



# VOICE OF REASON

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The Newsletter of Americans for Religious Liberty

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## Church, State and the Presidency

**A**s the U.S. electorate faces a critical national election, issues involving church and state, religious freedom, conscience and values continue to play a role in the formation of public opinion and political party strategy. Both the candidates and the party platforms suggest strong differences of opinion on these issues, perhaps reflecting the constituencies within the parties and their perception of voter loyalties.

### The Democrats

While domestic economic issues captured most of the attention of the Democratic Platform, the party pledged itself to maintain abortion rights and to protect public education.

On abortion the platform proclaimed, "Choice. Democrats stand behind the right of every woman to choose, consistent with *Roe v. Wade*, regardless of ability to pay, and support a national law to protect that right. It is a fundamental constitutional liberty that individual Americans—not government—can best take responsibility for making the most difficult and intensely personal decisions regarding reproduction. The goal of our nation must be to make abortion less necessary, not more difficult or more dangerous. We pledge to support contraceptive research, family planning, comprehensive family life education, and policies that support healthy childbearing and enable parents to care most effectively for their children."

On a related issue the Democrats said, "Explosive population growth must be controlled by working closely with other industrialized and developing nations and private organizations to fund greater family-planning efforts."

On education, the Democrats said they "oppose the Bush Administration's efforts to bankrupt the public school system—the bedrock of democracy—through private school vouchers."

Governor Bill Clinton, the Democratic nominee, is comfortable with these positions. In a major address to the National Education Association shortly before the July convention, Clinton told the nation's public school teachers that he is "unalterably opposed" to aiding private and parochial schools.

Both Clinton and his running mate, Tennessee Senator Al Gore, support freedom of conscience on abortion, though their positions have evolved in recent years. Both Clinton, as governor of Arkansas, and Gore, while in the U.S. House and Senate, expressed reservations about federal funding of abortions under Medicaid and supported parental notification. Clinton supported amendments to an Arkansas law that made it easier to bypass parents and receive permission from a judge in certain cases. Both Clinton and Gore favor the inclusion of abortion services in any future national medical insurance programs, and Gore voted for Medicaid-funded abortions in 1988. Gore also said on June 16: "The decision to have an abortion is an

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## Ariz., Colo., Md. Face Church-State Referenda

**O**n November 3 voters in Arizona, Colorado, and Maryland will face critical referendum elections on church-state issues. In Arizona and Maryland the issue is freedom of conscience on abortion, while in Colorado the issue is coerced public support for sectarian private schools.

In Arizona, Proposition 110 was petitioned onto the ballot by anti-choice extremists. The proposed amendment to the state constitution would prohibit all abortions except those needed to save a woman's life, though the proposal would allow the state legislature to permit abortions in cases involving "reported" rape or incest. Under Proposition 110 health risks for women or the certainty or strong probability of serious birth defects could never be grounds for an abortion.

Proposition 110 would also require courts, upon request by apparently anyone, to appoint attorneys to "represent preborn children, as a class." It also exempts women from "criminal prosecution or civil liability for undergoing an abortion," a feature of the proposal which could be used to compel women to testify against medical personnel alleged to be involved in abortions.

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*Inside . . .*

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# Church Schools, Public Funds I

**G**eorge Bush is all for it. Colorado voters must decide in November whether they want it. Secular and sectarian special interests that show little interest in the public schools serving 90% of our children want it. Chris Whittle and others who would like to privatize and make a handsome profit on education want it. Certain shortsighted conservative religious leaders want it.

"It" is parochial aid, i.e., tax support for nonpublic schools, to be siphoned from the pockets of taxpayers into the coffers of private, mostly denominational, schools not under meaningful public control and not bound by the democratic rules applicable to public schools.

"It" would be delivered to nonpublic schools through such clever devices as tuition vouchers, tuition reimbursement tax credits, so-called "scholarships," or Bush's all too cute "Junior G.I. Bill."

Voucher and other parochial aid schemes receive far too little attention from the media, even though there have been eighteen statewide referenda on the subject in the past quarter century, numerous battles in Congress and state legislatures, and a steady barrage of parochial aid propaganda from sectarian special interest groups, televangelists, ultraconservative columnists, and even once respected think tanks such as the Brookings Institution.

But the silence is beginning to break. Last year Prometheus Books, in cooperation with Americans for Religious Liberty, published *Church Schools and Public Money: The Politics of Parochial Aid*, by ARL's Edd Doerr and Al Menendez (see ad elsewhere in this issue). *Church Schools* brought together all of the pertinent information on the parochial aid controversy in a single book.

This year Prometheus Books and ARL are publishing Al Menendez's new book, *Visions of Reality: What Fundamentalist Schools Teach*, due off the press in mid-October (152 pp., \$14.95).

Menendez has carefully examined nearly 10,000 pages in the social studies, English, and science textbooks most widely used

in fundamentalist private schools, which make up the largest segment of nonpublic education other than the Catholic parochial schools. He documents the fact that a large percentage of these schools promote prejudice against people of other faiths, distort history, derogate our literary heritage, cast science in unfavorable light, and otherwise indoctrinate children with "visions of reality" totally incompatible with public tax support.

This important and timely study of what is taught in fundamentalist private schools by ARL's research director is the first of its kind and brings to public attention information available from no other source.

## Church Schools, Public Funds II

**F**undamentalist private schools are not the only nonpublic schools seeking public funding. Indeed, some supporters of fundamentalist schools are a bit leery of accepting tax aid because they fear that public influence and controls may (and certainly should) accompany any tax aid. For one thing, taxpayers would balk at paying for the kind of sectarian indoctrination exposed in Al Menendez's new book, *Visions of Reality: What Fundamentalist Schools Teach*.

But this country's largest set of nonpublic schools, Roman Catholic schools, enrolling about half of the five million kids in private schools, is not so shy. Actually, with Catholic school enrollment having imploded from 5.5 million in 1965 to about 2.5 million today, with Catholic parishioners giving only half as much money to their church as Protestant donors (1% vs. 2%), and with ever larger numbers of Catholics "turned off" by their church hierarchy's autocratic ways and unpopular positions on divorce, birth control, abortion, clerical celibacy, and ordination of women, Catholic schools are in danger of almost total collapse.

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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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## Church Schools, Public Funds II

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We found it interesting to read the report recently published by the National Catholic Educational Association on "Catholic Schools for the 21st Century" (NCEA, 82 pp., 1992). The report repeatedly makes it clear that the Catholic Church's leaders (as distinct from the majority of its rank and file members) insist that their schools be supported by taxes while at the same time insisting that their schools be pervasively sectarian or denominational.

