



VOICE OF REASON

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Church-State Clash at Cairo

If the United Nations 1994 International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo in September fails to achieve its modest aims, the bulk of the fault will lie with the obstructive tactics of Pope John Paul II and his Islamic and other fundamentalist allies.

U.N. population experts, with strong international backing, hope the conference will approve a 20-year plan for stabilizing world population at 7.3 billion by the year 2050. World population presently exceeds 5.5 billion and is growing by about 90 million per year.

There is a strong consensus among most experts that continued population growth combined with accelerating environmental degradation (deforestation, topsoil erosion, overexploited fisheries, declining fresh water and clean fossil fuel reserves, nonrenewable resource depletion, renewable resource overuse, waste accumulation, etc.) can only add up to a planet-wide disaster.

Before the conference is a carefully designed 118-page Draft Programme of Action that recognizes the interdependence of economics, ecology, population, and human rights, and stresses the importance of family planning. Family planning, the key to any balance between population and sustainable development, is the focus of the Vatican's vehement dispute with the Clinton administration.

Timothy F. Wirth, U.S. Under Secretary for Global Affairs, put the administration's position before the U.N. on April 5: "First, a determined cooperative effort must be launched to make good quality voluntary family planning and the full range of reproductive health services universally available early in the next century. Broadening, through research, the contraceptive methods from which individuals can choose, expanding the reproductive health services offered, improving the distribution and the professionalism with which services are delivered, will

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Supreme Court Nixes Religious School District

By a 6 to 3 margin, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled June 27 that a 1989 New York State law setting up a separate public school district for the exclusive use of Satmar Hasidic Jews in the village of Kiryas Joel violates the Establishment Clause.

The Court ratified the findings of a state trial court, an intermediate appellate court, and the New York Court of Appeals, all of which concluded that the New York law's primary effect was the advancement of religion.

The decision in *Board of Education of Kiryas Joel Village School District v. Grumet* was a complicated one, complete with several concurring opinions in addition to the majority ruling and the dissent. Speaking for the majority, Justice David Souter held that creating a public school district for a religious community leaves the Court with no way to safeguard the principle that government should not prefer one religion to another, or religion in general. "The fundamental source of constitutional concern here is that the legislature itself may fail to exercise governmental authority in a religiously neutral way," wrote Souter for himself and colleagues Blackmun, Stevens, O'Connor, and Ginsburg.

Admitting that government may be required on occasion to accommodate the legitimate needs of certain religious groups, Souter made a sharp distinction in this case. He reasoned that the creation of a separate school district for one faith group "crosses

the lines from permissible accommodation to impermissible establishment." He also noted that there are several alternatives for providing bilingual and bicultural special education programs at one of its public schools or at a neutral site near one of the village's parochial schools. (Most Kiryas Joel children attend sectarian private schools. Only educationally disadvantaged children have been attending the schools under review in this suit, i.e., the public school special education district under religious control.)

Justice Souter also held that the statute, by delegating the state's authority over public schools to a religious group, brought about an impermissible fusion of governmental and

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To Die in Pensacola

The killings of Dr. John Britton and James Barrett, and the wounding of June Barrett, in Pensacola, Florida, on July 29 were not mere murders. They were political assassinations, impersonal assassinations committed by a militant extremist fanatic.

Not only were the killings horrible crimes against two innocent victims, they were also attacks aimed at intimidating the millions of women who are led by their consciences and circumstances to exercise their fundamental right to choose to terminate problem pregnancies, and at intimidating the health professionals who must regularly brave threats from extremists to serve the medical and counseling needs of these women.

Of course the Pensacola killings, and the firebombing of a Virginia clinic only hours later, are but part of a vast wave of violence and intimidation aimed at shrinking the sphere of the rights of conscience and at imposing a narrow sectarian moral code on all women. In the last year and a half another physician was assassinated in Pensacola and still another was shot in both arms in Kansas. Since 1982 there have been 146 incidents or attempts at bombing or arson against clinics in 31 states. From 1977 to the present, according to National Abortion Federation records, there have been 178 death threats, 347 cases of unlawful entry, 568 acts of vandalism, and 35 incidents of burglary. Tens of thousands of zealots have been arrested for attempts to blockade or interfere with clinics.

Because local law enforcement has not always been effective in dealing with attacks on clinics and their personnel, Congress finally passed and President Clinton signed in May the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act (FACE), designed not to limit legitimate freedom of expression by anti-choice protesters but to guarantee freedom for women to act on their right to choose if and when to become mothers.

We join with most Americans in urging strict enforcement of the FACE law and vigorous prosecution of those who resort to violence, terror, and intimidation to weaken constitutional freedoms.

Finally, while some large anti-choice groups disavow any connection with extremist violence, it should be obvious that years long campaigns of propaganda and rhetoric about "murdering babies" and "American holocausts" contribute to an atmosphere conducive to acts of violence. If the vast and powerful "pro-life" movement is serious about its professional goal, it would put its enormous resources into helping save the lives of hundreds of millions of children and adults in the third world who are threatened by readily preventable or curable diseases, starvation, economic dislocation, war, and environmental degradation. That is a cause we can all support. ■

Exit Blackmun, Enter Breyer

Supreme Court Justice Harry A. Blackmun's retirement marks the departure of one of the strongest defenders of religious freedom ever to serve on the nation's highest bench. He and retired Justice William J. Brennan will be long remembered for their important roles in keeping in check the efforts by Justices Rehnquist and Scalia to dismantle the wall of separation between church and state. Blackmun and Brennan will also be long appreciated for together crafting the *Roe v.*

Wade decision, the landmark ruling recognizing the fundamental right of women to freedom of conscience in dealing with problem pregnancies.

Blackmun has been replaced by Judge Stephen G. Breyer. At his Senate confirmation hearings, Breyer, who was approved 87 to 9, endorsed church-state separation and the *Lemon* three-part test of First Amendment constitutionality. He added, however, that "how helpful the [*Lemon*] test is, that is an area of disagreement among jurists and legal scholars."

Breyer has been sharply criticized by home schooling advocates for his 1989 First Circuit ruling in *New Life Baptist Church Academy v. Town of East Longmeadow*. The ruling upheld the authority of a Massachusetts school board to review the curriculum and operations of a parochial school, on the ground that there is a "compelling" government interest in insuring that children in private schools get an adequate education.

