-Elect Carter proceeded to put two federal agencies with family planning programs under Catholic control." The agencies were the AID and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. "In 1978," Ravenholt points out, "after the Food and Drug Administration already had informed the Upjohn Company that its product, Depo-Provera, was approvable, it was HEW Secretary Joseph Califano who specifically directed that FDA not approve Depo-Provera for marketing as a contraceptive. Thus Califano, an otherwise able Secretary of HEW, paid his appointment dues to the Catholic Church."

John H. Sullivan, a long time opponent of family planning, was moved from Rep. Clement Zablocki's staff to AID and given a role in selecting Carter appointees. At a House Foreign Affairs Committee hearing on July 18, 1975, Zablocki stated his opposition to contraception and discussed the removal of AID's Rayenholt, which finally occurred in 1979.

Matters only became worse under the Reagan and Bush administrations, despite the fact that during the 1970s Bush had been a supporter of family planning, as a congressman, as the U.S. representative to the U.N., and as director of the C.I.A. Early in his administration Reagan took the unprecedented and very probably unconstitutional step of granting formal diplomatic recognition to the Catholic Church (the Holy See, headquarters of the church as church, not the autonomous microstate, the Vatican). Shortly thereafter, in 1984, the Reagan administration announced at the U.N.'s World Conference on Population in Mexico City that it was reversing U.S. commitment to international family planning and withdrew funding from both the U.N.

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Population Fund and the International Planned Parenthood Federation.

According to Catholics for a Free Choice, the Reagan A.I.D. became the "single largest donor to NFP [natural family planning] training and research in the world, at the same time as it has significantly reduced its support for other family planning initiatives." NFP involves avoiding intercourse during a woman's fertile period, a not very effective form of birth control.

More recently, the Vatican, which sent delegates to the June 1992 U.N. Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, used its political clout to get the conference to stay away from population concerns. Vatican representatives circulated a confidential memo to representatives of countries attending the conference in a successful effort to discourage serious discussion of overpopulation problems.

On July 9, 1992, the respected Sierra Club held a press conference in Washington to call attention to Bush's flip-flop from strong family planning advocate early in his political career to puppet of the Vatican's anti-planning ideology. The Sierra Club praised Bush's pre-1980 support for family planning but deplored his post-1980 active opposition to the policies he once championed.

As Reagan's first ambassador to the Holy See, William Wilson, put it in *Time* on February 24, 1992, "American policy was changed as a result of the Vatican's not agreeing with our policy. American aid programs around the world did not meet the criteria the Vatican had for family planning. A.I.D. sent various people from State to Rome, and I'd accompany them to meet the president of the Pontifical Council for the Family, and in long discussions they finally got the message.... They finally selected different programs and abandoned others as a result of the intervention."

The Bush and Reagan administrations, it is clear, have allowed their domestic and foreign policies on family planning and women's reproductive rights to be dictated by the leadership faction of one religious body. This has increased the amount of human suffering around the world, has endangered the basic interests of our country and others, and it is incompatible with our constitutional principle of church-state separation.

Graduation Prayers and the Supreme Court, continued from page 2

free exercise rights to Native Americans, shows scant concern for minority religious convictions. He claimed that "simple and inspiring prayers inoculate others from religious bigotry and prejudice," and serve as an "importnat unifying mechanism." He said that "nonbelievers" should endure "the minimal inconvenience of standing or even sitting in respectful nonparticipation."

Americans can only be grateful that Scalia's bullying attitude toward religious dissenters and minorities did not shape the

majority opinion.

Fundamentalist leaders and their political allies expressed outrage over the ruling and hoped to find ways to circumvent it. U.S. Solicitor General Kenneth W. Starr, who argued the Bush administration's position before the Court, said that student-initiated prayers, unsupervised by school officials, might still be permissible, though nothing in the ruling suggests such an option. An unsupervised student prayer would in all probability be more offensive to more students and their families than the government-regulated, state-bowdlerized, lowest common denominator prayers used in Providence.

In a concurring opinion, Justices Souter, O'Connor, Stevens, and Blackmun, though going along with Kennedy that the graduation prayers unconstitutionally coerce students, made it clear that coercion is not a strict enough standard, that any government sponsorship of religion, even without coercion, is

unconstitutional. The four also made it clear that "accommodationalism" or "nonpreferentialism" (government may aid all religions nonpreferentially) is also a departure from the First Amendment.