"Catholic schools," the report declares, "are deeply rooted in the life of the church, the body of Jesus Christ." And, "The Catholic school is an integral part of the church's mission to proclaim the gospel." As church officials have repeatedly and abundantly made clear, church schools are not just like public schools, with a little religious instruction added on; they are pervasively denominational institutions and integral parts of the church's religious mission. The schools expect all teachers and students, including those who themselves are not Catholic, to cooperate in the schools' mission.

At the same time, the report insists that Catholic schools receive tax support, spelling out the need for "federal, state and local level political action involving the total Catholic community" to secure that public funding.

The NCEA document is actually a report on a National Congress of Catholic Schools held in Washington in November of 1991. The political nature of the gathering was evidenced by its presenting a major award to Barbara Bush and its inclusion in its program of former Delaware Gov. Pierre DuPont, a long time parochial promoter, John Chubb, the Brookings Institution's resident voucher publicist, and Lynne V. Cheney, chair of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Curiously absent from the NCEA report is any evidence of church concern for the three-fourths of Catholic children who attend public schools, or for the 90% of American children who go to public schools which are increasingly strapped for adequate funds.

If religious bodies in this country, all of them, would show more interest in the public schools serving the children who are our future, we could be a great deal more optimistic about where we are headed. ■

## Dirty Poll

In mid-September print and electronic media put out a story about a new Gallup survey purporting to show 70% majority public support for tax funding of sectarian and other nonpublic schools. The poll was commissioned and released by the National Catholic Educational Association, which has long sought tax funding for private schools and which apparently timed and released the poll so as to influence this year's elections.

The trouble is, the question used in the poll ("In some nations, the government allots a certain amount of money for each child for his education. The parents can then send the child to any public, parochial or private school they choose. This is called the 'voucher system.' Would you like to see such an idea adopted in this country?") was nearly meaningless because it mixed inextricably the wholly separate issues of parental choice among public schools and tax support for nonpublic schools, 90% of which are sectarian.

Gallup used the same question in a number of the annual Phi Delta Kappa surveys of opinion on education from 1970 until the late 1980s. Use of the question invariably brought ambiguous and useless results.

But in 1991, after years of complaints from experts, Gallup/PDK broke the equivocal question into two unambiguous questions. Responses to the separate questions showed strong support for choice *among public schools* but strong opposition, 68% to 26%, to including nonpublic schools in public funding.

The 1990 Gallup/PDK results were matched by a 1991 TIME/CNN poll showing opposition to vouchers for nonpublic schools running 68% to 28%. Similarly, in a November 1991 Oregon referendum on a voucher-like scheme, strongly supported by J. Danforth Quayle, voters turned down the scheme 67% to 33%.

The bottom line, simply, is that while most Americans favor choice within publicly accountable public education, a solid majority oppose every significant form of tax aid or support for nonpublic schools, as polls and statewide referenda from coast to coast have consistently shown for the past quarter century.

Surely both the Gallup organization and the National Catholic Educational Association know their 1992 poll is not a valid test of public opinion. So, one must ask, should we support private schools run by people whose opinion poll ethics are so questionable? ■

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## Books

*Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit*, by Senator Al Gore, Houghton Mifflin, 407 pp., \$22.95.

Senator Gore's analysis of our planet's ecology/population crisis is right on target in this brilliant, readable, sophisticated book. He shows very clearly that the only result of increasing environmental degradation and resource depletion, coupled with rapid population growth, can be a global disaster. His prescriptions for remedies are those of a politician/statesman, in the best sense of that term, realistic and achievable, and aimed at pulling together the widest possible spectrum of people. With remarkable deftness he attacks environmental shortsightedness while appealing for cooperation to both the self-interest and values of groups heretofore indifferent to the ecology/population crisis or unfriendly to serious efforts to slow or halt population growth. Gore's book ought to be read by everyone.

— Edd Doerr

*The Price of Peace*, by Cahal B. Daly, Dufour Editions, 251 pp., \$24.00.

Ireland's new Cardinal is one of the Emerald Isle's few churchmen who seems to have made an effort to understand the convictions and fears of the rival religious group, in this case the embattled Ulster Protestants. Daly, a native of Northern Ireland, does more than just condemn violence. He urges concrete steps that could bring about conditions conducive to interfaith reconciliation and justice, both preconditions to lasting peace.

Daly is favorable to church-state separation. He observes, "It is for the good of both religion and politics that the spheres of both be clearly distinguished." The churches, he says, "must not act as spokespersons for political parties or as proxies for political leaders." He also argues: "The complete withdrawal from party

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## Sagan on Asimov

*Carl Sagan's tribute to Isaac Asimov, who died on April 6, arrived too late for inclusion in the celebration of Asimov's life and work in our last issue. So we include it here. Sagan is Professor of Astronomy and Space Sciences and Director of the Laboratory for Planetary Studies at Cornell University, and author/narrator of the famed television series "Cosmos." Like Asimov, Sagan is a member of the Americans for Religious Liberty National Advisory Board.*

Isaac Asimov was born in Russia, just after the Revolution, of Jewish parents (although he speculated that the name might be Islamic, meaning "son of Hassim," and have Uzbek roots). Emigrating to Brooklyn at age 3, his early life revolved around his father's candy store, where from the magazines on the shelves he taught himself to read and first encountered science fiction. He received a Ph.D. in chemistry at Columbia, became Professor of Biochemistry at Boston University Medical School, and was co-author of the text *Biochemistry and Human Metabolism*. But he became world famous for his work in science fiction and the popularization of science.

Like T.H. Huxley, Asimov was motivated by profoundly democratic impulses to communicate science to the public. "Science is too important," he said paraphrasing Clemenceau, "to be left to the scientists." It will never be known how many practicing scientists today, in how many countries, owe their initial inspiration to a book, article, or short story by Isaac Asimov—nor how many ordinary citizens are sympathetic to the scientific enterprise from the same cause. For example, Marvin Minsky of MIT, one of the pioneers of Artificial Intelligence and an advisor to the Planetary Society, was brought to his subject by Asimov's robot stories (initially conceived to illustrate human/robot partnerships and to counter the prevailing notion, going back to *Frankenstein*, of robots as necessarily malign). At a time when science fiction was mainly devoted to action and adventure, Asimov introduced puzzle-solving schemes that taught science and thinking along the way.