We hope that Justice Breyer will prove to be as staunch a defender of the First Amendment as his predecessor. ■

Time for Flynn to Go

Ambassador Raymond Flynn, the former Boston mayor who serves presently as U.S. Ambassador to the Holy See, is a fine fellow, affable and easy-going. He was also a courageous mayor of Boston, who fought hard—and often alone—for civil rights and just housing conditions for the city's

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poor and African-American minorities. He was a strong supporter of Bill Clinton's presidential bid.

But now he appears to be the wrong person in the wrong place at the wrong time. An American ambassador is supposed to represent the policies and positions of the U.S. government to other nations. A representative of the United States is not supposed to serve as a conduit or channel from the other government.

But that is what Mr. Flynn has chosen to do. In an interview with the news agency Imedia in Rome, Flynn told reporter Greg Burke, "Although I represent the United States of America, I'm more philosophically in tune with Church teachings." While admitting that he is trying to strike "a very delicate balance" between opposing views, Flynn added, "I want to make sure that the concerns of the Vatican are not taken lightly. I want to make sure that they're going to be respected." Later on, Flynn said he was concerned about the upcoming Cairo conference on world population (see article elsewhere in this issue). Flynn said that U.S. support for reducing world population "poses a serious threat to U.S.-Vatican cooperation."

Mr. Flynn is obviously uncomfortable in his post. He seems to be unable to articulate the concerns of the United States government—and surely on this issue the vast majority of the American people agree—to the Vatican as forcefully and respectfully as possible. Since he appears unable or unwilling to do that, he should consider offering his resignation to President Clinton. That would minimize embarrassment all around.

Some of us would like to see the president leave the Vatican post unfilled, since it is really irrelevant and/or unconstitutional. But since that is highly unlikely, a replacement should be named who will advocate and explain the concerns and policies adopted by democratic consensus in this Republic. ■

Fundamentalism's Father and His Wayward Offspring

Few people today have ever heard of J. Gresham Machen, a scholarly Baltimore-born Presbyterian Bible scholar, long-time professor at Princeton Seminary, and intellectual leader of the Fundamentalist movement within U.S. Protestantism in the 1920s. Now, with the publication of an excellent new biography, *Defending the Faith: J. Gresham Machen and the Crisis of Conservative Protestantism in Modern America*, by D.G. Hart (Johns Hopkins University Press, 227 pp., \$35.00), his neglect may have ended.

What emerges from this study is that Machen would have been appalled at the political machinations of the Religious Right and their abuses of the proper role of government and religion.

Machen, says Hart, was an "antistatist libertarian" who opposed Prohibition, supported civil liberties to the maximum, opposed formal religious activities in public schools, objected to impositions of conservative Protestant moral codes on all of society, and even voted for Al Smith for President! Machen, says Hart, "fully rejected the hope of building a Christian civilization in America and so found himself on the same side with other secular intellectuals in many of the cultural conflicts of the 1920s."

Adds Hart, "Machen objected to prayer and Bible reading in public schools" because "such practices, in his view, not only violated the separation of church and state but also obliterated real and significant differences between religions. . . . [T]he admixture of public and religious interests was objectionable to Machen not just because it threatened free exercise of religion but also because it corrupted belief itself."

Machen also believed that private religious schools should be funded wholly by the voluntary support of the church groups themselves, not by taxpayers or the state. "As a vocal civil libertarian Machen believed that Protestantism should not enjoy a privileged position in public affairs," says Hart.

Those who call themselves fundamentalists today should heed the sage advice and seasoned wisdom of Machen and reject the politics of bigotry and fear advocated by those who claim to speak for modern fundamentalism. ■

James Luther Adams

James Luther Adams, 92, a long time member of ARL's National Advisory Board, died on July 26. Dr. Adams, a Unitarian Universalist minister, had a long and distinguished career as an ethicist and theologian on the faculties of the Harvard Divinity School, Andover Newton Theological School, and the University of Chicago. He served for 15 years as chair of the church-state committee of the ACLU of Massachusetts, and personally clashed with the Nazis in Germany during the 1930s.

The most recent collection of Adams' writings is *An Examined Faith: Social Context and Religious Commitment*, edited by George K. Beach (Beacon Press, 1991).

ARL in Action

John M. Swomley, ARL president, is one of the organizers of the Interfaith Alliance, a collaboration of mainstream religious leaders set up as an alternative to the religious radical right.

In May Swomley met with political leaders in China and North and South Korea on a peace mission. In Japan he met with U.S. ambassador Walter Mondale.

Executive director Edd Doerr conducted workshops on

religious liberty issues at the Unitarian Universalist General Assembly in Ft. Worth and the American Humanist Association annual conference in Detroit. He was interviewed on Radio Free Europe in July for a program to be broadcast in Russia, and was interviewed on a radio network in Atlanta.

Research director Al Menendez was interviewed on radio in Grand Rapids, MI.

Church-State Clash at Cairo

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greatly enhance people's lives and augment our chances of realizing voluntary family planning goals. Coercion must be absent from all such programs. And, as President Clinton has said to our nation, 'abortion should be safe, legal, and rare.' Every effort should be made to prevent unwanted pregnancies, but in the interest of public health and as a matter of principle, women should have access to safe abortion services and to humane services for complications due to unsafe abortions."

The Programme of Action acknowledges that about 50 million abortions occur every year, "many of them unsafe," and proposes universally available contraceptive services, reproductive health care services, and more adequate sexuality education for youth. It urges similar attention to sexually transmitted diseases.

The Programme of Action recognizes that "the family is the basic unit of society and as such is entitled to receive comprehensive protection and support," and declares that "Marriage must be entered into with the free consent of the intending spouses." In addition, the Programme devotes special attention to the legal and economic rights of women and girls.

On the whole, the Programme's designers produced a comprehensive, sensitive, sensible, altogether moderate plan for international action to raise living standards for coming generations and promote democratic values and individual freedoms. As such it was sure to arouse opposition from defenders of traditional patriarchy and various forms of intolerant fundamentalism.

Leading the opposition is the Vatican, or Holy See, which takes the doctrinaire stand that the only legitimate form of birth control is periodic abstinence from sex, a position, based on its long held view that all sexual activity must be open to the possibility of reproduction, that is called on to preclude all forms of contraception, abortion, intentional sterilization, and homosexuality.

