



VOICE OF REASON

Fall 1992

The Newsletter of Americans for Religious Liberty

No. 43

Nov. 3: Good Day for Church-State Separation...

November 3 was a pretty good day for church-state separation, religious liberty, and women's rights.

The Bush-Quayle White House team, generally unfriendly to these values, was replaced by Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton and Sen. Al Gore, both of whom oppose tax support for sectarian schools and favor freedom of conscience on abortion.

On the same day voters in Maryland, Colorado, and Arizona strongly backed church-state separation.

Colorado voters, by 67% to 33%, defeated a proposed state constitutional amendment that would have provided an estimated \$85 million per year to sectarian private schools and home schooling under a voucher program. (The victory was by almost exactly the same margin as a similar parochial plan was voted down two years earlier in Oregon.) Voucher proponents announced after their defeat, however, that they would redraft their proposal and try again.

Arizona voters turned down a proposed amendment which would have outlawed nearly all abortions by 69% to 31%.

Maryland voters, by a 61% to 39% margin, approved legislation to guarantee freedom of conscience on abortion through state law.

The Maryland situation was a bit complicated, however. Pro-choicers in the state, recognizing that a Supreme Court ruling overturning *Roe v. Wade* would leave Maryland under a 1968 state law which would severely limit choice on abortion and subject women to inquisitions by hospital committees before permission could be obtained, sought to change state law to conform to *Roe v. Wade*. While most members of the legislature favored such a bill, a threatened filibuster in the Senate blocked passage in early 1990. In the fall elections, however, four anti-choice senators were defeated for reelection by strong pro-choice votes, leaving the Senate with a strong filibuster-proof pro-choice majority.

Pro-choice legislation was passed in 1991, but an anti-choice petition campaign placed the measure on the referendum ballot on Nov. 3, 1992.

Anti-choice forces, led by the Catholic Church's hierarchy and fundamentalist groups, mounted a disinformation campaign aimed at confusing enough voters in the otherwise pro-choice state to defeat the complicated bill. In September Catholic pulpits throughout the state were used to solicit support and money for the disinformation campaign, much to the displeasure of many Maryland Catholics, both in and out of the legislature.

The Knights of Columbus donated nearly a quarter of a million dollars to the anti-choice campaign, while the Knights of Malta, a relic of the Middle Ages with headquarters in Rome,

(continued on page 3)

... But Religious Freedom Still Not Secure

While much of the Nov. 3 election news was good for church-state separation, the struggle to preserve and advance religious liberty is far from over. Sectarian special interests intent on dismantling the church-state separation arrangement in the U.S. have only suffered temporary setbacks. They are regrouping and marshalling their forces for another round, or many more rounds.

California, our most populous state, will face a referendum in 1994 on a multibillion dollar voucher plan for tax support of nonpublic schools. Given the sorry financial condition of the state, with local and state cutbacks in support for public education and the new buildup of Religious Right groups, a repeat of our victories in Colorado and Oregon is not assured.

In January the Pennsylvania and Wisconsin legislatures, and possibly others, will face renewed efforts to pass voucher or tuition reimbursement tax credit schemes.

On another front, the Fundamentalist Right has not given up on its campaign to get evolution out of public school science classes or to get "equal time" for the fundamentalist doctrine of so-called "scientific creationism," an oxymoron if there ever was one. They are trying to get creationism bootlegged piecemeal into public school classrooms, sometimes with the aid of science teachers and school officials. In Maryland they are circulating petitions in an effort to get the state legislature to mandate creationism in public schools, and may be trying to do the same in other states.

Fundamentalist Right and Catholic Church leaders remain committed to getting tax support for sectarian schools and to restricting freedom of conscience on abortion. Efforts are being made to block or weaken the Freedom of Choice Act in Congress.

Probably the biggest threat to church-state separation is televangelist and media mogul Pat Robertson's "Christian Coalition," founded in 1989. Its application for Internal Revenue Service 501(c)(4) tax-exempt status is still pending, though the

(continued on page 3)

Inside . . .

Good and Bad Polls . . . Culture Wars, Round One: A Defeat for the Religious Right and the GOP . . . Congressional Religious Affiliations Stable . . . ARL in Action . . . Update . . . Books . . .



Good and Bad Polls

In our last issue we criticized a July 1992 Gallup poll which purported to show 70% majority support for public funding of sectarian and other private schools, a poll commissioned and paid for by a pressure group favoring the voucher plan, the National Catholic Educational Association. We pointed out that the poll question used had been used by Gallup since 1970 and had always produced ambiguous and rather useless results because the question scrambled together the issue of choice among public schools with that of tax support for nonpublic schools.

ARL member Elizabeth Randall made this point in a letter to the *Washington Post*, which drew a defensive response from George Gallup, Jr., of the Gallup Organization. Gallup asserted disingenuously that the question used had nothing to do with giving money to private schools but only to parents. Anyone familiar with the age-old controversy over tax aid to sectarian schools, however, knows full well that calling the transfer of funds "aid to parents" is nothing but a subterfuge to try to hornswoggle the gullible and uninformed.

Gallup also defended his poll by noting that a second question asked what respondents thought of seeing "some of the tax money now going to public schools used to send children to the public, private or parochial school of their choice." Gallup reported that 61% would approve. Yet this question is also ambiguous. What does "some" tax money mean—a little, a lot, what?

Gallup used a third question, involving "some" tax support of church schools if the Supreme Court would find such support constitutional, which it has not. Again, what does "some" tax aid mean—textbook loans, transportation, money for administering tests, full support? Gallup does not say, only that 64% of his sample would approve.

Gallup's letter was published in the *Post* on Nov. 12, more than a week after Colorado voters rejected a voucher plan by 2 to 1, and two years after Oregon voters defeated a very similar plan 2 to 1.

With the reality check of actual referenda in the last two years rejecting serious money tax aid for nonpublic schools, 90% of

which are sectarian, Gallup's polling on this issue is obviously deeply flawed and unreliable.

Comes now the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching with a poll released on Oct. 26. This poll asked the direct question: "Some people think that parents should be given a voucher which they could use toward enrolling their child in a private school at public expense. Do you support or oppose that idea?" Carnegie registered opposition at 62% to 32%, very similar to the outcomes of the Colorado and Oregon referenda and the 1991 TIME/CNN and Gallup/Phi Delta Kappa polls.

The Carnegie Foundation poll was only one facet of a year-long study of the school choice issue. The poll also showed that 87% of parents were "very satisfied" or "somewhat satisfied" with their children's schools.

Among other findings of the study: "evidence about the effectiveness of private school choice, limited as it is, suggests that such a policy does not improve student achievement or stimulate school renewal"; "the educational impact of school choice is ambiguous at best"; "most parents who decide to send their children to another school appear to do so for non-academic reasons"; school choice, even among public schools, "is not a cheap path to educational reform."

In our next issue we will explore further the results of the Carnegie Foundation study on school choice.