A number of his phrases and ideas have insinuated themselves into the culture of science—for example, his spare description of the solar system as "four planets plus

debris," or his notion of one day carrying icebergs from the rings of Saturn to the arid wastelands of Mars. He wrote many science books for young people, and as editor of his own science fiction magazine he made efforts to encourage young writers.

His output was prodigious, approaching 500 volumes, always in his characteristic straightforward, plainspeaking syntax. The Science Fiction Writers of America voted his "Nightfall" the best science fiction short story of "all time." He was a recipient of prizes from the American Chemical Society and the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and of more than a dozen honorary degrees from American colleges and universities. His interests were not restricted to science, and his books ranged broadly—including two-volume guides to Shakespeare and the Bible, and a thick commentary on Byron's *Don Juan*. Part of the reason his *Foundation* series of novels on the decline of a galactic empire worked so well is that it was based on a close reading of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. A principal theme was the effort to keep science alive as the Dark Ages rolled in.

Asimov spoke out in favor of science and reason and against pseudoscience and superstition. He was a Founding Fellow of the Committee for Scientific Investigation of Claims of the Paranormal and President of the American Humanist Association. He wasn't afraid to criticize the government and was deeply committed to stabilizing world population growth.

The microscopic probe he described in his novel *Fantastic Voyage*—that could enter the human bloodstream and repair tissue damage—was, sadly, not yet available at the time of his death. As someone born in grinding poverty, and with a lifelong passion to write and explain, Asimov by his own standards led a successful and happy life. In one of his last books, he wrote that "my life has just about run its course and I don't really expect to live much longer." However, he went on; his love for his wife, the psychiatrist Janet Jepson, and hers for him sustained him. "It's been a good life, and I am satisfied with it. So please don't worry about me."

I don't. Instead, I worry about the rest of us, with no Isaac Asimov around to inspire the young to learning and to science. ■

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intensely personal one, and I do not believe that the federal government should participate in the decision."

Both Clinton and Gore are Southern Baptists, the largest Protestant denomination in America. Both appear to identify with its moderate to liberal wing, as did former Presidents Jimmy Carter and Harry Truman. Clinton attends Immanuel Baptist Church in Little Rock, while his wife Hillary attends that city's First United Methodist Church. Clinton said his family's life had been enriched by attending different churches.

Clinton, a graduate of Georgetown University, won a Rhodes Scholarship to Oxford and received his law degree at Yale. Many of Georgetown's Jesuit professors remember Clinton as a serious young man who thought about moral and ethical issues in public policy.

Gore attended Episcopal-related St. Alban's School and Harvard, where he serves as a member of the Board of Trustees. He studied theology at Vanderbilt while he was a reporter for a local newspaper.

There has been some speculation about whether an all-Baptist ticket could regain some support for the Democrats in the strongly Baptist Southern and Border states, where Baptist voters have gone Republican in the last three presidential races.

Clinton's acceptance speech called for a "New Covenant" between government and the American people, a use of religious imagery which pleased some scholars but offended the Religious Right. TV evangelist Pat Robertson said Clinton's idealistic appeal "bordered on blasphemy" because Clinton supports freedom of choice on abortion. The redoubtable Rev. Jerry Falwell accused the Arkansas governor of "misquoting and manipulating Holy Scripture for political purposes."

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The Clinton-Gore campaign has already been beset by anti-abortion demonstrators. Operation Rescue's militant leader Randall Terry and three supporters tried to hand a fetus to Clinton in New York during the convention. An extremist group called the Pro-Life Action Network has promised to "hound Clinton at every whistle-stop," according to its director, Joseph M. Scheidler.

### The Republicans

For twelve years successive Republican administrations have promoted a distinctive religious agenda and have advocated church-state policies sharply at variance with the Democrats. Though unsuccessful even at the height of President Reagan's popularity, the GOP has stood foursquare for a constitutional ban on abortion, a constitutional amendment authorizing government sponsored prayer in public schools, and public tax subsidy of denominational and other private elementary and secondary schools. The party continues to advocate those policies, despite dissent within its ranks and declining public support for such policies.

The abortion issue may prove to be the Achille's heel for Republican electoral hopes at the presidential level since the party platform calls for the legal abolition of abortion in all cases except those required to save a woman's life. The platform committee, meeting in Houston in August, even rejected amendments permitting abortion in the case of rape or incest. Despite vigorous pro-choice lobbying by many active and committed Republicans, the party machinery—and the President and Vice-President—slammed shut the doors of compromise. The GOP remains the anti-choice party and its links with anti-abortion crusaders are firm. Chants of "Four more years" reverberated through the air at the National Right to Life Convention in Washington, in June. Bush's reelection is the top priority of America's anti-choice zealots, who are aware that the Republican platform reaffirmed its call for the appointment of anti-choice judges at all levels of the judiciary. The Bush administration has also given legal and moral support to Operation Rescue's strongarm tactics aimed at closing abortion clinics and intimidating medical personnel.

## VISIONS OF REALITY

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### New Religious Party

Followers of Transcendental Meditation (TM) guru Maharishi Mahesh Yogi have formed the Natural Law Party, which has raised enough money from TM meditators to qualify for federal matching funds and has gotten on the ballot in 28 states. The party's presidential candidate is physicist John Hagelin.

The party insists that TM is "scientific," not mystical. However, ARL's Doerr and Menendez set up a legal challenge to the promotion of TM in New Jersey public schools in the 1970s, which resulted in federal district and appellate court rulings (*Malnak v. Yogi*) that TM is a substantially religious movement, though most meditators are unaware of it.

The GOP is hoping that the one-issue anti-abortion voters will outnumber pro-choice voters. This appears to have been the case in 1980, 1984, and 1988, when the anti-choice minority voted for Reagan and Bush in larger numbers than pro-choice voters supported the Democrats. This may be changing. Elections in 1990 and 1991 found that pro-choice voters, angered and frightened by the intimidation and the drift in the U.S. Supreme Court, made a crucial difference in many elections. Surveys throughout the summer of 1992 indicate that voters *who feel strongly about the abortion issue* favor Clinton over Bush by a 3 to 2 margin. If this holds, the Republican abortion advantage will vanish and may be replaced by an advantage to the Democrats. Republicans have failed to heed the warning of party patriarch and 1964 conservative standard-bearer Barry Goldwater, who denounced his party's anti-abortion position and said it would cost them the election.

While an uncomfortable George Bush "wants the abortion issue to disappear," according to *Time* senior editor Laurence Barrett, Dan Quayle is quite happy to raise the issue among zealots and activists. The Vice-President told delegates to the National Right-to-Life Convention in June, "We shall carry the day. By honoring God in all things, you keep the pro-life movement oriented to the Author of Life."