The Vatican has moved promptly to derail the conference. Its counterattack began on March 27, when the Holy See called all of the 150 ambassadors credited to it to a two hour meeting. Vatican officials outlined their position against any forms of "artificial" birth prevention. The highest-ranking Vatican officials were present, including the Vatican secretary of state, minister of foreign affairs, and heads of councils dealing with justice, peace and the family. One diplomat told French journalist Jean Marie Guenois, "We haven't seen such a mobilization at the Vatican since the Gulf War."

In March Pope John Paul II sent an emphatic letter to the world's heads of state, calling the UN draft document "a disturbing surprise," and claiming that programs to limit excess population "could cause a moral decline resulting in a serious setback for humanity."

The Vatican then sent Monsignor Diarmuid Martin to head its UN "permanent observer" office in New York. Martin works with the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace. On April 5 he blasted the Draft Final Document for its alleged "lack of a clear ethical vision," and "an extremely individualistic understanding of the person and of human sexuality." Martin said the Vatican would not support any "concept of reproductive rights which would include abortion as an appropriate means of family planning or the notion of an individually recognized fundamental right to abortion." All contraceptive methods of family planning are unacceptable, he said.

Al Gore

July 28, 1994

Mr. Edd Doerr
Americans for Religious Liberty
Post Office Box 6656
Silver Spring, MD 20916

Dear Edd:

I wanted to take the time to let you know what a pleasure it was to see you at the Shared Vision meeting on July 14. Thank you for being involved with this critical issue. Your leadership is more important now than ever before.

Sincerely,

/s/ Al

Al Gore

The Vatican reaffirmed its positions on May 13 when it issued a 69-page document called "Demographic Evolution: Ethical and Pastoral Dimensions." This document went even further, denouncing "contraceptive imperialism" and claiming that "mankind has, even today, the capacity to produce enough to meet the nutritional needs of the entire world population." Signed by Cardinal Alfonso Lopez Trujillo, a Colombian who heads the Pontifical Council for the Family, the Vatican statement threw down a gauntlet to UN officials grappling with the serious emergency of world population increase and its attendant implications for human survival and international political stability.

The Vatican does not intend to give up its crusade against all forms of contraception and family planning services. Reports Jean Marie Guenois, director of the Roman news agency *Immedia*, "At the Vatican, sources outside the hierarchy say that the Holy See has made discrete contacts with seven Latin American governments, assuring them of continued support in their battle against legalized abortion. Several Islamic states, equally firm in their opposition to abortion, have received similar assurances."

Among the Vatican's allies in opposing the U.N. Programme are the governments of Argentina, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Malta, and the Philippines, all of which have bent to pressure from Catholic Church officials. Also giving its "full endorsement" to the Vatican position is the radical Shiite fundamentalist government of Iran. The British newspaper *The Guardian* reports that papal envoy Msgr. Romeo Panciroli met on August 1 with Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Mohammad Hashemi Rafsanjani, brother of President Hashemi Rafsanjani. It said the Iranian paper *Abrar* quoted Rafsanjani as saying that "The future war is between the religious and the materialists. Collaboration between religious governments in support of outlawing abortion is a fine beginning for the conception of collaboration in other fields."

Further support for the Vatican came from Al Azhar University

in Cairo, the most prestigious center of Islamic learning. Al Azhar said in August that parts of the U.N. Draft Programme offend Islam.

Also supporting the Vatican attack on the population conference was a full-page ad in the *New York Times* on August 15, signed by Pennsylvania Gov. Robert P. Casey, Jewish conservative Rabbi Jacob Neusner, Catholic conservative philosopher Michael Novak, Southern Baptist Convention president Jim Henry, fundamentalist leader James C. Dobson, Ralph Reed, executive director of televangelist Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition, former Reagan adviser and Family Research Council president Gary L. Bauer, conservative Harvard law professor Mary Ann Glendon, former Democratic vice presidential candidate Sargent Shriver (1972), and others. The ad grossly misrepresented the U.N. Draft Programme and urged the Clinton administration to "abandon this misguided effort to impose arbitrary limits on human population."

Religious backing for the Vatican position, however, is slim. Frances Kissling, president of Catholics for a Free choice and a member of ARL's national advisory board, told the *Washington Post* in July that "Implicit in the pope's ultraconservative message on Cairo is that 944 million Catholics around the world would agree with him. Yet . . . surveys prove that the Vatican's views are out of step with the people they purport to represent throughout the world."

Kissling said that surveys show that 61% of voters in 95% Catholic Poland favor the legal right to abortion, that 88% of those surveyed in 93% Catholic Mexico said that abortion decisions should be left to couples or individual women, and that in predominantly Catholic Brazil 72% of those polled said that contraception is morally acceptable and 40% favored freedom of choice on abortion. Abortion is generally illegal in all those countries.

Studies also show that American Catholics and Protestants use contraception and approve of abortion at the same rates.

In 94% Catholic Ireland, a British newspaper poll has found that 71% favor changing Irish law to allow abortion in cases where pregnancy poses risks for a woman's health, while 52%, including 71% of those in the 18-34 age group, oppose the Vatican's position on contraception.

At a press conference in Rome in July, Kissling declared that "The Vatican cannot be allowed to set policy for the whole world." She added, "As Catholics, we are embarrassed by both

the viciousness of comments by Church officials and by the way they misrepresent and misstate . . . what the U.N. document says." Kissling accused the Vatican of having "an enormous blind spot" about human sexuality and women's issues. The fact of the matter is that women want to have control of their fertility. They want modern, safe contraception."

Kissling added that the U.N. Draft Programme "represents one of the more progressive, balanced and ethical documents on family planning that we have seen in a long time. We think it is important that everyone should know and understand that Catholics themselves do not agree with the position of the Vatican on this subject."

Meanwhile, the Vatican's Pontifical Academy of Sciences issued a 70-page report in June recommending that family size be voluntarily limited to two children in order to curb world population growth. "It is unthinkable," the report said, "that we can sustain a growth that goes much beyond two children per family."