The bottom line is that tax support for nonpublic, mostly sectarian, education is not only an unpopular idea but one that is bad public policy for many reasons, while public school choice, though popular, is not a panacea and is not cheap, especially in today's world of shrinking governmental budgets for education. As Carnegie Foundation president Ernest L. Boyer points out, while public school choice "can help revitalize schools, empower teachers and principals, and stimulate parents to consider which program is best suited for their children," before such a program is introduced, "every school in the district must be a school worth choosing. It's simply not fair to have a few attractive 'magnets' or 'charter schools' which serve a handful of students successfully while neglecting the vast majority." ■

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

Editor: Edd Doerr

Contributing Editor: Albert J. Menendez

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.

President: John M. Swomley, Jr.; Treasurer: Kenneth K. Gjemre; Secretary: Ann Lindsay.

Board of Directors includes officer and Maury Abraham, Edward L. Abrahamson, Joseph Chuman, Gary Crawford, Mary Jane DeFrank, Faith Evans, Gilbert Feldman, Bernard Freitag, Joanne Goldsmith,

Paul Kurtz, Gary Marx, Rev. Ronald Modras, Paul Putnam, Pamela Ryan, Lynne Silverberg-Master, Robert M. Stein, Rev. David D. Van Strien, Rev. Jay Wabeke, Rabbi Sherwin T. Wine, Rev. James E. Wood, Jr.

National Advisory Board: Rev. James Luther Adams, M. David Alexander, Francisco Ayala, Rev. Charles Bergstrom, Stephen G. Brush, Guy I. Bush, Nathan Dershowitz, Niles Eldrige, Edward L. Ericson, Augusta Finklestein, Rev. Carl Flemister, Walter M. Fitch, Laurie Godfrey, Morris Goodman, Stephen Jay Gould, James F. Herndon, David L. Hull, Patricia Jaworski, Frances Kissling, Elizabeth Bryant Lee, Rev. Barry Lynn, Ernst Mayr, James T. McCollum, Rev. Jack Mendelsohn, Charles D. Michener, Everett C. Olson, Leo Pfeffer, Rev. O. Eugene Pickett, Allan Powell, Howard Radest, Carl Sagan, Rev. William F. Schulz, Rev. Bruce Southworth, Ruti Teitel, Leigh M. Van Valen, E.O. Wilson, Winthrop R. Wright.

Executive Director: Edd Doerr

Counsel: Ronald Lindsay

Administrative Assistant: Marie Gore

Good Day for Church-State Separation . . .

continued from page 1

donated \$10,000. One Catholic parish, not far from our ARL office, donated \$50,000.

Pro-choicers mobilized to get out the vote and counter the disinformation campaign. Each side spent at least \$1.5 million on their referendum efforts.

Americans for Religious Liberty was active in all three of the crucial referendum battles.

Not only did church-state separation and freedom of conscience win three key state referenda and gain a national administration far more friendly than the Bush and Reagan administrations, but gains were scored in the congressional elections. The four women elected to the Senate (Boxer and Feinstein in California, Murray in Washington, Braun in Illinois, all Democrats) are all pro-choice, plus re-elected Sen. Barbara Mikulski (D-MD) and nearly all of the 47 women elected or re-elected to the House.

On the national level we can expect Congress to continue to oppose the voucher plan for tax aid to sectarian schools, as it did in 1992. Congress will probably pass, and President Clinton will sign the Religious Freedom Restoration Act, designed to correct the Supreme Court's 5-4 *Smith* ruling downgrading free exercise of religion claims against state action.

Congress should also pass and President Clinton should sign the Freedom of Choice Act (FOCA) to protect abortion rights from adverse state action. Clinton will rescind the Reagan-Bush gag rule which forbids health professionals in federally funded family planning clinics from discussing abortion with clients. The Clinton administration should give favorable treatment to RU-486, the French-developed abortifacient drug which may also be used to treat a variety of diseases, and to the use of fetal tissue for experimental treatment of Parkinson's and other diseases.

The climate should also be favorable for Congress to liberalize Medicaid funding for abortions for poor women, and Congress should at last be able to allow the District of Columbia to set its own policies for using its own funds to pay for abortions for poor women.

Clinton's victory should in time tend to correct the Reagan-Bush tilt of the federal judiciary against civil liberties and church-state separation.

Finally, especially with Al Gore as Vice-President, the Clinton administration should reverse the 12-year Reagan-Bush slant away from concern with the population and ecology crises. Gore's book *Earth in the Balance* is an excellent treatment of those subjects. ■

. . . But Religious Freedom Still Not Secure

continued from page 1

organization may raise and spend money under that classification.

Christian Coalition, which claims 250,000 members and has a \$13 million budget, has as its goals outlawing or restricting abortion rights, opposing laws which guarantee the rights of women and homosexuals, school and library censorship, getting government sponsored devotions into public schools, getting tax support for sectarian private schools, having creationism taught in public schools, and weakening public school sex education.

One of the Christian Coalition's goals is the takeover and use of the Republican Party for its own purposes. The organization sent out an estimated 40 million pieces of literature for promoting President Bush's reelection campaign and spent at least \$1 million on voter registration.

Robertson's group won hundreds of elections for school boards, city councils, and state legislatures on Nov. 3, though an accurate accounting may be impossible as many of its candidates played down their Christian Coalition connections. Christian Coalition executive director Ralph Reed says that the group's candidates did not hide their positions or avoid public forums, but California organizer Jay Grimstead acknowledged using such "stealth" methods. "It's not always the best idea to go down there with trumpets blaring and flags waving." But even Reed told a reporter, "A good submarine captain sticks his periscope above water sparingly; we aren't looking to advertise our presence."

Christian Coalition's presence is being felt. Louisiana Republican official John Treen estimates that more than half the party's central committee in Louisiana is controlled by Christian Coalition members. "They're using the Republican Party as the pulpit for their religious views," he complained.

According to People for the American Way, the Fundamentalist Right scored major electoral successes in Iowa and Kansas, and contributed to the defeat of an equal rights amendment in Iowa and the overturning of gay rights laws in Colorado and Tampa, FL.

In Oregon, Religious Right and regular Republicans are fighting for control of the party there.

The struggle to defend religious freedom, individual rights, and church-state separation will go on. Americans for Religious Liberty and other groups dedicated to defending fundamental constitutional rights and principles will be just as needed in 1993 and following years as ever before. ■

ARL in Action

Since our last report, ARL president John M. Swomley, board member James Wood, and advisory board member Ruti Teitel were featured speakers at the Sept. 10-11 conference on "Religious Liberty in the 1990s," sponsored by the American Jewish Committee and funded in part by the Ester A. and Joseph Klingenstein Fund.

Swomley also addressed university, conference, church, and radio audiences in Amarillo, TX, Dayton, OH, Ann Arbor, MI, and Kansas City, MO.

ARL treasurer Ken Gjemre received the Dallas Peace Center's Peacemaker of the Year award on Dec. 3. ARL president John Swomley was the featured speaker at the award presentation.

ARL executive director Edd Doerr has spoken to church and university audiences in Philadelphia, and Allentown, PA, Alexandria, VA, and Cumberland, Baltimore, Germantown, College Park, and Laurel, MD. He was a guest on radio shows in Minneapolis, MN, and Columbus, GA.

In December Doerr was reelected to the executive committee of the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights.

Doerr had open heart surgery in August after falling ill at a human rights conference in Amsterdam, but was back on the job in a couple of weeks.

ARL research director Al Menendez' and Edd Doerr's article "Should Tax Dollars Subsidize Bigotry?" appeared in the October *Pbi Delta Kappan*, journal of the professional education fraternity.