Quayle is also willing to promote fundamentalist counter-attacks within America's mainline churches, in one of which (Presbyterian) he is active. In a July 1991 address to the Good News Convocation in Washington, Quayle told Methodist conservatives who are trying to reshape their denomination, "It's not easy being in the minority, but a determined minority can turn itself into a majority." Quayle also claimed that the contentious and highly visible movement "has been a blessing not only to the United Methodist Church but to the nation as well."

President Bush, a lifelong Episcopalian, has also cultivated ties to the Religious Right, and has spoken to enthusiastic delegates of the Southern Baptist Convention, where a fundamentalist faction has seized control during the past decade. During his vice-presidency Bush assured a group of fundamentalist and evangelical churchmen that he shares their religious views in the essentials. Evangelist Billy Graham is a friend and supporter.

The Bush reelection campaign has targeted parochial school patrons in its quest for votes. This may, in fact, become a top priority since Bush's hardhitting July 21 address at Archbishop

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Regan High School in Philadelphia. Bush, flanked by Cardinal Anthony Bevilacqua, told an audience of carefully selected parents, students and guests that he "would clearly take this case to the American people this fall." Bush seemed, however, uninformed about the specifics of his own voucher plan. He told one questioner that a \$1000 voucher would go to any student in any private or church-related school, regardless of family income. The voucher proposal before Congress excludes families with incomes over \$40,000.

Cardinal Bevilacqua told the President, "We want a fair share for our Catholic school parents." Most of those invited to hear the President were activists who had lobbied unsuccessfully for a parochial school voucher program in Pennsylvania. The \$900 per pupil voucher scheme was defeated by Pennsylvania legislators last December, but proponents have promised to try again in 1993.

Bush reminded his audiences that parochial aid was "an issue on which I have a distinct difference with my opponent. If you believe in this, you ought to vote not only for me but for members of the U.S. Congress whose support will be necessary to pass this legislation."

There was a sense of *deja vu* in this Bush campaign stop. Just 20 years ago President Richard Nixon spoke in Philadelphia to the National Catholic Education Association and promised tax support for church schools.

While most voters, legislators, and courts have opposed such proposals, the Republican Party apparently still sees the issue as a potential vote-getter. On the day of Bush's address, Philadelphia Rep. Thomas M. Foglietta denounced the plan and reminded voters, "Most of Philadelphia's children are not in parochial school." The Jewish Community Relations Council also reaffirmed its opposition.

On a related issue Bush escalated his rhetoric at an appearance at the Three Saints Russian Orthodox Church in Garfield, New Jersey: "The Democrats want public schools to hand out birth-control pills and devices to teenaged kids. The family is under siege." Bush reiterated these themes before a Knights of Columbus audience attended by New York's Cardinal John O'Connor. At that event Bush also criticized the Supreme Court's decision on high school graduation prayers and called for a constitutional amendment authorizing school sponsored prayer.

The Republican Platform was largely shaped and dictated by the party's increasingly powerful and strident Religious Right. More than 300 convention delegates were members of Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition, the most visible Religious Right organization. Nearly 42% of delegates surveyed by the *Washington Post* called themselves "born-again," and delegations from Iowa to Washington State were top-heavy with religious conservatives who had, in many instances, ousted religious moderates in bitter intraparty strife. One prominent drafter of the platform's "family values" planks was Keith Butler, a Detroit city councilman and pastor of the Word of Faith Christian Center.

The platform, seasoned with Biblical quotes from the King James Version of the Bible (the Protestant version demanded by evangelicals on the platform committee), calls for a constitutional amendment banning all abortions except those few necessary to save a woman's life. It also opposes all public funding for the procedure and calls for "abstinence education"

in public schools. The party opposes birth-control services in public schools and urges an increase in adoptions "through significant tax credits, insurance reforms and legal reforms." The party also endorsed legislation to make the Fourteenth Amendment applicable to "unborn children."

The Republican establishment slammed the door shut on millions of pro-choice Republicans. All amendments to the harsh anti-abortion position were defeated by the platform committee, and supporters of choice were unable to mount a floor fight on the subject despite polls showing a significant number of delegates wanted the Barbara Bush solution—no party position on abortion. Polls show a strong majority of Republican voters nationwide opposed to their party's extreme platform position, which seems to contradict the party's long-held preference for "limited" government. However, even pro-choice delegations from California, Vermont, and New Jersey refused to act on this crucial issue because they did not want a divisive floor fight to endanger Bush's reelection campaign.

### Previous Party Platforms: Silent on God

While George Bush has attacked Bill Clinton and the Democrats for failing to mention God in the 1992 platform, previous Republican platforms generally did not do so either. The first Republican document in 1856 did not invoke the blessing of a Deity. Neither did the great convention of 1860 which nominated Abraham Lincoln. In fact, from 1856 through 1944, Republican platforms did not mention God except once: in 1876, platform writers used the oblique phrase "in the economy of Providence" to explain the Republican abolition of slavery.

It was not until 1948 that Republicans began to insist on specific religious invocations. Since then, only the 1972 platform, on which Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew ran for re-election, omitted any references to a Deity.

The Democrats, as one might expect from the party of Thomas Jefferson, refused religious invocations in 31 of their 35 platforms since 1856. Only in 1948 and 1952, during the era of the Cold War, McCarthyism and the Korean War, did the Democrats join the Republicans in considerable religious rhetoric. Brief references, such as "on God's earth," appeared in 1960 and 1924.

Did mentioning God assure success at the polls? Not really. The Democrats were 2 and 2 when they mentioned God. The Republicans did a little better, winning 7 times and losing 4 times when they mentioned divinity in their platform. However, Republicans won 14 elections and lost 9 all on their own. Mathematicians would call this statistically insignificant.

It may be that political leaders in earlier times respected the religious diversity of the American people and the inherent religious neutrality of our constitutional system of government more than today's politicians, many of whom seek to divide the electorate along religious lines.

The Republican Party today would do well to return to the standard it set in 1944 when its platform affirmed "We unreservedly condemn the injection into American life of appeals to racial or religious prejudice."

AJM

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On education the Republicans endorsed a \$1,000 per child tuition credit to encourage attendance at parochial and private schools. The party endorsed school prayer and prayer at "commencements and other occasions," and pledged "strong enforcement of the equal access" law allowing religious groups to organize activities in public schools. The platform affirmed, "We must not remain neutral toward religion itself or the values religion supports." The platform, while claiming that "America must remain neutral toward particular religions" proclaimed to be "mindful of our country's Judeo-Christian heritage." Presumably, this excludes millions of Americans who adhere to different religious heritages.