In other developments, the Senate voted 58-42 on July 14 to kill an amendment proposed by Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC) to prohibit U.S. foreign aid from being spent on efforts to change abortion laws in other countries. Senate Democrats voted 60-6 against the amendment, while Republicans voted 36-8 for it. Helms proposed the measure in response to a March State Department cable to U.S. diplomats urging promotion of "universal access to family planning and related reproductive health services, including access to safe abortion. The United States believes that access to safe, legal, and voluntary abortion is a fundamental right of all women."

Senator Barbara Mikulski (D-MD), a Catholic, said that the Helms proposal would bar U.S. participation in the Cairo conference and weaken the U.S. role in population planning and in elevating the status of women. Sen. Patrick Leahy (D-VT), also Catholic, said the Helms amendment would "gag" the U.S. delegation at Cairo. Sen. Barbara Boxer (D-CA) said the amendment was "an affront to us as women."

The *Washington Post* probably summed up the national consensus when it editorialized on June 4 that "It is no sign of disrespect [toward the Vatican] to affirm this government's right and responsibility to follow a wholly different course, which it believes to be in the best interests of the world's poorest people." ■

Supreme Court

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religious functions forbidden by the Supreme Court in previous cases, e.g., *Larkin v. Grendel's Den*. Souter was concerned that "the Kiryas Joel School District was one purposely drawn to separate Satmars from non-Satmars." Souter was also disturbed that the district came about from "a special and unusual legislative act rather than from the State's general laws for school district organization."

Justice Anthony Kennedy concurred but held that the "school district's real vice is that New York created it by drawing political boundaries on the basis of religion." There is, he concluded, "more than a fine line between the voluntary association that leads to a political community comprised of people who share a common religious faith, and the forced separation that occurs when the government draws explicit

political boundaries on the basis of peoples' faith." This is "explicit religious gerrymandering," he wrote.

In a concurring opinion, Justice Stevens noted that "the State provided official support to cement the attachment of young adherents to a particular faith" and "affirmatively supports a religious sect's interest in segregating itself and preventing its children from associating with their neighbors." Stevens added, "It is telling that two thirds of the schools' full-time students are Hasidic handicapped children from outside the village; the Kiryas Joel school thus serves a population far wider than the village—one defined less by geography than by religion."

The Court's conservative bloc, Scalia, Rehnquist and Thomas, issued a sarcastic dissent. Scalia, its author, accused the majority of "casting aside, on the flimsiest of evidence, the strong presumption of validity that attaches to facially neutral laws and invalidates the present accommodation . . ."

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Theocracy, American Style

Since members of the Satmar Hasidic sect began migrating from the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn to a village in Orange County's Monroe Township up the Hudson River near West Point, controversy has ensued. The town, "one of the poorest in New York state which relies heavily on welfare and other state and federal aid" (according to the *Wall Street Journal*), is a theocracy, American style.

The town of 12,000 is noted for its religious, social and cultural conformity under the domination of Grand Rabbi Moses Teitelbaum. Under Teitelbaum's charismatic leadership and his ties to state and local political leaders, the community has received more than \$20 million in state and federal grants for housing, Head Start, public schools and construction of sidewalks, medical centers and shopping districts.

But not all is well in this village nestled in the hills 50 miles north of New York City. A U.S. attorney's office is investigating to determine if federal funds have been diverted to religious projects. Insurance companies are investigating fraud claims. The U.S. Department of Education has eliminated Pell grants to 21 Satmar and Lubavitch Hasidic schools in the state for defrauding the government by claiming ineligible students. Corruption is said to be rife throughout the community, and

those who dissent from the status quo are ruthlessly ostracized.

About 300 local residents challenged the powers-that-be and sought alternative schools for their children. Synagogues banned dissident families and expelled their children from parochial schools. Demonstrations and physical abuse were wreaked on Joseph Waldman, a 42-year-old dissenter whose house was attacked in April 1990. Waldman said he had received death threats and now carries a gun. He charged that rabbinical academy students were "enforcers" of the law and frequently harassed villagers who disagreed with the chief rabbi's policies. Charges from wiretapping of homes to denial of cemetery visitation rights have been made by Waldman and others against the community's leadership. "Today the town is filled with suspicion," wrote *Wall Street Journal* columnist Fred R. Bleakley.

Since 1989, when the Grand Rabbi ordered his followers to label his opponents "infidels," the town has been the scene of "harassment, beatings, slashed tires, uprooted plants and smashed windows," says Bleakley. One former rabbi's wife was savagely attacked at a cemetery, while on an annual visit at her husband's grave.

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Scalia used his dissent, once again, to issue a tirade against the whole jurisprudence of church-state law since the 1940s. He blasted "a recent tendency in the opinions of this Court to turn the Establishment Clause into a repealer of our nation's tradition of religious toleration." Wrote Scalia, "Once this Court has abandoned text and history as guides, nothing prevents it from calling religious toleration the establishment of religion."

Scalia's language provoked a rare rebuke from Justice Souter. Observing that Scalia "thrusts at lions of his own imaginings," Souter said Scalia's dissent "is only one symptom of his inability to accept the fact that this Court has long held that the First Amendment reaches more than classic, 18th century establishments."

Shortly after the ruling the state legislature passed and Gov. Mario Cuomo signed a new law to circumvent it by allowing municipalities meeting five criteria to create special school districts. Lawmakers acknowledged their intent to help the Satmar sect maintain its religiously segregated school. The New York State School Boards Association found that the Kiryas Joel village is the only municipality to fit the criteria. Its executive director, Louis Grumet, filed suit in July to challenge the new law.

Americans for Religious Liberty had joined with other groups in the National Coalition for Public Education and Religious Liberty (PEARL) in an *amicus curiae* brief to the Supreme Court. ■

Politics in Kiryas Joel

Dissenters in Kiryas Joel have charged that the town's elders have denied people the right to vote in elections, have intimidated others, and have engaged in power politics resulting in bloc voting. Critic Joseph Waldman says that on election day he saw rabbinical students practicing the signatures of former students, who no longer reside in the town. In 1992 one hundred fifty people signed a petition saying violence "makes it impossible to have free elections" and asking that voting booths be moved away from the main synagogue. The Orange County Board of Elections has so far refused to make changes. Dissidents also said that the synagogue posted the names of 18 signers of the petition on the doorway to the voting points during the 1992 primary elections. One woman, who says she was intimidated and was too frightened to vote, told the *Wall Street Journal*, "It's like Russia used to be."