Culture Wars, Round One: A Defeat for the Religious Right and the GOP

Education and religion were major factors in shaping how voters responded to the issues and personalities of the 1992 presidential race.

Bill Clinton is only the second Democrat in history to win among college-educated voters, a high-status, influential and historically Republican-leaning group (since education and income are almost directly correlated in terms of status and economic achievement). Clinton won 44%-39% over Bush (with 16% for Perot) among all college educated voters and was relatively stronger among women than men. Among voters with advanced degrees Clinton won decisively 49%-36% (15% for Perot), a margin that may have exceeded Johnson's 1964 margin over Goldwater—the only other Democrat to win among this growing portion of the electorate. College-educated voters are religiously diverse and generally hold liberal positions on all of the cultural flashpoint issues—abortion, school prayer, tax aid for nonpublic schools, gay rights, sex education, tolerance for alternative lifestyles, censorship of books and films, religious tolerance, and opposition to religious-based political appeals. The well-educated voters in every religious community reject the belief that the Bible is literally true or inerrant, and are opposed to the Religious Right's attempt to impose a narrow or unitary moral vision on society. They were incensed at the religious intolerance at the Republican convention in August and were opposed to the sectarian slant to the GOP's platform positions on numerous "family values" positions. So were many voters who are not college graduates, but the defection from the Bush ticket by so many former supporters in the high-education, high-income echelons is a warning signal that Republican leaders will ignore to their peril. These issues also affected the highest-income voters—those making above \$75,000 annually—who only gave Bush 48% support this time compared to 68% four years ago.

Upscale voters may have reacted against Bush's "Know Nothing" campaign, his sneers at Clinton's Oxford education. (Bush did the same in 1988, lampooning Michael Dukakis's Harvard and Swarthmore education, as if Bush's prep school and Yale degrees were greatly different.) Bush's ignorance of history, as when he condemned the Democratic platform for omitting reference to God, is evident as *most Republican and Democratic platforms* before 1948 did not claim divine blessings for their political positions.

Republicans in Congress have been far more likely than Democrats to cut education and library spending and to attack the National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities and public television. The Republican platform's endorsement of a "common moral vision" in art and culture was considered inappropriate by voters.

The cultural/religious divide in this election looks at first blush quite simple: frequent church attendees versus casual attendees, and white Protestants versus everyone else. Here is what the Voter Research and Surveys exit polling data show: Among the 40% of voters who attend church weekly—in whatever tradition—Bush won 47%, Clinton 38%, Perot 15%. Among the 60% who attend occasionally or not at all, Clinton won 47%, Bush 31%, Perot 22%. The difference was especially significant among Bush voters. Nearly half of weekly churchgoers supported Bush while less than a third of the less observant did so.

The old Republican/white Protestant nexus remained partially intact though, as we shall see, defections from moderate, liberal, mainline and "cultural" Protestants reduced Bush's support level. All white Protestants (49% of voters) gave Bush 46%, Clinton 33%, Perot 21%. All others (51%) went for Clinton heavily, giving him 53%, Bush 30%, Perot 17%.

While the GOP has always received more support from white Protestants than from any other segment of the electorate, its support is now concentrated among more intensely involved, conservative Protestants of moderate income and education who reside in the South.

"I have a deep belief that the First Amendment separation between church and state is what guarantees the religious freedom of all people."

President-Elect Bill Clinton

The intimations of a cultural war perceived at the GOP convention can be seen in how voters responded to major issues. The results show that the issues emphasized by the Republicans did not engage the concerns of the average voter. Indeed, the vast majority of voters were concerned about the economy, with the environment and education well behind: 43% of voters cited the economy as the paramount issue, and Clinton defeated Bush decisively among this group. Clinton also won a clear majority of the three-candidate vote among voters concerned about the environment, health care, jobs, and education. Bush won among voters concerned about taxes and foreign policy, and Perot tied Clinton among voters concerned about the budget deficit.

Where did that leave Bush? He won two-thirds of so-called "family values" voters, but they were only 15% of all voters. (Of Bush's voters 27% cited family values as a factor in their votes compared to only 8% of Clinton's and 9% of Perot's voters.) Bush beat Clinton 54% to 38% among voters who cited abortion as a major concern, suggesting that anti-choice activists are still more likely than pro-choicers to let that issue affect their presidential vote. Still, only a third of voters listed abortion as top-priority. Bush won among the tiny segment of voters (12%) who raised the issue of marital fidelity. The Republicans emphasized issues that were of peripheral concern to most voters, and the repeatedly negative tone of the Bush campaign offended many. Fully 30% of voters said Bush's attacks on Clinton were "unfair" compared to 9% of who thought Clinton's attacks were unfair.

Clues to the cultural war's voting impact are spread throughout the voter profiles that emerged from this election. Women went decisively for Clinton by eleven points, especially working women (12% margin) and single mothers (20% margin). Only homemakers gave Bush the edge. While Bush's support went up as voter income increased, he won only 48% of those whose income exceeded \$75,000. He won 23% among those whose family income was under \$15,000. But this 25-point difference

Culture Wars, *continued*

pales when compared to religious differences, where 50 points separated Bush's support from top (evangelicals and fundamentalists) to bottom (Jews). Unmarried voters gave Clinton 49%, Bush 33%, Perot 18%, while married voters split evenly. Even among the quarter of the electorate who said their family's financial situation had improved, only 62% voted for Bush. (In 1984 voters who felt that way gave 86% to Reagan.) Obviously, something other than economic self interest was at work in this election. In all of the above categories, Clinton did well among culturally liberal and tolerant voters who rejected the Republican embrace of Religious Right extremism. In no area is that rejection more pronounced than in the educational attainments and religious convictions of the voters of this vast and diverse nation.

Voter profiles show that Clinton and Perot voters were closer to each other on family morality issues than either was to Bush. Fully 28% of Bush's voters were white evangelicals and fundamentalists, compared to 14% of Perot's and 9% of Clinton's. Even among Bush's shrunken coalition, only a fourth singled out family values issues as decisive.

Many politically conservative areas *that are not strongholds of religious conservatism* gave Bush only a lukewarm plurality. These areas, like DuPage County, IL, Phoenix, AZ, gave Barry Goldwater 60% in 1964, and Bush under 50%.

Let us look now at the religious voting patterns in 1992.

Clinton trounced Bush among Jews, black Protestants, Catholics, religious liberals, and religiously non-affiliated voters. The Clinton/Gore ticket made sharp inroads among the historically Republican mainline Protestants in the West and North. The Bush/Quayle ticket won among evangelical and fundamentalist white Protestants, especially in the Deep South and among Mormons. One of the most intriguing patterns of this unusual election was Bush's victory among white Southern Baptists, the religious affiliation of both Governor Clinton and Senator Gore. Clinton did not do nearly as well among his fellow Baptists and among white Southerners generally as Jimmy Carter did in 1976.