The ruling in *Lee v. Weisman*, though a welcome victory for religious liberty and church-state separation, does not signal a return to strict standards of retired Justices Brennan, Marshall, and Douglas. Indeed, Justice Kennedy implied that at least some degree of "accommodationism" might be in order. Nonetheless, we can applaud Kennedy's affirmation that "the First Amendment's religion clauses mean that religious beliefs and religious expression are too precious to be either proscribed or prescribed by the state. The design of the Constitution is that preservation and transmission of religious beliefs and worship is a responsibility and a choice committed to the private sphere, which itself is promised freedom to pursue that mission."

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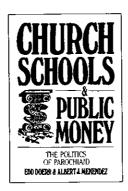
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Isaac Asimov



Isaac Asimov, this century's most prolific writer, died on April 6 after a short illness. He was the author of more than 450 books, with at least a couple dozen more still in the pipeline.

The range of his writing was astonishing — science fiction, books interpreting science for non-scientists, books of history for children, collections of limericks, mysteries, Asimov's Guide to the Bible, Asimov's Guide to Shake-speare, etc.

Born in Russia in 1920 and

taken by his parents to the U.S. when he was two, young Isaac taught himself to read at five and graduated from high school at 15. With a Ph.D. in chemistry from Columbia, he taught at Boston University's School of Medicine for ten years, until he began writing full time in 1958.

Asimov was one of the earliest supporters of Americans for Religious Liberty when it was started in 1981, having been recruited by ARL co-founder Edward L. Ericson. He subsequently served on ARL's national advisory board until his death. He was a plaintiff in the ongoing case of *Lamont v. Woods*, a joint ARL-ACLU federal court suit challenging U.S. federal aid to religious schools abroad (see newsletter No. 39).

Eminent zoologist Stephen Jay Gould, also a widely published science writer and member of ARL's national advisory board, shared this memory of Isaac Asimov with us:

"My first contact with Isaac Asimov was daunting. I picked up the phone one day, and a voice bellowed: 'Gould, this is Isaac Asimov. I hate you.' 'Oh,' I replied with astonishing lack of originality, 'Why so?' 'I hate you because you write so well,' he said. So I replied, 'and if I had written 400 books instead of ten, I wouldn't be paying such rapt attention to stylistic nuances either.' We both laughed and became good friends. Isaac was the best (and most copious) there has ever been—ever throughout history—in the presentation of science. Only Galileo and Huxley (maybe Medawar in our generation) matched his clarity, his verve, his dedication, and, above all, his moral sense of the rightness and power of knowledge."

My own acquaintance with Asimov began when, as a kid in my first year of high school, I picked up my first science fiction magazine in October of 1944, and there was a story by Asimov. I could not have dreamt that many years later we would be associated in a venture called Americans for Religious Liberty and working together for six years as president and vice-president, respectively, of the American Humanist Association. (I once remarked in a speech that the president and vice-president of the AHA had written an average of 215 books each, Asimov's 430 and my 10.)

Even though he was a genius and one of the most celebrated writers, published in many languages (I ran across his books in Spanish in Madrid), he was as easy to talk to as the guy next door. Until near the end of his life he answered all of his own voluminous correspondence, usually on postal cards.

His sense of humor was legendary. When I had to introduce

him at a conference at M.I.T. in the fall of 1988, Asimov, his wife Dr. Janet Jeppson, and I got stuck for a very long time in a limousine piloted by a chauffeur who managed to get lost in Boston. To while away the time we jointly composed limericks, though I don't know if they ever ended up in one of his books.

One of the great lights in our civilization has gone out. The chances are infinitesimal that his like will ever be seen again.

As I concluded in introducing him at the M.I.T. conference, "Isaac Asimov is not a Renaissance man; he is a one-man Renaissance."

— Edd Doerr

Alfred McClung Lee

Dr. Alfred McClung Lee, a long time member of ARL's National Advisory Board and one of the country's most eminent social scientists, died on May 19 at the age of 85. At the time of his death, Dr. Lee was professor emeritus of sociology and anthropology at Brooklyn College and at the Graduate School of the City University of New York. He also held the honorary post of visiting scholar at Drew University in his retirement.

A noted sociologist and a former president of the American Sociological Association, Dr. Lee was the author of *Terrorism in Northern Ireland, The Pine Art of Propaganda, The Daily Newspaper in America: The Evolution of a Social Instrument,* and 17 other books.