How did Kiryas Joel vote in 1992? George Bush received almost total support, nearly 94% of presidential ballots cast. This near unanimity may represent the highest support for the Bush-Quayle ticket in any of America's 200,000 precincts. The results were: Bush 1,774 (93.7%); Clinton 101 (5.3%); and Perot 18 (1.0%).

The returns from Kiryas Joel show how different this community is from the mainstream of Jewish voters, 78% of whom favored Clinton in 1992, compared to 12% for Bush and 10% for Perot. The Kiryas Joel voting patterns also show that fundamentalists in every religion now seem to be united in their support of the Republican Party at the presidential level.

Louisiana Parochial Aid Ruled Unconstitutional

Louisiana federal district judge Frederick Heebe ruled on March 27 that a longstanding federal and state program of providing special education teachers and instructional resources and equipment to parochial schools was unconstitutional. The court held in *Helms v. Cody* that the programs, as applied in the New Orleans suburb of Jefferson Parish (county), violated the Establishment Clause of the U.S. Constitution.

The case had a long and turbulent history. It began in 1985 when local taxpayers Neva Helms and Marie Schneider became aware that enormous amounts of public money were being provided under various guises to parochial and other church-related schools in their county, while public schools were frequently shortchanged. ARI research director Albert J. Menendez, then working for a different organization, flew to New Orleans to meet and advise Helms and Schneider. They concluded that the programs were a mass of entanglements and special privileges for sectarian schools. Nationally-known church-state attorney Lee Boothby filed suit on their behalf which resulted, nine long years later, in an important victory for church-state separation and public education.

While the court did not declare all facets of the federal Chapter 2 and state counterparts unconstitutional, it did strike several major blows to the powerful and well financed parochial lobby.

In Louisiana nonpublic schools receive "large quantities of instructional equipment (such as slide projectors, movie projectors, overhead projectors, television sets, tape recorders, projection screens, maps, globes, filmstrips, cassettes, computers, as well as library books and resource materials) . . . purchased with Chapter 2 funds and transferred to nonpublic school sites." They also order library books, computers, computer software and other aids. Each nonpublic (mostly sectarian) school received an average of \$5,064 under this federal program when the case was inaugurated in 1985. With 413 nonpublic schools in the state, this represents \$2,091,432 in taxpayer support for one program in one year.

The court found that 34 of the beneficiary schools in Jefferson Parish were Catholic, 7 were affiliated with other religious groups, and 5 were nonsectarian. The religious schools received 96% of federal Chapter 2 funds and 89% of the comparable Louisiana state funds.

The central finding of the court was that "The schools operated under the auspices of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, the majority of the schools receiving Chapter 2 aid, are pervasively sectarian."

Judge Heebe's findings were conclusive and far-reaching. He based his judgment on the following facts:

1. "The Catholic schools, which represent the majority of nonpublic schools participating in the programs, operate under the general supervision and authority of the Archbishop of New Orleans and the parish pastor."

2. "The schools contain religious symbols in the classrooms."

3. "At least some of the schools exercise a religious preference in accepting students."

4. "The official policy of the Archdiocese calls for a religious preference in the hiring of teachers."

5. "The contracts of principals and teachers in the schools of the Archdiocese contain a provision allowing termination for lifestyle contrary to the teachings of the Catholic church."

6. The schools require attendance at daily religion classes; some excuse non-Catholics, some do not.

7. The schools conduct sacramental preparation classes during the school day.

8. "The schools also require attendance at Mass."

9. "Religious extracurricular activities are also provided."

10. "The Archdiocese and the individual schools publish statements of philosophy under which the schools operate. . . . These statements indicate the pervasive sectarian nature of the schools . . ."

11. "The Handbook of Policies and Regulations for Elementary Schools of the Archdiocese of New Orleans indicates that the operation of the Catholic schools is governed by canon [church] law."

12. "[T]he pastor . . . 'is the key person in relation to the parish education program.' . . . The pastor has 'authority at the parish level' to veto decisions made by the local school board."

13. "Under the Archdiocesan policy, 'Catholic schools of the Archdiocese are open to all children regardless of race or ethnic background, but emphasis should be given to Catholic children.'"

14. ". . . [T]eachers employed at those schools are normally required to accompany their students to Mass."

The court also found that there were no safeguards to ensure that library books "lent" to schools were nonsectarian. Mrs. Helms uncovered the fact that most of the schools loaded their purchases with religious material, such as lives of the saints. In summary, the court found: "First, the primary beneficiaries of the aid are nonpublic schools; second, the majority of the schools receiving the aid are pervasively sectarian; and third, the aid has the impermissible effect of advancing religion."

The court also held that the state legislature program for the reimbursement of administrative expenses was unconstitutional as applied, though constitutional on its face.

The provision of bus transportation to sectarian schools was held constitutional, because of the Supreme Court's 1947 *Everson* decision. However, the allocation of state transportation funds directly to parochial schools by the Jefferson Parish School Board was held unconstitutional because it was deemed a direct subsidy. "The Jefferson Parish School Board did not require an audit or other verification to ensure that the funds were spent only for transportation and not for religious purposes." However, a state program reimbursing transportation costs to parents of both public and nonpublic schools passed muster.

The court also held that the typical expenditure provision of federal Chapter 1 (special education for low income families) funds was constitutional because of decisions already rendered by the Sixth and Eighth Circuit Courts of Appeal.

This mixed result should still strengthen the resolve of church-state separationists to challenge programs which aid pervasively sectarian elementary and secondary schools. ■

MOVING?

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Update

Gore Presented Religious Liberty Statement

Vice President Al Gore met with a group of civil liberties and religious leaders on July 14 to accept a statement, "A Shared Vision: Religious Liberty in the 21st Century," signed by over 80 individuals and organizations, including Americans for Religious Liberty, ARL president John M. Swomley and executive director Edd Doerr.

The statement, presented by James M. Dunn of the Baptist Joint Committee, A. James Rudin of the American Jewish Committee, and Oliver S. Thomas of the National Council of Churches, affirms the constitutional principle of church-state separation and the importance of individual freedom of conscience. It also stresses the importance of religious neutrality in public education and opposes "direct or indirect government funding of parochial schools at primary and secondary levels and of pervasively sectarian colleges and universities."