The Republicans pledged themselves to oppose civil rights protections for gay Americans, laws allowing gays to adopt children or provide foster care, and to uphold the ban on homosexuals in the military "as a matter of good order and discipline." On AIDS the party urged education stressing "marital fidelity and abstinence."

On related family policies, the Republicans said that welfare "taxes families to subsidize illegitimacy." The foster-care system should be overhauled to "promote marital stability." "Republicans recognize the importance of having fathers and mothers in the home. The two-parent family still provides the best environment of stability, discipline, responsibility, and character," says the party's official 1992 statement of principles.

Finally, the GOP waded into the sensitive area of arts and media, which they called "promoting cultural values." In a particularly irresponsible manner, this statement charges that

"Elements within the media, the entertainment industry, academia and the Democratic Party are waging a guerilla war against American values. They deny personal responsibility, disparage traditional morality, denigrate religion, and promote hostility toward the family's way of life." Government, the Republicans say, "has a responsibility to insure that it promotes common moral values . . . We therefore condemn the use of public funds to subsidize obscenity and blasphemy masquerading as art."

In an aside, Republicans remind the nation that "no artist has an inherent right to claim taxpayer support for his or her private vision of art if that vision mocks the moral and spiritual basis on which our society is founded."

The entire Republican campaign document is suffused by a kind of evangelical Protestant cultural nationalism that presupposes that certain inherent values are superior to others and that the government is somehow responsible for fostering individual morality. While the Republican Party historically has always tended toward the politics of moralism, this document goes further than any previous platform in enunciating a specific vision of family life and societal values. It is ironic that an increasingly pluralistic society would be addressed in such a manner by the ruling party, which condemns changes in society over which it has presided for twenty of the past twenty-four years.

Historians see disturbing and ominous parallels between the 1992 Republican Platform and the 1932 Nazi Party manifesto in Germany. Thomas Childers, in his *The Nazi Voter* (University of North Carolina Press, 1983), says that the Nazis "promised to erect a dam against the filthy torrent of atheism that had endangered Christian values everywhere." And, "In addressing Pro-

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## Florence Flast

**F**lorence Flast, a member of ARL's board of directors and a long time activist for public education and church-state separation, died on August 15 at the age of 74.

Mrs. Flast, a former president of the United Parent Associations of New York City, was one of the founders of the New York Committee for Public Education and Religious Liberty (PEARL), formed to combat efforts to change the New York State constitution in 1966-67 to permit tax aid for sectarian private schools. The 72% to 28% defeat of the proposed new constitution, mainly on religious liberty grounds, was the subject of my 1968 book, *The Conspiracy That Failed*.

Mrs. Flast was the lead plaintiff in *Flast v. Coben*, the case in which the Supreme Court in 1968 recognized the "standing" of taxpayers to use federal courts to challenge tax expenditures alleged to violate the First Amendment's establishment clause, a ruling which made possible the Supreme Court's series of decisions against parochial aid beginning in 1971. She was actively involved in other parochial challenges, such as the suit *Aguilar v. Felton*, in which the Supreme Court in 1985 ruled unconstitutional the assignment of publicly paid teachers to work in denominational schools.

Mrs. Flast was one of the founders and vice-president until her death of the National Coalition for Public Education and

Religious Liberty (National PEARL) and also served on the national Church-State Committee of the ACLU.

One of her last efforts was to write a chapter, "Theocracy versus Democracy in the Empire State: Three Decades of Church-State Entanglement in the Schools of New York," in the recently published book, *Why We Still Need Public Schools: Church/State Relations and Visions of Democracy* (Prometheus Books, 1992, \$17.95, available from ARL).

When Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan co-chaired a Senate hearing in 1978 on a bill to provide massive aid to denominational schools through tuition tax credits, he charged opponents of the bill with "nativist bigotry." Mrs. Flast, who had a little earlier that day presented testimony against the bill, cornered Moynihan when the hearing recessed for lunch and demanded, "I am a member of a minority religion whose parents immigrated to this country from Russia. How can you accuse me of nativist bigotry?" Moynihan, usually rather voluble, had little to say.

Florence Flast was the very model of the citizen activist. She volunteered her time, energy, and eloquence for over a quarter of a century to the cause of defending public education and religious liberty, truly the "PEARL" of great price.

Edd Doerr

## Church, State and the Presidency

*continued from page 7*

testant and Catholic audiences in 1932, the Nazis linked their commitment to Christian principles with a warning against Marxism." The Nazis, he concluded, "relentlessly played up the party's support for traditional religious and cultural values."

Both Childers and Richard F. Hamilton (*Who Voted for Hitler?*, Princeton University Press, 1982) conclude that the Nazi triumph at the polls in 1932 was primarily due to its heavy support in evangelical, rural and Protestant areas, where voters responded positively to religious appeals and fears. It should be noted that the Nazi government suppressed abortion, supported religious education in the early days of the Third Reich, and supported censorship of media and entertainment.

No one is suggesting that the Republicans today resemble the Nazis of old, but there are striking and disturbing similarities in political campaigns that stress religious, moral and cultural differences among the electorate. These differences have traditionally been accepted and respected throughout most of America's history, and government efforts to regulate moral behavior have generally been rejected (except for Prohibition).

Whatever the risks, the Republican Party has embarked on a national campaign to regulate the moral behavior and personal life styles of the American people, presumably to make them conform to the stances adopted by religious conservatives.

This campaign effort was highlighted by the appearance of President Bush at a gathering of the extreme right Religious Roundtable in Dallas on August 21. *The New York Times* concluded that "the preachers and ideological spokesmen of the religious right... anointed President Bush as their champion in a battle between good and evil." Speakers urged clergy to organize their congregations on behalf of the Republican ticket, even though such efforts could jeopardize their tax-exempt status.

Speaker after speaker castigated the Democratic ticket as friends of pornography who would let "a sea of homosexuals and lesbians" into the White House. Retired Army general Daniel Graham, a former Reagan advisor, claimed that "atheists and agnostics and their trained-seal scientists" invented environmental threats to advance their schemes for "world government." Numerous Baptist preachers denounced their co-reli-

gionists Clinton and Gore. The Rev. Donald F. Wildmon, president of the American Family Association, warned the audience, "If Bill Clinton goes to the White House, he'll take his friends the homosexuals, the abortionists and the pornographers." Patrick Buchanan, the *enfant terrible* of the Far Right, told listeners that the Los Angeles rioters "came out of public schools where God and the Ten Commandments and the Bible were long ago expelled." Buchanan reiterated his convention charge that the United States is "engaged in a religious war, a battle over America's soul."