Dr. Lee's activity on behalf of church-state separation went back to the 1940s, when he was on the faculty at Wayne State University in Detroit and one of the founders of the Committee to Maintain Separation of Church and State, formed to defend religious neutrality in public schools.

Dr. Lee was always available for consultation with ARL's staff on church-state questions.

He is survived by his wife, Dr. Elizabeth Briant Lee, also a sociologist, a visiting scholar at Drew University, and a member of ARL's National Advisory Board, and two sons, Alfred McClung Lee III and Briant Harmon Lee, five grand-children and two great-grandchildren.

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Update

California Voucher Vote Nixed for '92

Efforts by California parochiaiders to get a \$2.5 billion voucher on the state's ballot in November failed when the California Secretary of State's office ruled on June 25 that the sponsors fell short of the number of valid signatures needed. It is now likely that the measure will be on the ballot in June 1994.

Should the \$2.5 billion voucher plan pass, no one knows where the money would come from, as the state has been wrestling with a multibillion dollar deficit which has already caused severe fund shortages for the state's public schools.

State education superintendent Bill Honig said of the voucher plan, "This was drafted to hurt public schools . . . It's dripping with malice."

Church, State, and Politics, 1992

As the presidential race heats up, sharp differences are evident among the leading contenders on church-state issues.

President Bush continues to promote tax support for sectarian private schools by means of vouchers. Vice President J. Danforth Quayle agrees. He endorsed the massive parochiaid proposal which Oregon voters strongly rejected at the polls in 1990 and has endorsed the voucher plan referendum effort this year in California.

Democrat Bill Clinton has declared himself "unalterably opposed" to the Bush-Quayle voucher plan and favors full funding for Head Start programs, preschool "for every child who needs it," and increases in Chapter I compensatory education programs in early grades for disadvantaged children.

Independent Ross Perot's views on parochiaid and vouchers are unknown at this time.

Bush remains strongly opposed to freedom of choice on abortion and opposes any change in the strong anti-choice plank in the Republican Party's 1988 platform. Nonetheless, a growing number of pro-choice Republicans, such as Massachusetts Gov. William Weld, favor changing the platform.

Clinton is pro-choice. Despite pleas by anti-choice Pennsylvania Gov. Robert Casey that the Democratic Party modify its pro-choice plank, which refers to "the fundamental right of reproductive choice," the party platform committee co-chairs, Colorado Gov. Romer and California Rep. Nancy Pelosi (a Catholic and mother of five), indicate that "No major Democratic candidate takes Casey's point of view."

Perot says he is pro-choice but has not elaborated on his position.

RU 486 Ban Challenged

Customs officials at New York's JFK International Airport on July 1 confiscated a single dose of RU 486 that a six weeks pregnant woman, Leona Benton, was bringing into the U.S. from England for her own use. RU 486, produced by a French company, Roussel-Uclaf, is an early pregnancy abortifacient approved and widely used in France and Britain. Importation of the drug into the U.S. is banned by the Food and Drug Administration. FDA officials have admitted that the decision by the Bush administration to ban the drug was based on politics alone.

Ms. Benton had a prescription for the drug from Dr. Louise Tyler, a Planned Parenthood physician, and was escorted to London to pick up the drug by Lawrence Lader, a well known reproductive rights activist, writer, and head of Abortion Rights Mobilization.

On July 7 Ms. Benton, Dr. Tyler, and Lader filed suit in federal court in New York to challenge the ban and seek return of the

'Should Tax Dollars Subsidize Bigotry?'

A number of readers have asked us for the names of the textbooks analyzed in the article, "Should Tax Dollars Subsidize Bigotry?," in our last issue. The books analyzed are the following:

American Literature for Christian Schools, Book 1, (Early American Literature and American Romanticism), by Raymond A. St. John, Greenville, SC: Bob Jones University Press, 1991; American Literature for Christian Schools, Book 2 (Realism, Naturalism, and Modern American Literature), by Raymond A. St. John, Greenville, SC: Bob Jones University Press, 1991; The American Republic for Christian Schools, by Rachel C. Larson with Pamela B. Creason, Greenville, SC: Bob Jones University Press, 1988; Beginnings of American Literature, Classics for Christians, Vol. 3, by Jan Anderson and Laurel Hicks, Pensacola, FL: Pensacola Christian College, 1982; Biology for Christian Schools, Book 1 (Teacher's Edition), by William S. Pinkston, Jr., Greenville, SC: Bob Jones University Press, 1991; Biology for Christian Schools, Book 2 (Teacher's Edition), by William S. Pinkston, Jr., Greenville, SC: Bob Jones University Press, 1991; British Literature for Christian Schools: The Early Tradition, 700-1688, by Ronald A. Horton, Greenville, SC: Bob Jones University Press, 1980;