The general contours of religious voting patterns can be seen in Clinton's triumph in all twelve of the nation's most heavily Catholic states—from New Mexico to Massachusetts—the first Democratic sweep of these states since Lyndon Johnson in 1964. Four years ago Catholics were almost evenly divided. Clinton's emphasis on economic issues and social justice played well among Catholic voters; Bush's emphasis on family values and character did not. Clinton made a major policy address on family values and religious tolerance at the University of Notre Dame, while the Bush campaign played up several issues (parochialism, abortion) thought to be of specific appeal to Catholic voters. Bush also made two campaign appearances at the side of Philadelphia's Cardinal Anthony Bevilacqua. But the strategy failed as Catholics voted 44% to 36% for Clinton, with 20% for Perot.

While Clinton's Catholic triumph represents a return home for Catholic voters, his margin was the same as Carter's in 1976 and a good deal less than that of Humphrey, Kennedy, and Truman. Hispanic voters, who are 70% Catholic, favored Clinton 62% to 25%, with about 14% for Perot. Hispanic support was extremely important in moving New Mexico to the Democratic column for the first time since 1964. Cajun Catholics in southern Louisiana helped carry that state for Clinton. The trend-setting French Catholics have gone for every winner since 1956 (except 1968). This time they gave Clinton 48%, Bush 39%,

The Religious Right: Down But Not Out

Ultraconservative religious activists may have seen their preferred presidential candidate defeated but they were successful in about 40% of the election contests in which they were involved, concluded a report issued by People for the American Way. Religious Rightists may have provided the margins of victory in two close Iowa House races and were instrumental in anti-gay rights referenda in Colorado and Tampa, FL. They also contributed to the 52-48% defeat of a proposed Equal Rights Amendment in Iowa.

Opponents organized to defeat the Religious Right in San Diego, CA, in Oregon, North Dakota, and elsewhere. But analysts and Republican officials see a renewal of Religious Right organizing around the gay rights issue and in opposition to the Clinton Presidency. Both Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson predicted that their organizations would double their membership. Reverend D. James Kennedy, pastor of the 8000-member Coral Ridge Presbyterian Church in Florida fanned the flames of religious extremism when he charged that God would punish America for electing Clinton.

Perot 13%.

Even in Cardinal Bevilacqua's bailiwick, Catholics went for Clinton. Delaware County, a significantly Catholic Philadelphia suburb, went Democratic for the first time since 1964, as did St. Louis County, MO, Baltimore County, MD, and Middlesex County, NJ—which have a high percentage of Catholic voters. Clinton even carried Manchester, NH. Clinton did well among all Catholic ethnic subgroups. Among Catholics of French descent in New England, Clinton ran strongly, with Perot second and Bush a poor third.

Mainline Protestants, a mainstay of the Republican party since 1856, were far less likely to support Bush than any previous Republican President. These voters, economic moderates but social issue liberals, may have reacted against the extremism perceived at the Republican convention in August and the party's embrace of Religious Right platform positions. Clinton's victories in Vermont, Connecticut, Maine, New Hampshire, Ohio, Michigan, and Iowa—where many of these voters reside—were telltale signs of disapproval of recent trends in Republican politics.

Vermont, a state with many mainline and Catholic voters, went Democratic for only the second time in 160 years. The Green Mountain State, which may be the nation's most tolerant state, and whose Congressional representatives have steadfastly opposed Religious Right positions, gave Bush only 31% of its votes—lower than Barry Goldwater's 1964 showing and indeed the worst Republican showing in history.

Mainline Protestants, who almost always give 60% to 70% vote support to Republican presidential candidates, gave Bush just 38% nationwide. Clinton won slightly over 38% and Perot won 24%. "Yankee Protestants" all over New England deserted their party in droves as Clinton carried Cape Cod, Nantucket, Wellesley, and scores of similar communities.

Bush won decisively among the 17% of the electorate that called itself "white born-again Christian": 61% of these voters compared to Clinton's 23% and Perot's 15%. While Bush was

Culture Wars, *continued*

down from the 81% he won four years ago, his strong showing among these voters saved a number of southern states and possibly Kansas for the GOP. Bush carried such religiously conservative cities as Greenville, SC, Lubbock, TX, and Bakersfield, CA.

Bush's two strongest states were Mississippi and Alabama, the two most heavily Baptist states. In both states white Baptists and other Protestants, for a variety of racial, cultural and religious reasons, have deserted Democratic presidential candidates, and even a Baptist governor of Arkansas could not bring them back. Bush's third strongest state was South Carolina, which has similar characteristics. The most religiously homogeneous regions of the Protestant South (North Carolina, parts of Florida, Georgia, Texas, and Louisiana) also favored the Bush/Quayle ticket.

In 96 heavily Southern Baptist counties in 11 Southern states, Bush won 46% to Clinton's 40% and Perot's 14%. In suburban areas of the South, Bush appears to have won 55% of Baptists.

Bush also won 45% in heavily Mormon Utah, which had been his banner state with 67% in 1988. Independent Ross Perot cut into the Mormon vote here and ran second statewide. The heavily Mormon counties in Utah and Idaho gave Bush 55%, Perot 27%, and Clinton 18%. Bush won his biggest margin in the county which includes Brigham Young University.

Bush can take comfort among one small evangelical subgroup, the fiercely conservative Dutch Reformed voters in rural Michigan and Iowa, who gave him 61% of their votes compared to 22% for Clinton and 17% for Perot.

Another predominantly midwestern religious group, the Lutherans, favored Clinton with 40% to Bush's 35% and Perot's 25%. Lutherans split almost evenly in 1988, and the high Perot support was something of a surprise in this election.

Anger at the Republican party's capitulation to the Religious Right fueled Jewish defections to Clinton, who swept 78% of the Jewish vote while Bush won 12% and Perot 10%. Bush won at least 30% of the Jewish vote four years ago. The Jewish landslide for Clinton helped to swing Westchester, Rockland, and Nassau Counties, NY, Broward County, FL, and Westport, CT, to the Democratic column. Jewish and mainline Protestant defections pushed Bucks and Montgomery Counties, PA, to the Democrats for the first time since 1964.

Religiously pluralistic large suburbs throughout the nation deserted the GOP. Clinton carried 17 of the nation's 26 largest suburban counties. He did especially well in counties where a majority of voters are college educated and religiously diverse, e.g., Howard and Montgomery Counties, MD, and Arlington and Alexandria, VA. Clinton may also have benefitted from voter anger at the Religious Right's takeover of the Republican party in San Diego, CA. This large population center, which remained loyal to Barry Goldwater in 1964, went for Clinton.

Finally, the 10% to 12% of the electorate who are religiously non-affiliated or who adhere to religions outside the Judeo-Christian mainstream, rejected Bush as they had in 1988. These voters were instrumental in the Clinton sweeps of California, Washington, Oregon, Hawaii, and Nevada. Nevada, which has the lowest percentage of church members of any state, gave Clinton an upset victory. Religiously nonaffiliated voters gave Clinton 65%, Perot 20%, and Bush only 15% support.

Counties in Arizona, New Mexico, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wisconsin where Native Americans form the majority of the population went for Clinton by a landslide of 62%

to 27% for Bush and 11% for Perot. The Republican vote has steadily declined in these areas since 1984. (Reagan won a majority in 1980.)