Bush pounded these themes in appearances in Alabama and Georgia, both evangelical strongholds. He has done everything but get converted at a tent revival meeting in his quest for votes. He phoned National Association of Evangelicals President Don Argue on August 5 and emphasized his opposition to homosexuality. Argue told supporters the President "identifies with our biblical view against homosexuality." Bush even recorded greetings for a Harvest Crusade evangelism rally in Orange County, California, which is crucial to GOP success in the Golden State.

Meanwhile, Vice-President Quayle, called "the Christian Coalition's docile mascot" by columnist Mary McGroarty, appeared at the "God and Country" rally mounted by TV evangelist Pat Robertson in Houston. Quayle promised that he would "never give up" his fight for "traditional family values" and against the "cultural elites." Wife Marilyn Quayle has expressed concerns that the Clintons attend different churches. Robertson told viewers that the Clintons "were out to destroy the traditional family."

As the campaign entered October, the mean-spirited Religious Right attacks seemed to have no boundaries of respectability: one letter writer to a Lynchburg, Virginia, paper said Clinton's supporters are "dupes of Satan."

An ultraconservative periodical called *Catholic Replies* in Norwood, Massachusetts, says that "any Catholic voting for Clinton is guilty of an objectively grave immoral action."

Republican delegate George Nowell of Boulder, Colorado, lamented that those who seized control of the Colorado delegation are "people filled with hate." How hateful this campaign becomes remains to be seen.

— Albert J. Menendez

## Church-State Referenda

*continued from page 1*

Opposing Proposition 110 is a non-partisan, interfaith coalition called Pro-Choice Arizona (7 East Weldon Ave., Phoenix, AZ 85012, phone 602-230-9448; or 221 East Broadway #108, Tucson, AZ 85719, phone 602-792-0684). Concerned citizens of Arizona or elsewhere may contribute or do volunteer work for the Pro-Choice Arizona coalition.

In Colorado, Amendment 7 was petitioned onto the November ballot in August. It calls for vouchers worth about \$2,500 (half of the per pupil expenditure in the district where a child lives) for parochial and private school tuition. Recipient schools would not be bound by anti-discrimination laws and court rulings applicable to public schools, nor would the recipient nonpublic schools be responsible to the state's taxpayers.

The voucher plan would cost Colorado taxpayers about \$95,000,000 per year.

About 6.2% of Colorado elementary and secondary students

attend nonpublic schools, about 2.2% in Catholic schools, 2.4% in other denominational, mainly fundamentalist, schools, and 1.4% in other private schools.

Coordinating the campaign to defeat Amendment 7 and thus defend church-state separation is The No on Voucher Committee (1245 East Colfax Ave. #312, Denver, CO 80218, phone 303-863-1082), which welcomes contributions and volunteers.

In Maryland, Question 6 on the November 3 ballot is a referendum on a bill passed by the state legislature in 1991 to protect freedom of choice in the event that *Roe v. Wade* is overturned. If that happens, as is likely if President Bush is reelected, Maryland would revert to a 1968 law which would outlaw 95% of abortions in the state and subject women seeking abortions to onerous inquisitions by hospital committees. The bill was petitioned onto the ballot by anti-choice forces.

Maryland voters favoring choice will have to vote "for" Question 6 (not "against," as in Arizona).

Anti-choice forces have mounted a \$3 million campaign to  
*(continued on page 12)*



# Update

## House Says No to School Vouchers

The US House of Representatives has soundly rejected two proposals to include private and parochial schools in federal education funding.

On August 12 House members crushed, 328 to 80, an amendment "guaranteeing" that "private schools" would be included in "school choice" programs. Almost all Democrats (251 of 252) and half of Republicans (76 of 155) voted against this requirement.

On the same day the House also turned down a milder amendment, which would have permitted the inclusion of nonpublic schools if allowed under state law. The vote was 267 to 140, with Democrats sharply opposing it 243 to 6 and Republicans in favor by 134 to 23. Thus, over 97% of Democrats but only 15% of Republicans rejected the private and church school lobby. Vermont Independent Bernie Sanders opposed both amendments. An interesting opponent was New Jersey Republican Christopher Smith, an active Catholic. Smith's office was the only one in Congress to take a personal interest in ARL's forthcoming study of fundamentalist school textbooks. Another oddity was the support for the amendment by the only public school teacher in the House, Republican Wayne Gilchrist of Maryland. Gilchrist's district, the Eastern Shore of Maryland, has few private and parochial schools and voters overwhelmingly rejected parochial referenda in 1972 and 1974. His general election opponent, Democrat Tom McMillen, voted no.

Congressional religious affiliation had little influence compared to political party affiliation. In Utah, for example, both Mormon Democrats voted no, while the one Mormon Republican voted yes. Even Unitarian Republicans Nancy Johnson of Connecticut and Don Ritter of Pennsylvania supported the amendment.

## Abortion Rights

Louisiana's 1991 strict anti-choice law was ruled unconstitutional on September 22 by a unanimous Fifth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals, confirming an earlier ruling by Louisiana federal district judge Adrian Duplantier. The law banned all abortions except those to save a woman's life and in certain rape and incest cases. The law provided for ten year prison terms and fines up to \$100,000 for physicians.

The Reagan-Bush "gag rule" went into effect on September 23. The "gag rule" bans counseling about abortion by all medical personnel except physicians in some 4,000 federally funded family planning facilities serving primarily poor women.

On September 25 President Bush vetoed a bill passed by Congress to overturn the "gag rule." Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell responded to the veto angrily, "I regret that the President is determined to censor the information health care professionals can give to women. I am disappointed that the President does not trust women to make their own sound decisions about their own health care after receiving all information about legal, medical opinions and their disposal."

At least 15 women's clinics in Michigan were vandalized in mid-September. Foul smelling chemicals were pumped into the buildings through holes drilled in walls or beneath doors. No arrests have been made in the terrorist strikes.

Maryland anti-choice campaigners have been thwarted by the state supreme court in efforts to manipulate the wording on the November 3 referendum ballot of Question 6. Dissatisfied with

the neutral ballot language devised by the state attorney general, the anti-choice forces tried to change it to confuse voters.