Gore said the statement "reaches to the heart of the American people and indeed to the soul of the entire American experiment." Gore added: "I'm so troubled, always, when I see people who are sure that they know exactly what God's plan for the world is, what political party God belongs to, what God's ideology is, what God's position on particular cases and controversies might be."

Copies of the "Shared Vision" statement are available for \$1 from ARL, PO Box 6656, Silver Spring, MD 20916. (Quantity prices on request.)

Interfaith Alliance Formed

A broad spectrum of mainstream Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish leaders announced in July the formation of The Interfaith Alliance as a counter to growing threats from the religious radical right. According to the Alliance's chair, Dr. Herbert Valentine, the former top official of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A., "We believe the groups which represent the radical religious right pose a serious threat to the American principles of tolerance and liberty."

Another board member, Dr. Joan Brown Campbell, general secretary of the National Council of Churches, said that, "Our concern is that the radical right lays claim to the fact that they uniquely speak for people of faith in this country."

Among the founders and board members of the Alliance is Dr. John M. Swomley, president of Americans for Religious Liberty.

The Interfaith Alliance's offices are located at 1511 K Street, NW, Suite 738, Washington, DC 20005.

Helms Loses on School Prayer

The U.S. Senate voted 53 to 47 on July 27 to defeat an amendment to pending education legislation offered by Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC). The Helms proposal would have cut off federal funding to any school district that has "a policy of denying or effectively preventing participation in constitutionally protected prayer in public schools on a voluntary basis." Both Democratic and Republican moderates branded the Helms proposal dangerous. The Senate then voted 93 to 7 for Sen. Nancy Kassebaum's (R-KS) amendment which would allow a federal fund cutoff if a federal court finds that a school district has "willfully violated" a court order allowing "constitutionally

protected prayer." The Kassebaum amendment poses no threat to existing Supreme Court rulings on school prayer.

In other developments, the ACLU and People for the American Way have filed suit in federal court challenging a new Mississippi law that requires public schools to allow "nonsectarian, nonproselytizing" student prayer at assemblies, sports events, and graduations, even if attendance is compulsory.

In Washington, D.C., school prayer advocates failed to gather enough voter signatures to put their initiative on the November ballot.

Vouchers/Parochialaid

The U.S. Senate voted 53 to 45 on July 27 to reject a proposal to authorize \$30 million for one year, and indeterminate amounts in succeeding years, for a program of vouchers for sectarian and other private schools. The plan was proposed by Sens. Bob Dole (R-KS) and Dan Coats (R-IN). In promoting the plan, Sen. Joseph Lieberman (D-CT), who is Jewish, touted the virtues of Catholic schools. It was vigorously opposed on the floor by Sens. Ted Kennedy (D-MA) and Christopher Dodd (D-CT), both Catholics. ARL and 40 other educational, civic, civil rights, and religious organizations in the National Coalition for Public Education had urged the Senate to reject the voucher plan.

Puerto Rico's \$1,500 per student "experimental" voucher plan was ruled unconstitutional by a lower court in the spring, a violation of both the U.S. and Commonwealth constitutions, in a suit brought by the local National Education Association affiliate and the ACLU. The controversial law had been rushed through the island's legislature last year. In August, however, Puerto Rico's highest court ruled that the program may continue during the upcoming school year pending a final ruling by the court.

The Connecticut House of Representatives defeated an "experimental" voucher plan in May on a 71-71 tie vote.

The Massachusetts Catholic Conference is lobbying hard to get the state legislature, to meet as a constitutional convention in November, to approve a proposed amendment to remove the strong provision in the state constitution prohibiting tax aid to nonpublic education. Similar amendments were approved twice in the 1980s but were decisively defeated by voters at the polls.

New Jersey Education Commissioner Leo Klagholz is preparing a report, due in September, on the "feasibility" of a voucher program in Jersey City. At a debate with Klagholz in Princeton, American Federation of Teachers researcher Bella Rosenberg predicted that a voucher plan would mean tax support for Ku Klux Klan and "Farrakhan" schools."

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Reproductive Rights

Topping the summer's abortion rights news were the July 29 murder of a physician and his escort in Pensacola (see editorial), passage of the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act, and the Supreme Court's June 30 ruling upholding a Florida court injunction intended to keep disruptive protesters from blockading clinics.

In May Congress passed and President Clinton signed the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act (FACE). Under the new law it is a federal crime to use "force or threat of force" or "physical obstruction" that attempts to or actually intentionally injures, intimidates, or interferes with a person seeking or providing reproductive health services. The measure also bars property damage or destruction. The law also protects the free exercise of religion in places of worship. First time offenders convicted of "non-violent physical obstruction" can be fined up to \$10,000 and given up to six months in jail. Violent offenders face a \$100,000 fine and one year in jail, with up to \$250,000 in fines and three years in prison for repeat offenses.

On June 16 the federal district court in Alexandria, VA, dismissed a challenge to the new FACE law. Judge Leonie Brinkema held in *American Life League v. Reno* that "nothing in the language of FACE prohibits pure speech; rather the Act criminalizes the use of force, threat of force, and physical obstruction. . . . these acts have long been outside the scope of the First Amendment's protection." On July 6 the federal district court in San Diego dismissed a similar challenge.

On June 30 the Supreme Court, ruling in *Madsen v. Women's Health Center*, upheld parts of an injunction that created a buffer zone to protect access to a clinic in Melbourne, FL. The Court held that the standard for reviewing the injunction's constitutionality was a determination of whether it "burdened no more speech than necessary to serve a significant government interest." Those interests include "protecting a woman's freedom to seek lawful medical or counseling services in connection with her pregnancy." However, the Court invalidated the injunction's 300-foot buffer zone around the residences of clinic staff and the prohibition against display of
(continued on page 10)

The *ESSENTIAL* Church-State Library

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Edd Doerr and Albert J. Menendez (hardcover) \$19.95

Religious liberty provisions of all the state constitutions.

Catholic Schools: The Facts

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Analysis of the largest private school system seeking public funding.

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The definitive, eye-opening study of the schools tax dollars would pay for under a voucher plan.

Religion and Public Education: Common Sense and the Law

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Unique guide to what public schools may and may not do about religion.

The Great Quotations on Religious Freedom

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The most comprehensive collection of quotes on religious freedom ever compiled.