Clinton won a greater landslide than Lyndon Johnson in 1964 in San Francisco and its suburbs, especially in Marin County—all strongholds of religious diversity. Clinton won heavily in such religiously liberal areas as Pitkin County, CO, Brookline, MA, and Provincetown, MA. Clinton also won impressive majorities in almost every county where universities and colleges are the dominant cultural influence. Even in southern states carried by Bush, Clinton won two to one in religiously and culturally diverse towns like Chapel Hill, NC, Charlottesville and Williamsburg, VA, and Gainesville, FL.

(These statistics are derived from data compiled by Voter Research and Surveys, a consortium of the four national TV networks. The data were collected in interviews of 15,490 voters in 300 randomly selected precincts on election day. Religious information for the counties and states is based on 1990 Glenmary Research Center data and the 1991 National Survey of Religious Identification of the graduate school of City University of New York.)

Even before the election returns were certified, Religious Right spokesmen proceeded to warn the Republican leaders that they were the most faithful and loyal segment of what remained of the GOP coalition in the 1992 disaster. Therefore, they should continue to dictate the content of party platforms and shape the agenda for the future. *Nothing could be further from the truth and no Republican strategy for regaining the White House should take these self-serving conclusions seriously.* It was largely because of Religious Right control of the party and its shrill and negative contributions to the most negative national party campaign in a generation that voters in other religious traditions deserted the Bush-Quayle ticket. Religious groups which have been the target of previous discrimination by conservative Protestants in the past refused to vote for Bush. So did the moderate religious groups whose members are tired of seeing Religious Right conservatives define morality and ethics as exclusively belonging to their community. The self-righteous, judgmental and intolerant segment of U.S. Protestantism has finally provoked the long-feared backlash against its hunger for power and its disrespect for the religious sensitivities of others. Even former President Richard Nixon warned Bush openly that "religious fanatics" now perceived as

VISIONS OF REALITY What Fundamentalist Schools Teach

Albert J. Menendez

The definitive,
eye-opening
study of the
schools President
Bush wants all
Americans to pay
for.

152 pp., \$14.95

Order from: Americans for Religious Liberty
P.O. Box 6656, Silver Spring, MD 20916

Culture Wars, *continued*

controlling the GOP have alienated millions of normally Republican voters.

Elections are won or lost through broad-based coalition-building. Narrowing one's base is foolhardy. When it is done to satisfy the whims and prejudices of an aggressive religious minority, it is a sure prescription for defeat. The U.S. has almost always been a nation that welcomes religious diversity and celebrates different ethnic, cultural and religious communities and lifestyles. And while the Republican party has always been less comfortable with diversity than the Democrats, the party of Lincoln has in the past accommodated cultural and religious pluralism. At one time the GOP's most prominent orator was

Robert Ingersoll, the fiery agnostic who spent his public career advocating both agnosticism and Republicanism, even during an era when evangelicals dominated the political landscape. One can hardly imagine his being welcome at the Houston convention where orators advocated a religious war and platform writers insisted on pervading the party's statement of principles with quotations from the King James version of the Bible.

If the Republican Party could only win among white Protestants in 1988, it has now been reduced to winning only among white *evangelical* and *fundamentalist* Protestants. This is not enough of a base to win the presidency in an increasingly diverse and multicultural nation. ■

— Albert J. Menendez

Congressional Religious Affiliations Stable

Roman Catholics, Methodists, and Baptists remain the top three religious groups in the Congress elected on November 3. There will be 141 Catholics, 65 Methodists and 62 Baptists in the new Congress. Presbyterians are fourth with 54 and Episcopalians are in fifth place with 50.

These groups are followed by 42 Jews, an all time high, 29 unspecified Protestants, 21 Lutherans, 14 members of the United Church of Christ, 12 Mormons, 10 who are unaffiliated with any religious group, and 7 Unitarian Universalists.

Twenty-six members represent other religious bodies, including 5 Greek Orthodox, 5 Church of Christ, 4 Christian Scientists, and 4 members of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

Baptists, Presbyterians, the religiously unaffiliated, and some of the smaller Protestant denominations gained a few seats as a result of the congressional elections, during which 110 new members were elected—the highest turnover since 1948. Baptist gains came partly from the increased representation of African-Americans. Twenty of the 40 members of the Congressional Black Caucus are Baptists, which reflects the religious composition of the black community.

Methodists lost ten seats, since 1990, and with 65 members are substantially weaker than they were in 1962, when there were 102 in Congress. The Episcopalians are 9 fewer than in 1990, and have fallen to their lowest point in over three decades. However, Episcopalians still rank second in the U.S. Senate. Jewish representation has steadily increased from 11 in 1962 to 42 today, the greatest increase for any religious group.

The newest clergy member is Tim Hutchinson, a Baptist Republican who represents the Ozark Mountain region of Arkansas. The first black woman ever elected to Congress from Georgia, Democrat Cynthia McKinney, is a college professor and a Catholic, unlikely combinations for political success in Georgia's history. The first non-Mormon elected to Congress from Utah in many years is Karen Shepherd, a Democrat and Protestant from Salt Lake City. Newly-elected Oklahoma Republican Ernest Istook is a Mormon. Seventeen of the 19 Hispanic members of Congress are Catholic. Both newly-elected African American Democratic House members from North Carolina are Presbyterians. Both new Senators from California, Barbara Boxer and Diane Feinstein are Jewish Democrats. ■

— Al Menendez

Congressional Religious Affiliations 1992

(House and Senate are Combined)

| | Election 1992 | Election 1990 | Change |
|-------------------------|------------------|------------------|--------|
| Catholic | 141 | 142 | - 1 |
| Methodist | 65 | 75 | -10 |
| Baptist | 62 | 59 | + 3 |
| Presbyterian | 54 | 51 | + 3 |
| Episcopalian | 50 | 59 | - 9 |
| Jewish | 42 | 41 | + 1 |
| Protestant | 29 | 30 | - 1 |
| Lutheran | 21 | 22 | - 1 |
| United Church of Christ | 14 | 12 | + 2 |
| Mormon | 12 | 13 | - 1 |
| Unaffiliated | 10 | 5 | + 5 |
| Unitarian-Universalist | 7 | 10 | - 3 |
| All Others | 26 | 16 | +10 |

Update

Reproductive Rights

Guam's strict 1990 anti-choice law was finished off on Nov. 30 when the Supreme Court decided 6-3 not to review an appellate court ruling holding the law unconstitutional in *Ada v. Guam Society of Obstetricians and Gynecologists*. The law outlawed all abortions but those necessary to save a woman's life or prevent a "grave" threat to her health, but declared that "the life of every human being begins at conception."

Three justices, Rehnquist, Scalia, and White, dissented, saying they thought the case should have been remanded to the Ninth Circuit to determine whether any possible application of the Guam law could be constitutional. Clarence Thomas, who voted with the other anti-choice three in the *Casey* ruling in June, did not join them this time around.

The Guam ruling does not come close to ending the controversy over abortion rights. The Supreme Court is expected this term to hear an appeal in a Mississippi case, *Barnes v. Moore*, which challenges a state law imposing a 24-hour waiting period and mandated "counseling" similar to the Pennsylvania restrictions upheld by the Supreme Court last June in *Casey*. In *Barnes* the appellate court refused to consider the fact that the burden on Mississippi women is greater than for Pennsylvania women because of the state's greater poverty and greater distances to the state's only three clinics. In *Casey* the Supreme Court held, erroneously in the view of experts, that Pennsylvania's restrictions did not impose "undue burdens" on the right of choice.