The ACLU of Ohio is trying to stop the state's request for \$100,000 in federal funds for 30 anti-choice counseling centers that operate under fraudulent means to deliver religious messages to pregnant women.

## Wheeling and Dealing in Wheeling

Wheeling Jesuit College, a small church-related institution in West Virginia, has managed to land \$41 million in federal funds, three times its own \$14 million budget, for federal research projects. Although the school has only 1400 students and no doctoral programs, it will get \$28 million for a National Technology Transfer Center and \$13 million for a Classroom of the Future Project.

The \$41 million is to come from the NASA budget, though NASA did not seek the project. The project may not even be necessary, at any institution, as NASA already has nine centers around the country to help link federal research to private industry.

University of Virginia government professor James D. Savage refers to the Wheeling grants as a "pork barrel" project and asks, "Is this any way to allocate scarce resources?"

Sen. Robert C. Byrd (D-WV) arranged the grants, though it is not known why he did not steer them to a more suitable public university in his state.

## Like Boss, Like Assistant

Michelle Easton, executive assistant to Education Secretary and parochial advocate Lamar Alexander, told the National Association of Evangelicals that administration officials are "sympathetic" to home schools and private Christian schools. Easton said public schools "teach values that are offensive to me," which is why she sends her children to private schools.

## Anti-Choice Deep Pocket

The Arthur S. De Moss Foundation is not exactly a household word, but the Pennsylvania-based foundation, with assets of \$324 million in 1987, began in March to spend an estimated \$20 million on a TV ad campaign against abortion rights. The ads bear a certain resemblance to Ronald Reagan's 1984 "Morning in America" campaign ads, apparently because one of the people who worked on the De Moss ads also worked on the Reagan spots at BBDO in New York.

The CNBC cable network, owned by NBC, stopped running  
*(continued on page 10)*

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## Update, continued from page 9

the ads after more than a hundred employees complained. Ted Turner's CNN cable network is running the De Moss ads, even though it declined to run two out of four Planned Parenthood Federation ads.

De Moss, a fundamentalist insurance executive, who died in 1979, founded the Foundation in 1955.

### Sectarian Censorship

Religion-based censorship efforts continue around the country. In Carroll County, VA, a radio preacher, J.B. Lineberry, has campaigned for the firing of award-winning 11th grade English teacher Marion Goldwasser, because she assigned Clyde Edgerton's novel, *The Floatplane Notebooks*, to her classes. The highly-praised novel, an optional reading assignment for students, was called "ungodly and indecent" by Rev. Lineberry. School authorities refused to fire Goldwasser but have banned the novel from classrooms in Hillsville high school. Edgerton, incidentally, was fired from his teaching position at a Baptist college (Campbell University in Buies Creek, NC) after his first novel, *Raney*, was published a few years ago.

Meanwhile, three Catholic newspapers in Chicago, New York, and Los Angeles refused to accept ads for Erich Segal's current bestseller, *Acts of Faith*. The novel, which chronicles the love

between a Catholic seminarian and an Orthodox Jewish woman, was denounced as "an advocacy piece for married clergy" by Ann Buckley, editor-in-chief of *Catholic New York*.

School censorship incidents increased in the 1991-92 school year by 50% over the previous year, from 229 to 376, according to People for the American Way. Attacks on library books increased from 72 to 173. The most common objection to books was religious.

### AL Gov. May be Sued

The Alabama Supreme Court ruled in early September that taxpayer Ralph Windom may sue Gov. Guy Hunt (R) for allegedly violating the state constitution's ban on using public funds to promote a ministry. Hunt, a Primitive Baptist preacher, used state planes to get to church meetings where he preached and accepted offerings. A grand jury is also reviewing the case.

### Pat's Press Plans

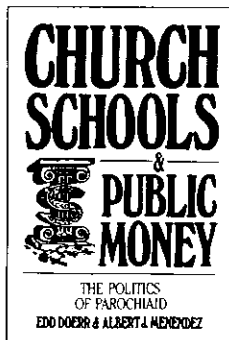
Although televangelist Pat Robertson has abandoned his bid to take over ailing United Press International, he is planning to set up a multi-million-dollar global newsgathering organization. An official of his Christian Broadcast Network (CBN) says the focus will be on radio news, with reporters covering "both secular and religious" news with full time staff in Washington. (NIRR)

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## **International**

**Paris:** In a little-noticed event on June 13, the Socialist Government of France approved state subsidies to Catholic schools, ending decades of dispute. Education minister Jack Lang "officially acknowledged" the role of church schools in the education of the nation's children. This recognition was accompanied by more than \$300 million in state aid which the government had held up for years. Though it was less than half of what Catholic school officials had requested, it signaled the end of tensions between the Socialists, historic foes of parochial education, and church authorities. Church-state relations reached their lowest ebb in 1984 when parochial school partisans brought a million demonstrators to Paris. About one of six French children (17%) attend private schools, 96% of which are Catholic at the elementary level and 74% at the secondary level.

**Dublin:** In preparation for a November referendum on the questions of whether or not Irish women may travel abroad for abortions and receive information about abortion within the country, anti-choice campaigners have agreed to cease picketing the homes of opponents, using supporters under the age of 16, and dropping graphic pictures through letter boxes.

**Toronto:** Parents of students in Protestant and Jewish private schools in Ontario have lost another round in their attempts in court to get provincial funding for their schools on the same basis that Catholic schools are tax supported. The case will likely reach Canada's Supreme Court, which ruled in 1985 that Canada's 1867 Constitution required Ontario to fund Catholic elementary and secondary schools. In August a lower provincial court ruled that the discrimination against Protestant and Jewish schools falls under "reasonable limits" of Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

**Managua:** In August, the government of President Violeta Chamorro announced it would impose taxes on some evangelical religious activities not exclusively dedicated to what it deems "worship." When the head of the Nicaraguan Council of Evangelicals met with two of Chamorro's aides, he was told that Catholic institutions would not be taxed under the plan because they serve the common good. Another evangelical who attended the meeting, Thomas Tellez of the Baptist Convention of Nicaragua, said Baptist Hospital in Managua might have to shut down if it is forced to comply. The hospital, which has enjoyed tax-exempt status for 63 years, is "part of our mission as a church, an inseparable part of what it means to worship God," Tellez said. Government officials agreed to appoint a negotiating committee to resolve the dispute. Protestants in Nicaragua have complained about Chamorro's close ties to the Catholic hierarchy since she took office in 1990. She has used state funds to construct a new national cathedral in the capital city, and in July gave Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo a government-owned office complex that will house a pontifical university.