Why We Still Need Public Schools: Church/ State Relations, and Visions of Democracy

Edited by Art Must \$17.95

28 experts on education, religion, law and science explain and defend church-state separation and public education.

The December Wars: Religious Symbols and Ceremonies in the Public Square

Albert J. Menendez \$18.95

History of controversy over holiday observances, from Rome to the present.

Abortion Rights at the Polls: An Analysis of the 1992 Maryland Referendum

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A precinct by precinct look at how and why people vote.

Church Schools and Public Money: The Politics of Parochialism

Edd Doerr and Albert J. Menendez \$14.95

Thorough examination of the campaign to get tax support for sectarian schools.

Abortion Rights and Fetal 'Personhood'

Edited by Edd Doerr and James W. Prescott \$12.95

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

Religious Liberty and the Secular State

John M. Swomley \$14.95

Authoritative history of church-state separation in the U.S. Analyzes current threats to religious freedom.

Dear Editor

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Update, continued from page 9

images visible to patients inside the clinic.

A Michigan federal district court ruled on July 18 that the state's near total ban on Medicaid abortion coverage violates federal law. The court ordered Michigan to cover abortions in cases of rape and incest, despite the present law allowing funding only in cases of life endangerment.

On July 15 Wayne county, MI, Circuit Court Judge John Murphy ruled that Michigan's 1993 law requiring a 24-hour delay before abortions violates the right to privacy in the state constitution.

On July 14 the U.S. Senate defeated 58-42 an amendment to the fiscal 1995 Foreign Operations Appropriations bill proposed by Sen. Jesse Helms that would have barred use of federal funds to lobby foreign governments to change their abortion policies. Many senators opposed the amendment because it would have restricted U.S. involvement in the International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo.

In May the Clinton administration advised Arkansas and ten other states that they could lose federal Medicaid funds if they did not cover abortions for poor women who are victims of rape or incest. A federal district court in Arkansas ordered the state to comply on July 25. On June 1 a Montana state court issued a similar order for that state, while on August 17 the U.S. Supreme Court refused to halt a cutoff of Medicaid funds if Louisiana does not comply with federal law.

As Congress wrestles with the problem of health care reform, one of the sticky issues is whether reproductive health care services, including abortion, will be included, as such services are currently covered in most private insurance plans. The Catholic bishops are leading efforts to delete contraception, sterilization, abortion, and other reproductive health care services from the legislation.

On June 30 a California appellate court struck down that state's 1987 one-parent consent law. The unanimous ruling held that enforcement of the law would injure the health of young women and discriminate against those seeking abortions.

Wyoming Faces Abortion Referendum

Wyoming citizens will have to vote in November on Initiative No. 1, a draconian measure that would virtually outlaw abortion in the state.

Initiative No. 1, placed on the ballot by a group calling itself the "Unseen Prayer Hands Circle," would prohibit all abortions except those necessary to save a woman's life or in cases of rape or incest if reported to law enforcement officials before the abortion. The initiative would prohibit even abortions required to protect a woman's health.

Opposing the initiative is the bi-partisan Wyoming No on No. 1 Committee, P.O. Box 1222, Casper, WY 82602 (telephone: 307-265-3717), which is seeking funds and volunteers.

Creationists Challenged

Two junior high school students, supported by the ACLU, filed suit in federal court in Pittsburgh on May 23 to block repetition of a creationist lecture at a March 16 student assembly. At the assembly, Moon Area School District technology coordinator Warren Kooi delivered a straight fundamentalist creationism lecture. The suit also charges that one of the complaining student's biology teacher did not intervene to stop religious harassment of a student of a liberal religious persuasion.

Scout Discrimination Loses

California's 4th District Court of Appeal has ruled that two brothers from Anaheim Hills cannot be excluded from the Boy Scouts because they do not have a belief in a deity. The court held the Scouts to be a business under state law and thus barred from discriminating by religion. Attorney James G. Randall represented his 12-year-old sons William and Michael in the case. The Scouts plan to appeal to the state supreme court.

Motto Challenged

The Freedom from Religion Foundation filed suit in federal court in Denver on June 8 challenging the constitutionality of the "In God We Trust" motto which Congress required placed on currency in 1955. The motto first began appearing on some coins in 1864 and on all coins in 1910. Challenges to the motto in the 1950s and 1970s were unsuccessful, federal courts having ruled that the motto is patriotic and ceremonial but not religious. The Supreme Court declined to hear appeals in the earlier cases. The FFRF suit also challenges the 1950s law making "In God We Trust" the national motto.

The motto has always been controversial. President Theodore Roosevelt opposed adding it to the \$10 and \$20 gold pieces, regarding it as "sacrilegious." When adding the motto to currency was proposed in 1955, ARL executive director Edd Doerr organized one of the protests against the Senate's refusal to hold public hearings on the constitutionality of the measure.

Jerry's Jillions

Televangelist Jerry Falwell has raked in over \$4 million through sales of a scurrilous videotape attacking President Bill Clinton, according to *Newsweek*. The tape features allegations by Larry Nichols, who was fired from his job as marketing director of the Arkansas Development Finance Authority in 1988 for using state phones to call friends in the Nicaraguan contra movement. Nichols seems also to blame Hillary Clinton for allegedly giving advice to his ex-wife, who is in court seeking back child support payments from Nichols.

Commandments Plaque Removed

Following a complaint from the ACLU, Montgomery County, Maryland, Court officials agreed in August to remove a plaque with the Ten Commandments from the County Judicial Center. ACLU attorney David Coburn told court officials that, "While some of the commandments coincide with secular values the government may properly advance, others are overtly religious and sectarian."

In 1993 a federal district court ordered a similar plaque removed from the Cobb County, Georgia, court house. In Pocatello, Idaho, the ACLU has sued to have a Commandments plaque removed from in front of the Bannock County court house.

Good Friday Holiday Unconstitutional

Chicago federal district judge Ann Claire Williams ruled on May 27 that a 1941 Illinois law that mandates Good Friday as an official school holiday is unconstitutional. Judge Williams held in *Metzl v. Leininger* that mandating a Good Friday holiday "conveys the impermissible message that Christianity is a favored

religion in Illinois," and that "Non-Christians and Eastern Orthodox students are reminded that their holy days somehow failed to make the grade."