British Literature for Christian Schools: The Modern Tradition, 1688 to the Present, by Ronald A. Horton, Greenville, SC: Bob Jones University Press, 1982; A Child's Story of Arrerica, by Michael J. McHugh and Charles Morris, Arlington Heights, IL: Christian Liberty Press, 1989; The Literature of the American People, Classics for Christians, Vol. 4, Pensacola, FL. Pensacola Christian College, 1983; Introduction to English Literature, Classics for Christians, Vol. 5, by Jan Anderson and Laurel Hicks, Pensacola, FL: Pensacola Christian College, 1982; The Literature of England, Classics for Christians, Vol. 6, by Jan Anderson and Laurel Hicks, Pensacola, FL: Pensacola Christian College, 1983; New World History and Geography in Christian Perspective, by Laurel Elizabeth Hicks, Pensacola, FL: Pensacola Christian College, 1982; United States History for Christian Schools, by Glen Chambers and Gene Fisher, Greenville, SC: Bob Jones University Press, 1982; United States History in Christian Perspective, by Michael R. Lowman, Pensacola, FL: Pensacola Christian College, 1983; World History for Christian Schools, by David A. Fisher, Greenville, SC: Bob Jones University Press, 1984.

pills. Their attorney said that, "Unless the ban is lifted and the RU 486 dose released, [Ms. Benton] will be forced to continue her unwanted pregnancy beyond the eighth week of pregnancy at which point her only alternative will be to have a surgical abortion procedure."

Anti-choice groups in the U.S. have threatened retaliation against any U.S. company which attempts to import or manufacture the drug.

If RU 486 were available in the U.S., any physician could prescribe it, the cost of abortions would decline, and more women would have easier access to abortion services.

RU 486 is an antiprogestin that prevents the hormone progesterone from maintaining a pregnancy. At a 1990 hearing before the House Committee on Small Businesses, officials acknowledged that RU 486 is a safe drug when used under medical supervision.

House Committee Rejects Vouchers

On May 20 the U.S. House Education and Labor Committee approved and sent to the floor for action in mid-June or later H.R. 4323, the Neighborhood Educational Improvement Bill, after defeating two attempts to add a voucher plan to the bill. The bill to benefit only public schools passed 23-12. Democrats voted 22-2 for the bill, Republicans 10-1 against.

By 31-7 the Committee voted down an amendment offered by Rep. Richard Armey (R-TX) which would have allowed public funding for "private or parochial" schools. Democrats voted against the amendment 25-0, Republicans for it 7-6.

By a 27-13 vote the Committee rejected an amendment offered by Rep. William Goodling (R-PA) which would have provided public funding for "choice programs consistent with state law and state constitutions." Democrats voted 25-0 against the proposal, Republicans 13-2 for it.

Further attempts to amend H.R. 4323 on the House floor will be made to add on a voucher plan for tax support of denominational private schools.

Despite his defeats in Congress this year, President Bush plans to try to add \$1,000 tuition grants or vouchers either to this year's education bill or next year's reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Bush calls his plan a "G.I. Bill for Kids," an old but fallacious ploy by the parochiaid lobby to equate vouchers with the programs to pay for post-secondary education for veterans of World War II and the Korean War.

Kansas A.G.: Vouchers Unconstitutional

Voucher plans which provide tax support for sectarian schools are unconstitutional, according to an April 20 advisory opinion by Kansas Attorney General Robert T. Stephan. The state legislature is considering several voucher plans to aid denominational private schools.

According to the A.G.'s opinion, voucher aid to denominational schools would violate the provisions of the state constitution barring tax aid "to secure or maintain a place where ... any sectarian or religious doctrine is taught." The A.G. concluded "the state has no power to impose a tax on the citizens of Kansas to aid sectarian schools."

In discussing the constitutionality of voucher aid under the U.S. Constitution, Stephan stated that the First Amendment "is more than a pledge that no single religion will be designated as a state religion. It is also more than a mere injunction that govern-

mental programs discriminating among religions are unconstitutional. The establishment clause instead primarily proscribes sponsorship, financial support, and active involvement of the sovereign in religious activity."