Under current Supreme Court holdings, states may impose barriers to choice so long as they do not create "undue burdens." Consequently, legislative efforts to reduce access to abortions will be made in early 1993 in Alaska, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, South Dakota, Utah, and Virginia. In Wyoming, meanwhile, anti-choicers are collecting petitions for a 1994 referendum aimed at barring all abortions except those in cases of rape, incest, or danger to a woman's life.

In Washington, incoming President Bill Clinton is expected to immediately lift the Reagan-Bush gag rule barring federally aided family planning clinics from discussing abortion with clients. The new Congress and President are also expected to pass the Freedom of Choice Act, which would bar states from interfering with freedom of choice on abortion.

In other developments, the Supreme Court heard rearguments in *Bray v. Alexandria Women's Health Clinic* on Oct. 6 and is expected to rule on the case by summer. At issue is whether federal courts have authority to prevent anti-choice activists from blocking access to health clinics. The justices had split 4-4 after an earlier hearing. NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund attorney Deborah Ellis argued that Operation Rescue demonstrators were similar to segregationist mobs who sought to keep black children from attending desegregated schools in Little Rock, AR, in 1957. Ellis added that Operation Rescue is "part of a nationwide systematic conspiracy to use force to deny women equal protection under the law."

The Nebraska Supreme Court ruled on Sept. 30 that anti-choice activists cannot use the "choice-of-evils" defense to justify trespassing at abortion clinics. According to these activists, breaking the law by blocking a clinic entrance is justified to prevent "the greater evil" of abortion.

Davidson County, TN, judge Hamilton Gayden ruled in November that a 48-hour delay and state residency requirement

WHY WE STILL NEED PUBLIC SCHOOLS

CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS AND VISIONS OF DEMOCRACY

Edited by Art Must, Jr.
Introduction by Lowell Weicker

28 leading experts on education, religion, law, and science explain and defend the two main pillars of American democracy—church-state separation and public education.

\$17.95 - 311 pages

Order from ARL, P.O. Box 6656
Silver Spring, MD 20916

(Please add \$2.00 for postage and handling.)

for abortion are unconstitutional undue burdens on a woman's right to have an abortion. But Gayden upheld the state law's requirements for mandatory counseling, for parental notification in cases involving minors, and for abortions in hospitals only after the first trimester. The ACLU had challenged the law as a violation of the state constitution. A state witness, Dr. Michael Bishop, declared during cross-examination that women who have elective abortions are not "normal."

The U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia ruled in November that the Reagan-Bush "gag rule," forbidding nearly all discussion of abortion at federally funded family planning clinics, cannot be enforced. The court said that the Bush administration violated the law when it tried to modify the "gag rule" without first holding a public hearing on the proposed change. President-elect Clinton is expected to rescind the "gag rule" when he takes office.

Religious Liberty in Jeopardy

America's courts are no longer a bulwark of defense in the struggle to preserve religious freedom, according to a new story by the David V. Kahn Religious Liberty Resource Center in Chicago. The Center's first annual "Report Card on Religious Freedom" concludes that recent court decisions range from "threatening" to "endangering" the protection of America's religious beliefs from government interference.

"The results show a very disturbing trend of the courts to quietly erode many of our constitutionally protected religious liberties," said Sylvia M. Neil, the "Report Card" project's director. "Not one category of religious freedom and equality was judged to be 'extremely well protected' by the courts."

The Kahn Center, a project of the American Jewish Congress, based its survey on responses from 18 law professors noted for their expertise on religious liberty matters. These legal experts were asked to grade the federal courts in their protection of religious freedom in recent rulings involving both the Establishment and Free Exercise Clauses of the U.S. Constitution's First Amendment.

Update, *continued*

Five separate areas were rated. The only area in which recent U.S. court decisions "protected" religious freedom "well" was "the freedom from explicit government discrimination against individuals due to their religious beliefs, such as rules prohibiting people of a certain religion from holding a public office."

In three areas the legal scholars believe that basic religious freedom are "threatened": "Freedom from government promotion of religion—government-sponsored religious services, the display of religious symbols at government sites; Freedom from government inculcation of religion in public schools, including organized prayer, religious pageants and religious songs at public schools; and Freedom from government financial entanglement with religious institutions, including financial aid (particularly in the form of direct payments), grants, tax credits and vouchers."

One area, "Freedom from indirect government burdens or restrictions on religious practices, including laws that impinge upon an individual's religious practices or beliefs," is held to be "endangered."

Even the conservative and pro-Republican *Chicago Tribune* endorsed the survey's conclusions and called on Congress to pass the presently-stalled Religious Freedom Restoration Act, which seeks to protect all religious groups from the kind of majoritarian tyranny endorsed by the U.S. Supreme Court in the

Smith decision. Said the *Tribune's* editors: "While mainstream churches have the political power to protect themselves from laws that interfere with their religious practices, smaller sects may be forced to give up practices that pose no danger to anyone else."

One of the professors polled in the survey, Erwin Chemerinsky of the University of Southern California, was blunt in his analysis. "I fear much greater government involvement with religion, such as aid to parochial schools, and religious involvement with government such as religious activities as part of government, such as school prayer. The future here looks bleak."

Girl Scouts Sued

Six year old Mitzya Cuevas Macias and her father Salvador filed suit in a state court in November in California to block the Girl Scouts of America from requiring her to recite a pledge that includes the clause "I will try to serve God." The girl and her father regard the pledge as a "religious test oath."

The Cuevas Macias are represented by James Randall, who successfully sued the Boy Scouts of America for trying to exclude his twin sons for refusing to recite a similar oath containing the word "God." Randall won a ruling in his case last June.

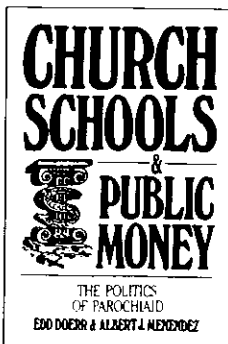
In other action, the Wilmar, MN, school district has issued guidelines barring teachers from handing out Boy Scouts literature in school because of the Scouts' policy of excluding

The *ESSENTIAL* Religious Liberty Library

Church Schools & Public Money

Edd Doerr
and Albert J. Menendez

Thorough examination of the campaign to get taxpayers to support nonpublic schools. Contains all the facts about the new wave of attacks on First Amendment freedoms and public education. \$14.95



Abortion Rights and Fetal 'Personhood'

Edited by Edd Doerr and James W. Prescott

"Here at last is a book designed to put the matter of abortion into clear perspective." — Isaac Asimov

"This basic manual resolves the abortion debate most convincingly in favor of women's freedom to choose. It is scholarly, religiously ecumenical in a broad sense, and scientific." — Alfred McClung Lee, Past President, American Sociological Association. \$12.95

Religion and Public Education

Common Sense and the Law

Albert J. Menendez and Edd Doerr

A unique guide to what public schools may and may not do about religion. Must reading for teachers, parents, school boards. \$12.95

The Great Quotations on Religious Freedom

Compiled by Albert J. Menendez and Edd Doerr

The most comprehensive collection of quotes on religious freedom ever assembled. Over 450 classic statements by 306 individuals and groups, including 26 U.S. presidents. Plus 102 memorable quotes from 54 important court rulings. \$12.95

Religious Liberty and the Secular State

John M. Swomley

Authoritative history of church-separation in the United States and analysis of current threats to religious freedom. \$14.95

Order from: **Americans for Religious Liberty**, P.O. Box 6656, Silver Spring, MD 20916

Update, *continued*

some boys for religious reasons. The guidelines were developed after parental complaints to the ACLU about the Scouts' discriminatory policy.