**Winnipeg:** Manitoba Court of Queen's Bench Justice Michel Monnin ruled in August that a provincial law mandating Christian prayer recitation in public schools violates the Canadian Constitution's Charter of Rights and Freedom by preferring one religion over others. The law was the last of its kind in Canada.

**Belfast:** The Protestant-dominated establishment in Northern Ireland has adopted, effective September 1993, a new Common Syllabus for Religious Education for use in the troubled province's public schools. The Syllabus emphasizes conservative Protestant Christianity, does not mention the differences between Protestantism and Catholicism, and ignores non-Christian faiths. The RE curriculum seems designed to discourage Catholic children from attending public schools. (Catholic parochial schools receive tax support.) Most experts on Northern Ireland believe that the religious segregation in tax-supported schools in the province is a major reason for the continuance of sectarian violence there.

**Toronto:** The Ontario government and Catholic church officials have agreed to compensation of up to \$16.1 million for 400 men who allege they were sexually abused at two church-run reform schools in Ontario. Church and province together would pay up to \$30,000 each to the former students plus funds for therapy, job counselling, and job training.

**St. John's:** A Roman Catholic religious order, the Christian Brothers, announced in April that it will sell its Mount Cashel orphanage in Newfoundland to pay former residents for the sexual and physical abuse they suffered from the brothers over decades. Mount Cashel was closed last year after charges were filed by former residents alleging widespread abuse. A Canadian government commission inquiry provided official confirmation of the assertions and recommended compensation to victims.

The scandal, which has angered residents of the province, where religious groups have a strong influence and control all the schools, has been brewing since 1975. At that time the province's justice and police officials squelched investigations and refused to proceed on the complaints. (The top officials were reportedly all "staunch Catholics" who feared embarrassment to their church. They killed investigations after church officials promised to remove the offending clerics.) New police investigations began in 1982 and 1989, resulting in the convictions of eight Christian Brothers.

**Regina:** Saskatchewan province, which has a strong evangelical Protestant heritage, is moving toward almost complete bans on abortion. The provincial government is about to remove abortion from medicare, which in Canada would effectively end the option of safe and legal abortion. Access to the procedure is already more difficult in the province than anywhere else in Canada. The government also cut off aid to Planned Parenthood in 1987. Only one doctor in Regina performs abortions. A non-binding plebiscite found 63% of provincial voters opposed to state-funded

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## Update, continued from page 11

abortions. A legal challenge may be mounted by pro-choice activists. Dr. Henry Morgentaler has announced that he might open a clinic in Regina.

**Khartoum:** Sudan's military government is moving to turn the country into an Islamic fundamentalist state, despite the fact that one third of the population is non-Muslim. Persons suspected of opposing an Islamic fundamentalist theocracy often are thrown for months into prisons where torture is common. The government has denied building permits for Christian churches and has closed some for not having "proper licenses." Muslim fundamentalists came to power in a 1989 coup in the country of 25 million. The government has formed an 85,000-man "Islamic militia" and declared a holy war against Christian and animist rebels in the southern part of the country.

**Seoul:** South Korea's government plans to legalize abortions in cases where a woman's health is endangered and a physician approves the procedure. Previously all abortions were illegal.

**Tegucigalpa:** Women's rights activists are seeking to liberalize Honduras's strict anti-abortion law, the most stringent in Central America. The country's powerful Catholic Church not only opposes loosening abortion laws but also opposes contraception and condoms, though Honduras has the highest rate of AIDS in the region. Also Elena de Casco, head of the Pro-Life Foundation, is trying to smear pro-choice feminists as "communists and lesbians."

**London:** While British politics is somewhat less likely to be influenced by religion than that of the United States, there were religious factors in the April General Election.

Aid to church-related schools was a mini-issue in some areas, according to *The Tablet*, Britain's internationally known Catholic weekly. The Scottish National Party (SNP) promised to continue aid to Roman Catholic schools, which are almost entirely funded by the public. Archbishop Winning, apparently worried that the SNP had not declared itself on the parochial issue, had openly raised the question, prompting the SNP reply. The Conservatives, Labor, and Liberal Democrats are on record in favor of continuing Britain's massive aid, which primarily supports Roman Catholic and Church of England schools. The Labor Party's educational spokespersons announced that they would extend the aid to Muslim schools in a Labor administration. Labor received a large majority of Asian and Afro-Caribbean votes, even though it suffered its fourth straight electoral defeat.

Meanwhile, in divided Northern Ireland, voters showed some discontent with extremist candidates. The Provisional IRA's leading spokesman, Gerry Adams, lost his seat in heavily Catholic West Belfast, to a moderate Catholic physician, Dr. Joseph Hendron, representing the Social Democratic and Labour Party. Protestant militant Ian Paisley was reelected in North Antrim, but his vote declined from 69% to 51%. Several other incumbents who represent Orange Protestant intransigence saw their vote decline by 10 percentage points or more. Still, Northern Ireland remains a peculiar place, where three members of Parliament (Paisley, William McCrea, and Martin Smyth) are Presbyterian preachers and a fourth is a full-time "Gospel singer."

**Madrid:** The Spanish government is further liberalizing its abortion law. Since 1985 abortion has been legal if the pregnancy resulted from rape or incest, if it threatens a woman's life, or if the fetus is seriously defective. The revised law will legalize

first trimester abortions if a physician certifies that the pregnancy causes the woman psychological stress or suffering.

### MOVING?

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## Church-State Referenda

*continued from page 8*

confuse and "disinform" voters. Similar efforts, backed mainly by the Catholic hierarchy, nearly defeated a similar pro-choice measure in Washington State in 1990. In Maryland, pro-choice Catholic members of the legislature are complaining that Catholic clergy are actively using pulpits to defeat the pro-choice measure. The church is reportedly pouring money into the anti-choice effort at a rate that pro-choice groups cannot hope to match.

The Maryland FOR Choice coalition (Box 22324, Baltimore, MD 21203, phone 410-467-8683) is seeking contributions and volunteers.

Americans for Religious Liberty is supporting the Arizona, Colorado, and Maryland coalition efforts. ■

## Books, continued from page 3

politics of ministers of religion would be good both for religion and politics."

Daly acknowledges that his fellow Catholics bear much of the responsibility for Ireland's turmoil but he recommends paths that might eventually end the conflict. Time and again he condemns "harmful alliances" between church and state. Still, observers are waiting to see what actions he and his fellow bishops will take on such divisive subjects as divorce, abortion, and education.

—Al Menendez

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