Kentucky Parochiaid Gimmick Upheld

After the Supreme Court ruled in 1985 in *Aguilar v. Felton* that federal Chapter 1 aid to eligible needy students could not be provided by sending publicly paid teachers into denominational private schools, the Reagan administration began providing the services in mobile classrooms parked next to the religious schools (thus segregating the parochial school children from those getting similar services in public schools). The administration permitted the expenses of leasing vans and mobile

ARL in Action

Since our last report, ARL president John M. Swomley was a speaker at the United Methodist General Conference in Louisville, KY, in May, and addressed university, church, and other audiences in Sacramento, San Jose, and Chico, CA.

Swomley, professor emeritus of ethics at St. Paul School of Theology, is author of a chapter entitled "The Bible Does Not Prohibit Abortion" in *Abortion: Opposing Perspectives*, one of a series of supplementary reading books for colleges and high schools published by Greenhaven Press, P.O. Box 289009, San Diego, CA 92198. Swomley is also author of a new pamphlet, published by the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights, entitled "Abortion: A Christian Ethical Perspective."

ARL board members John M. Swomley, Florence Flast, James E. Wood, Jr., advisory board members Charles V. Bergstrom, William F. Schulz, and staffers Al Menendez and Edd Doerr contributed chapters to the new book *Why We Still Need Public Schools*, reviewed elsewhere in this issue.

Executive director Edd Doerr was a featured speaker at the American Legion Auxiliary's Girls State conference at Washington College in Maryland in June, and addressed conference, church, and synagogue audiences in Ft. Lauderdale and Miami, FL, Kansas City, MO, Kansas City, KS, Fortland, OR, Vancouver, WA, Philadelphia, PA, and Hagerstown and Adelphi, MD. Doerr also appeared as a guest on radio talk shows in Kansas City, MO, Portland, OR, York, PA, Oklahoma City, OK, New York City, and Columbus, GA.

Doerr was also recipient of the American Humanist Association's 1992 Distinguished Service Award for his work on behalf of religious liberty, and the 1992 Raymond B. Bragg Award from All Souls Unitarian Church in Kansas City, MO.

ARL's *amicus curiae* brief to the Supreme Court in the *Lee v. Weisman* school prayer case, written by counsel Ron Lindsay, helped to shape the final opinion. Lindsay's brief argued that religion itself was degraded by Rhode Island school officials' stipulating to the clergyman offering the school prayers what he could and could not say.

classrooms, a practice which diminished the amount of federal funds for needy children in public schools.

A federal district court in Louisville found that the practice cost the city's public schools \$187,000 in lost federal aid and held the arrangement unconstitutional. On June 5 the U.S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals reversed the ruling, on the ground that the deprivation of the public was only a "marginal disparity."

Reproductive Rights

Guam's sweeping ban on abortions was ruled unconstitutional on April 16 by the U.S. Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals (*Guam Society of Obstetricians and Gynecologists v. Ada*). In view of the Supreme Court's upholding of the *Roe v. Wade* principle on June 29, it is not likely that an appeal of the Circuit Court ruling will be overturned, unless another anti-*Roe* justice is added to the Supreme Court.

A 1987 California law requiring one-parent permission or a court waiver for a minor to obtain an abortion was voided on May 27 by a San Francisco Superior Court judge, who said the law, "rather than furthering the state's interest in the health of minors and in the parent-child relationship, the legislation in question will actually work against those interests."

On the same day in Ohio, Franklin County Common Pleas Court Judge Guy Reece, Jr., held unconstitutional a state law that would have required women seeking abortions to receive specified information and counseling from a physician. Under the Supreme Court's June 29 ruling in *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*, Judge Reece is likely to be reversed.

The U.S. Supreme Court announced on June 8, unexpectedly, that it would defer until next term a ruling on whether federal judges have authority under a Reconstruction-era civil rights law to order protesters to stop blocking access to abortion clinics.

Washington, D.C., federal judge Charles Rickey ruled on May 28 that the Bush administration violated the law when it changed regulations forbidding family planning programs financed by the federal government from doing abortion counseling. Richey held that because the changes in regulations would lallow doctors but not nurses to discuss abortion, the entire ban on abortion counseling could not be put into effect. In most clinics it is nurses and not doctors who generally provide counseling.

The April 5 March for Women's Lives in Washington drew an estimated 750,000 pro-choice demonstrators.