Religion in Public Schools

The ACLU has won an injunction in court on behalf of a student who objects to pre-game football pep rallies being opened with a prayer at Carroll High School near Ft. Worth, TX.

West Chester, PA, public schools are requiring that midwinter school concerts cut back on specifically religious music. The district's music supervisor said that while pieces like "Silent Night" would not be acceptable, classical compositions like Handel's "Messiah" would be OK.

The Cherry Hill, NJ, school board voted 7-1 in November to allow display of religious symbols in public schools. The policy was championed by Catholic Bishop James T. McHugh and opposed by Jewish leaders. Dissenting school board member Steven J. Polensky said the policy is unconstitutional.

The Bloomingdale, MI, school board decided in November to fight a lawsuit by a student and his mother who object to a painting of Jesus that has been hanging in the local high school for at least 30 years. The ACLU filed suit in federal court in October on behalf of the student and his mother. The suit claims that the painting amounts to a school endorsement of a particular religion.

Illinois federal district judge Paul E. Plunkett ruled in September that Wauconda Community School District No. 118 could not bar a student from handing out a religious newspaper or require the student to distribute the material only while sitting at a table in a school assembly room. The school could appeal the ruling, bar all pamphlet distribution, or allow distribution on school property but not in school buildings. The school district attorney said the district is trying to "walk the fine line" between upholding students' free expression rights and not appearing to endorse religious material a student may wish to hand out.

Church Polls OKed

A federal appeals court in Denver unanimously upheld a district court ruling that churches may be used as polling places. The challenge to using places of worship as voting precincts was mounted by Frank Otero, an atheist who ran for mayor of Miami, OK, in 1991. The Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals found that Otero failed to prove that the widespread practice involves "excessive entanglement" of government with religion or that it harmed the religious rights of non-churchgoers. Defendants included state and county election officials in Oklahoma and All Saints Episcopal Church in Miami, Otero's designated polling place.

"Honor God" Suit Filed

Salesman Robert Kozlowski of Bourne, MA, filed suit in federal court in Boston in November challenging the practice of his former employer of requiring job applicants to sign a statement that they agree with the company's (TruGreen-ChemLawn of Plymouth, a subsidiary of ServiceMaster Consumer Services) mission "to honor God in all we do . . . and be an ever-expanding and vital market for use by God." ServiceMaster vice-president

Robert Bruce told the press that the company's principles include a statement that its goal is to be a vehicle of God. Its employment application also contains a statement requesting new employees to permit investigation into their private lives and to agree not to sue anyone who shares information about their lives, even if the information is false.

Kozlowski worked for the company for three years.

Doubting Thomas

During his Senate confirmation hearing last year for a seat on the Supreme Court, Clarence Thomas said that he had never discussed abortion rights with anyone or given it any thought. He neglected to mention (according to Andrew Shapiro in *The Nation* on Nov. 2) that he had taken Thomas Emerson's course on Political and Civil Rights at Yale Law School in the spring of 1972. According to Emerson's own lecture notes and those of another student in the course, abortion and reproductive rights were important parts of the course. Thomas voted in June with Rehnquist, Scalia, and White to overturn *Roe v. Wade*.

Both Bill and Hilary Clinton, incidentally, took Emerson's P.C.R. class in 1971. Both got higher grades in the course than Thomas.

International

Madrid: Spain continues to move rapidly toward more complete church-state separation. As of Nov. 13, non-Catholics will be able to have their religion classes taught in public schools, non-Catholic religious weddings will have the same legal force as Catholic ceremonies, non-Catholic churches, synagogues, and mosques will enjoy the same tax-exempt and legal status as Catholic churches, and non-Catholic religious holidays will gain legal status. Although Spain's post-Franco 1978 constitution guaranteed religious freedom for all, only the Catholic Church had agreements with the government spelling out its rights and privileges. Protestant, Jewish, and Muslim groups had to negotiate and get congressional approval for their rights.

Spain's non-Catholics include about 12,000 Jews, 200,000 Muslims, and 250,000 Protestants. In addition, most of the rest of the country's population, while nominally Catholic, is rather indifferent to organized religion. Only about one-third of Spanish taxpayers use the income tax checkoff for a small amount of tax aid for the Catholic Church. Other religious bodies have shown no interest in having government assist them in collecting money from adherents.

Where There's a Will . . .

Including a bequest to Americans for Religious Liberty in your Will is a good way to ensure that future generations will have the tools to defend our fundamental freedoms. You can always add ARL to your Will.

Please contact us if you would like further information.

Americans for Religious Liberty
P.O. Box 6656
Silver Spring, MD 20916
Telephone: 301-598-2447

Update, continued

Dublin: Irish voters on Nov. 25 approved two constitutional amendments that will allow women to get information about abortion and to travel abroad to get them. About 4,000 Irish women go to the United Kingdom each year for legal abortions. By about 2 to 1, however, the Irish electorate declined to approve an amendment which would have allowed abortions in Ireland to save a woman's life, though not to prevent a threatened suicide. Apparently the amendment was opposed by traditional anti-choicers and also by pro-choicers who believed it to be more restrictive than a Supreme Court ruling earlier in 1992 viewed as opening the possibility of getting legal abortions in Ireland for some mental health reasons. A 1983 constitutional amendment equated the lives of fetuses and women. Ireland has the most restrictive abortion law in Europe.

Mexico City: After a century and a quarter, Mexico resumed diplomatic relations with the Vatican on September 15. This exchange was accompanied by official changes in church-state relationships approved overwhelmingly by the Mexican Congress. These changes give the church legal existence and allow clergy to vote for the first time since 1867. The new laws apply to all religious groups, though Roman Catholics have long sought the removal of old anticlerical laws aimed at curbing ecclesiastical control of land, politics, and education.

Religious education is still forbidden in public schools, monasteries and convents are prohibited, and the church's right to own property is limited. Under the 1917 Constitution church schools were prohibited, and clergy could not wear clerical garb in public. Church involvement in charitable activities was forbidden, as was any public role for church officials.

Still, conservative Catholic leaders are complaining that the Church may be worse off than before, and are openly accusing "masonic and pseudo-religious groups" of promoting the new accords. Vatican diplomat Girolano Prigione denied that the church "wishes to regain its political and economic influence" but suggested that the new laws "can be improved upon" in the future. The Vatican is preparing, however, to beatify 25 Mexican "martyrs" of the Cristero Rebellion, a bitter church-state conflict that left 300,000 dead between 1926 and 1929.

Mexico's anti-clerical laws were responses to the long history of church-state abuses in the country.

Need a Speaker?

Americans for Religious Liberty can provide expert speakers for:

Conferences • Meetings
Debates • Universities
Churches • Synagogues
Radio talk shows • TV talk shows
Etc.