Voucher Advocates Sue

Suits were filed in June in Los Angeles (*Thomas v. Honig*) and Chicago (*Jenkins v. Leininger*) in an effort to force the state governments in California and Illinois to provide certain students with vouchers so that they may attend other public schools or private or parochial schools. The suits are being sponsored by a Washington-based advocacy group called the Institute for Justice.

California law professor and long time voucher advocate John Coons said he doubts that the suits will get anywhere. Coons and attorney Stephen Sugarman have drafted a model voucher plan which they hope to use in a ballot initiative in California. Previous efforts by Coons and Sugarman to get on the ballot in their state have failed.

Anti-Choice Candidates Fare Poorly

Candidates vowing to restrict or outlaw abortion did poorly in state primaries from Illinois to Pennsylvania this spring. In Illinois several Republican anti-choicers were soundly defeated, including state representative Penny Pullen, who lost in a Republican primary. In a primary in the 10th congressional district, Representative John Porter, a pro-choice Republican, turned back a challenge from anti-choice activist Kathleen Sullivan.

In Pennsylvania Republican voters trounced state representative Stephen Freind, author of that state's abortion restriction bill which the U.S. Supreme Court is now reviewing, in a primary for the U.S. Senate. Freind lost to Senator Arlen Specter by a 2-1 margin. Keystone State Democrats nominated Lynn Yeakel, who is solidly pro-choice, over Lt. Gov. Mark Singel, who was ambivalent on the issue. Exit polls in Pennsylvania also found that only 29% of Democrats and 38% of Republicans wanted the Supreme Court to overturn *Roe v. Wade*.

Finally, pro-choice Republican state representative Jon Fox beat two anti-choice opponents in the primary to succeed retiring Rep. Lawrence Coughlin in Pennsylvania's 13th congressional district.

Hide and Seek

Catholic Church canon lawyer A. James Quinn, according to a June 22 report in *The Nation*, has advised church officials, concerned about growing clergy sex-abuse scandals, to send "sensitive files" to the Holy See (Vatican) embassy in Washington. As the embassy, thanks to former President Reagan's unconstitutional establishment of diplomatic relations with that church, enjoys diplomatic immunity, the "sensitive files" would be shielded from subpoena by U.S. courts.

Catholic Church officials had tried to use the "confidentiality of the confessional" rationale for concealing sex-abuse crimes, but a Michigan court would not buy that defense in the case of a priest who allegedly confessed his crime to superiors. The Detroit archdiocese had to agree to a six-figure settlement.

Indian Religious Rights Gain

Colorado has passed what is apparently the strongest state law to protect the rights of Native American prison inmates. The new law, signed by Gov. Roy Romer on May 26, will allow Native American inmates access to their own religious advisers, sacred items, and religious paraphernalia such as sage, cedar, sweetgrass, drums, tobacco, and eagle feathers. It also allows the use

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Americans for Religious Liberty P.O. Box 6656, Silver Spring, MD 20916 Telephone: 301-598-2447 of sweat lodges in religious ceremonies. Nearly all of the nearly 100 Indians serving time in Colorado prisons were sentenced for alcohol-related offenses.

International

Madrid: Exactly 500 years after Spain's Jews were expelled by order of Queen Isabel, Spain has invited Jewish refugees from war-torn Bosnia-Herzegovina to return to the Spain of their ancesors. The first 57 refugees arrived in June. The Sephardic Jews of Yugoslavia, even after 500 years of exile, still speak Spanish (a dialect called Ladino that is at least as close to current Spanish as American English is to British).

Since the death of dictator Francisco Franco in the mid-1970s, Spain has made more progress than any other country toward church-state separation and complete religious freedom. The Spanish government has formally apologized for the expulsion or forced conversion of Spain's Jews and Muslims during the reign of Isabel and Fernando.

Bonn: Despite strong opposition from Chancellor Helmut Kohl and the powerful tax-subsidized Catholic Church hierarchy, the Bundestag on June 25 voted 357 to 284 to liberalize Germany's previously restrictive abortion law. An attempt to retain the old, restrictive West German law was defeated 370 to 272. Under the old law, applicable in pre-unification West Germany, a woman could get an abortion only with medical approval on the basis of medical, psychological, and social criteria, with prison penalties for women and doctors for "unjustifiable" abortions. Former East German law allowed free choice on abortion.