Write or phone:
Americans for Religious Liberty
P.O. Box 6656
Silver Spring, MD 20916
(301) 598-2447

MOVING?

Please send a change of address form to:

Americans for Religious Liberty
P.O. Box 6656
Silver Spring, MD 20916

Islamabad: A Pakistani judge has sentenced a Christian to death for violating the country's blasphemy law. The man had been accused of deriding "the matrimonial life" of Muhammad.

Police broke up a demonstration of 5,000 people protesting a plan to add people's religious affiliation to their identity cards.

Books

Lead Us Not Into Temptation, by Jason Berry, Doubleday, 407 pp., \$22.50.

New Orleans journalist Jason Berry, an articulate Catholic liberal, surveys the tragic nationwide epidemic of child abuse by Roman Catholic clergy. The greater tragedy, he finds, is the coverup by high church officials, who transferred errant clergy from parish to parish and tried to silence dissent within and without the church. However, "The cover-up shattered against two pillars of democracy: the court system and a free press," writes Berry.

The resulting scandals and trials have cost the church and its insurers \$400 million, a figure which may grow to \$1 billion. Some observers believe that church leaders will redouble their efforts to win public funds for parochial schools and other church-run institutions to make up for the drain.

Berry warns that "the corruption of ecclesiastical culture is part of a psychological and sexual crisis that has been building for years," but fears that "Vatican clericalism refuses to acknowledge that the problems need a remedy." He writes, "Rome's response toward the clergy sexual crisis shows how far ecclesiastical leaders have drifted from ideals they espouse . . . Denying the existence of this decay is one symptom of a spiritual cancer. Arresting the illness requires a structural change in the ecclesiastical concept of the Church, and history suggests the Vatican will resist that to the bitter end."

Berry mentions two church-state aspects of the scandal. One is the failure of some civil officials, such as New Orleans District Attorney Harry Connick, to prosecute priests because it might embarrass the church of which they are members. Also, some bishops have suggested that church officials remove damaging material from their files and send them to the Vatican's embassy in Washington, D.C., which has international immunity and cannot be subpoenaed by U.S. courts. Berry comments acidly, "Hiding things was one stratagem in a psychology of power rooted in fear." Berry also cites Alfred P. Rubin, a law professor at Tufts University, who warns that such actions would lead to a break in diplomatic relations between the U.S. and the Vatican.

Priest-sociologist Andrew M. Greeley's powerful foreword calls Berry's story "the greatest scandal in the history of religion in America and perhaps the most serious crisis Catholicism has felt since the Reformation." Greeley adds a personal note: "It is

Books, *continued*

my strong impression that the situation is actually much worse than it appears in this book. . . . Bishops have with what seems like programmed consistency tried to hide, cover up, bribe, stonewall."

— *Al Menendez*

The New American Family, by Jerry Falwell, Word Publishing, 236 pp., \$10.99.

The "torchbearer of morality in America for more than two decades" (so claims the jacket blurb) is back in this just-published paranoid Jerry-miad against the ACLU, feminism, the National Education Association, abortion rights, teachers, the media, liberals, humanism, Planned Parenthood, and "preachers in some of our more liberal churches," all, according to the sage of Lynchburg, apparently in league with "Satan." While Falwell correctly points to some of the symptoms of social disorganization, his analysis is stupifyingly superficial and simplistic. His proffered solutions are vague evocations of "traditional values," his brand of fundamentalism, and vouchers or tuition tax credits for nonpublic schools.

The book contains a laudatory preface by Jack Kemp, which suggests that he is not really trying to distance himself from the Fundamentalist Right.

— *Edd Doerr*

Serbs and Croats: The Struggle in Yugoslavia, by Alex N. Dragnich, Harcourt, Brace, 202 pp., \$22.95.

Former U.S. diplomat and academic Dragnich surveys Yugoslavia's tangled, often tragic history in a brief volume that tends to exonerate Serbia and offer justifications for its controversial recent actions. Dragnich claims that Serbia's desire to reconstitute its borders and bring in the 30% of its population living elsewhere is justifiable. He slams U.S. policymakers for allegedly moving too quickly to recognize the secessionist republics of Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia. He also says, "It must be remembered that religion has been a most divisive force. The flames of hatred were often fanned by extremist Croat Catholic priests. There is no evidence of similar actions on the part of Serbian Orthodox priests or Slavic Muslim religious leaders." Dragnich completely ignores well-documented evidence of atrocities and human rights abuses perpetrated by Serbia in recent months against non-Serbs. He offers no proof, for example, that Serbs are the victims of Albanian Muslim aggression in Kosovo.

— *Al Menendez*

God's Peoples, by Donald Harman Akenson, Cornell University Press, 404 pp., \$29.95.

Professor Akenson argues that South Africa's White Afrikaners, Ulster's Protestants, and Israel's Jews have developed a covenant relationship with their God, rooted in Old Testament concepts, which makes them unable and unwilling to share power with other religious, racial or cultural groups in their domain. All believe that God gave their group "the land" because they alone were faithful to him. This politico-religious stance makes ultimate peace and reconciliation in these societies nearly impossible.

— *Al Menendez*

The Future of Northern Ireland, edited by John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary, Oxford/Clarendon Press, 376 pp., \$89.00.

The authors look at various political options for ending the conflict in Northern Ireland, including repartition, integration into Britain or the Irish Republic, or an independent state for Ulster. One interesting fact to emerge is that more Catholic civilians have died in "The Troubles" than British security forces, paramilitary members or Protestant civilians.

— *Al Menendez*

Ukraine: The Legacy of Intolerance, by David Little, United States Institute of Peace Press, 111 pp., \$14.95.

A virtual religious war has been occurring in the new state of Ukraine since late 1989. The complex struggle involves three intense religious groups: the once dominant Russian Orthodox Church, which renamed itself the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in 1990; the Ukrainian or Greek Catholic Church, in union with the Vatican since 1596, and strong in the Eastern Ukraine; and the Autocephalous Orthodox Church, established in 1921 as an independent Orthodox Church embodying Ukrainian nationalism. It was virtually liquidated by Stalin in 1930.

The Ukrainian Catholics were declared illegal by a Stalin-imposed decree in 1946, and all of their churches were transferred to the Russian Orthodox. Many Catholic clergy were imprisoned or executed. Some were accused of collaboration with the Nazis. Today, the Catholics are legally recognized, and they want some or all of their properties restored. Zealots have forcibly seized many of them, outraging both Orthodox groups. The Vatican and Orthodox leaders have held several conferences to try to defuse the bitterness and violence at the local level. This book is essential background reading.

— *Al Menendez*

Americans for Religious Liberty

P.O. Box 6656, Silver Spring, MD 20916

I want to do my part to help **Americans for Religious Liberty** halt the threats to religious, intellectual, and personal freedom. I enclose a check for my tax-deductible contribution of:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$25 Individual | <input type="checkbox"/> \$500 Sponsoring |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$30 Family | <input type="checkbox"/> \$1000 Patron |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$50 Sustaining | <input type="checkbox"/> \$10 Student and Low Income |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$100 Supporting | <input type="checkbox"/> \$ _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Membership Renewal | <input type="checkbox"/> New Membership |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Special Donation | |

Name _____

Address _____

City, State, Zip _____

(The ARL newsletter is sent to all contributors.)