The new German law allows freedom of choice during the

first twelve weeks (which covers at least 90% of all German abortions) after women submit to a non-binding medical counselling session.

Under the now replaced East and West German abortion laws, abortions were more than three times as common in the eastern part of the country.

Toronto: Dr. Henry Morgentaler's abortion clinic in Toronto was destroyed by a gasoline explosion on May 19. The 3:00 a.m. blast, which caused \$600,000 (Canadian) in damage, also hit a nearby coffee shop, but no one was injured. Morgentaler, the single most important figure in Canada's abortion rights movement and a survivor of the Nazis' Auschwitz death camp, attributed the attack to anti-choice terrorists. "This is a sign of the moral bankruptcy of the so-called pro-life movement," Morgentaler said. "It cannot persuade people. They cannot act by democratic means so they resort to criminal acts, violence and arson."

Toronto police have a photo of two suspects carrying gasoline containers moments before the explosion, taken by a security camera.

The Ontario government will spend \$420,000 over the next two years to increase security at abortion facilities.

Warsaw: A black market in Polish babies is one of the unexpected dividends in the new restrictions on abortion in that heavily Catholic country. Many poor and unwed women give up their babies to Westerners for quick cash. Church-run homes for single mothers are reaping a bonanza, according to reports in a Polish weekly journal. The mother superior of a home in Lublin received \$25,000 for each boy and \$15,000 for each girl. Church homes reportedly pressure their charges to offer the babies for adoption.

Books

Why We Still Need Public Schools, edited by Art Must, Jr., Prometheus, 311 pp., \$17.95.

Art Must, Jr., executive director of the National Coalition for Public Education and Religious Liberty (PEARL), has compiled a sterling collection of 23 essays defending and probing the separation of church and state and the values inherent in public education.

Scholars like Samuel Rabinove, Charles Bergstrom, ARL President John Swomley, James E. Wood, Jr., and Robert S. Alley, present varied points of view on the nature, origin and development of religious liberty. ARL board member Florence Flast describes decades of church-state conflict in New York State, observing trenchantly that "New York's partnership of religion and government appears in sometimes obscure forms."

Arnold Fege critiques the voucher concept, while Oliver Thomas predicts a continuation of church-state legal conflicts and warns, "The federal judiciary's abdication of its responsibility to maintain the wall of separation is cause for concern." Thomas also urges separationists to build a new litigation strategy based on state constitutions, which are often more explicitly separationist than the federal one.

The need for separation is expressed eloquently by one contributor, Russian Orthodox priest Michael J. Oleska, who writes about the U.S. federal government's attempts to force Protestantism and Anglo-Saxon culture on the Native American Aleuts of Orthodox faith in Alaska. Oleska concludes, "Whenever federal officials attempt to support one denomination at the

expense of another, the protective wall of separation between church and state collapses, with disastrous consequences for all concerned. Religious tolerance and good will is destroyed, and the relationship of trust between the national government and its citizens is poisoned."

ARL staff Edd Doerr and Albert J. Menendez also contributed a chapter to the book on the 18 referenda on parochiaid from 1966 to 1990.

Why We Still Need Public Schools may be ordered from ARL, P.O. Box 6656, Silver Spring, MD 20916, for \$17.95 plus \$2.00 for postage and handling.

— Albert J. Menendez

The Yugoslav Auschwitz and the Vatican: The Croatian Massacre of the Serbs During World War II, by Vladimir Dedijer, Prometheus Books, 445 pp., \$27.95.

This gruesomely documented and detailed account of Croatian Fascist genocide against Serbs, Jews, and Gypsies from 1941 to 1945 goes a long way in explaining the present conflict and bloodshed in the former Yugoslav republics. The author was a Partisan, a supporter of Marshall Tito, and an observer of the horrors. He later became Yugoslavia's ambassador to the U.N. (1945-53) and a professor and writer at various universities for more than 35 years.

It has been his intention to compile documents proving that the Vatican and the local Catholic hierarchy in Croatia supported and even directed the religious massacres and deportations. This is by no means a new revelation. The Serbian Orthodox Church published *Martyrdom of the Serbs* in 1944, and writers like Edmond Paris, Avro Manhattan, and Stella Alexander have written accounts of the religious conflicts that divided Yugoslavia.

This important and timely volume helps us to understand the fears of the Serbian minority in the new Republic of Croatia that they could be repressed or persecuted. Since the Ustasha terror also penetrated Bosnia-Herzegovina, a Serbian third of that new republic's population is also fearful. Innocent people continue to die daily in this tinderbox of Europe, largely because innocent people died there half a century ago. (The facts recorded in this book, however, do not justify the terror wreaked on Bosnia in recent months.)

Some readers will question the authenticity of documents, the reliability of witnesses, and the use of trial evidence from the late 1940s. Dedijer's zeal to place all the blame on the Vatican seems to stretch the truth, particularly when he claims that the Vatican "hated" the Serbs and encouraged Austria-Hungary to "punish" them by "starting" World War I. He also claims that "American Catholic bishops supported fascism during World War II," which is nonsense. He has a tendency to confuse the entire Vatican bureaucracy with elements within it. And while he makes a strong case that Archbishop Stepinac supported forced conversions and rebaptisms of the Orthodox to Rome, scholar Stella Alexander concluded that Stepinac and Pius XII, despite all their other faults, regarded forced conversions as invalid under church law. It is also important to note that while the Vatican showed sympathy for Croatia, it never recognized the World War II Croatian government formally. Many people are convinced that the Vatican could have used its influence to stop the genocide, however.

— Albert J. Menendez

Inside America's Christian Schools, by Paul F. Parsons, Mercer University Press, 193 pp., \$12.95.

Kansas State University journalism professor Paul Parsons spent four years visiting fundamentalist private schools in thirty states. This informative, excellent book is the product of his curiosity and research into the fastest-growing sector of U.S. education. (Sixteen states, most of them in the South or Border, saw a quadrupling in enrollment during the 1980s.)

He concludes that these schools "operate in secrecy," shelter their students from the world, exist almost solely for religious inculcation, and conceive of themselves as missionary enterprises and as extensions of the family. Parsons says that this school movement began partly in response to "negatives perceived" in public schools, primarily the increasing religious neutrality and pluralism evident in them.

While not all these schools are racist, "The genesis of many Christian schools also coincides with the migration of black children into previously white public schools," he found.

Parsons also exposes textbook bias, widespread anti-Catholic bigotry (one school canceled a basketball game when it discovered its opponent was a Catholic school) and "a tendency to emphasize rote learning and to downplay the importance of free thought." He also concludes, "A strictness that borders on repressiveness could be the dark underside of the Christian school movement." This is an essential book for today's churchstate debate.

— Albert J. Menendez

A Church Divided: The Vatican Versus American Catholics, by Terrance Sweeney, Prometheus Books, 229 pp., \$23.95.

Sweeney, a television producer and former priest, argues compellingly for new modes of authority and a married priesthood in the Roman Catholic Church. Sweeney includes the results of a poll of North American bishops, which he conducted and which reveals considerable dissent from Vatican rulings on many issues. The poll's results were suppressed by the Superior-General of the Jesuits. His summary of public opinion among American Catholics suggests that a schism may no longer be unthinkable. A "crisis of authority" exists, and the vast majority of U.S. Catholics simply do not agree with official Vatican policies on birth control, divorce, celibacy, papal infallibility, and the admission of women and married men to the priesthood.

- Albert J. Menendez

God's Warriors: The Christian Right in Twentieth Century America, by Clyde Wilcox, Johns Hopkins University Press, 249 pp., \$34.00.

A professor at Georgetown University concludes that the Christian Right failed to achieve much of its political agenda because of sharp internal divisions between fundamentalists, evangelicals, and charismatic pentecostals. Even social issue voters can be derailed by "religious particularism," he says. He also suggests, "It is possible that the next decade will mark a period of quiescence for the Christian Right" even though "a new set of political and religious entrepreneurs will soon attempt to build new Christian Right organizations." Finally, "lingering public support, coupled with the unfinished socialissue agenda suggests that the Christian Right could rise like Lazarus from the grave in the 1990s."

Wilcox also provides a detailed analysis of the kinds of people attracted to Pat Robertson's 1988 Presidential campaign.

— Albert J. Menendez

Troubled Times: Fortnight Magazine and the Troubles in Northern Ireland 1970-91, edited by Robert Beli, Robert Johnstone, and Robin Wilson, Dufour Editdions, 221 pp., \$19.95.

This is a delightful and historically valuable account of Ulster's "Troubles" as reported in a feisty, independent magazine that has little respect for religious or political authority of any kind. The daily "chronology of events" will be of inestimable value to future historians of this sad little corner of the world.

— Albert J. Menendez

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