Robertson Board Slate Loses

In Virginia Beach, televangelist-activist Pat Robertson's home base, Robertson's five-person school board slate lost to a slate backed by the Virginia Education Association and the Virginia Beach Education Association, affiliates of the National Education Association.

Released-Time Gaining Popularity

Released-time programs, which are permitted in more than 30 states, are increasing somewhat in popularity, though they still involve less than 1% of U.S. public school students. The concept, which allows public school students time off for voluntary, nondisruptive religious education off school grounds, was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1952. About 250,000 students participate in released-time programs nationwide, according to a Georgia-based organization which encourages churches to organize religious education programs. The number of programs in use nationally is 120, up from 109 in 1993.

International

Vienna: In a low key ceremony on July 6, the Vatican presented a papal knighthood to former U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, who has been barred from entering the U.S. since 1987. During his political career Waldheim concealed the fact that he was an intelligence officer in the German army in World War II, attached to units that massacred over 60,000 people in Yugoslavia. The U.S. Justice Department has also concluded that Waldheim was involved "in the transportation of civilian prisoners to the SS for exploitation as slave labor; the mass deportation of civilians to concentration and death camps; the deportation of Jews . . . to concentration and death camps; the utilization of anti-Semitic propaganda; the mistreatment and execution of Allied prisoners."

In a similar incident after World War II, the Vatican conferred a knighthood on Franz von Papen, who had served the Nazi regime as Hitler's vice-chancellor.

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Stockholm: Bangladeshi writer Dr. Taslima Nasrin arrived in Sweden on August 10 after being released on bail and allowed to travel abroad by a court. She had been in hiding since June 4 when the Bangladesh government brought criminal charges against her for writings "intended to outrage the religious feelings of any class by insulting its religion or religious believers." Nasrin's writings in defense of women's rights had incurred the wrath of Muslim fundamentalist extremists who want her executed, who have threatened to bring down the government if it fails to bring her back for trial, and who want Bangladesh made into a Muslim republic. The Norwegian government is reported to be considering granting her asylum.

Montreal: The Quebec Teachers Federation in the predominantly, or nominally, Roman Catholic province of Quebec is recommending that sectarian control of tax-supported education be ended. The QTF also recommends that religion be dealt with academically in social studies classes.

Toronto: The Ontario Court of Appeal ruled on July 6 that while Catholic schools may receive public funding, Jewish, Protestant, Muslim, and Sikh schools are not entitled to the same privilege. About 70,000 children attend non-Catholic non-public schools in Ontario. The *Toronto Star* editorialized: "The funding of Catholic schools is an aberration we have to live with. It cannot be a moral, legal or political basis for splintering tax dollars into schools for every faith."

Warsaw: Poland's powerful lower house passed a moderately liberal abortion rights law 214-107 in June to replace an earlier, more repressive law passed at the insistence of Catholic Church officials. But President Lech Walesa, a devout Catholic, vetoed the bill in July. A two-thirds vote to overturn the veto is considered unlikely. Ironically, most Poles are pro-choice, but Walesa's approval rating in the polls hovers around 5%. One of Walesa's sons was arrested for drunk driving last November after learning that his girlfriend was pregnant.

London: Britain's future monarch, Prince Charles, said in June that he would like to see the Church of England disestablished. He said that it is divisive for the monarch to be seen as titular head of one church in a religiously pluralistic society. The monarch has been head of the C of E since King Henry VIII severed connections with the Vatican in 1531. Under a 1701 law, the sovereign must be a communicant member of the C of E. All monarchs since Henry VIII have used the title Defender of the Faith, from which Charles would like to remove the article "the." Cabinet minister Ann Widdecombe, a convert from the C of E to Roman Catholicism in 1992, disagreed with Charles: "An established church is a bastion against the advance of secularism. It would be very hard to make advances in religious education in schools if the association between church and state is lost. As a Catholic I feel very strongly we need an established church, and it is the Church of England, for better or worse." Most church leaders, according to the London *Times*, remain opposed to disestablishment.

Ottawa: A Canadian federal court ruled on July 8 that Sikhs in the Royal Canadian Mounted Police may wear turbans while on duty, as is required by their religion. Justice Barbara Reed said that the ruling is "a demonstration and an acceptance of the present day multicultural nature of Canada."

(continued on page 12)

Update, continued from page 11

Tel Aviv: Israel's education minister has announced that schools will begin teaching Conservative and Reform Judaism. Until now only Orthodox views could be taught. Under policies inherited from the pre-1918 Ottoman Empire, Israel allows the country's Orthodox rabbinate to control marriage, divorce, and other civil matters. The courts have recently recognized non-Orthodox conversion to Judaism.

Jerusalem: On January 26 Israel's highest court ruled that candidates for local religious councils cannot be rejected because of their religious outlook. The ruling was a victory for Reform, Conservative, and other non-Orthodox forms of Judaism. Hedmat, the Council for Freedom of Science, Religion, and Culture, hailed the ruling as "the beginning of a revolution in the relationship between the state and religion and constitutes the first victory on the road to pluralism and the recognition of freedom of religion." On the same day, however, the court denied a petition asking that women be allowed to pray, read from the Torah, and sing in unison at the Western Wall. The ruling disappointed the Israel Women's Network, which said the ruling gave Orthodox groups preference over Jewish women.

Bogota: Colombian voters elected Liberal Party candidate Ernesto Samper Pizano president on June 19 in a close contest with Conservative Andres Pastrana Arango. Samper won despite efforts by Catholic archbishop Dario Castrillon Hoyos and other clerics to tip the vote to Pastrana by charging that Samper secretly promised to name a Protestant as Education Minister. The head of Colombia's Catholic Bishops Conference declined to repudiate Castrillon's allegations of a "diabolical" Liberal-Protestant alliance. Although Colombia was the first Latin American country to try church-state separation, the experiment was aborted by a dictatorship in the 1880s which arranged a concordat with the Vatican that made for a tight church-state union. The concordat was finally ruled unconstitutional by Colombia's Constitutional Court in 1992.

Books

The Religious Right: The Assault on Tolerance and Pluralism in America, by David Cantor, Anti-Defamation League, 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017, 193 pp., \$7.50.

A New Rite: Conservative Catholic Organizations and their Allies, by Steve Askin. Catholics for a Free Choice, 1436 U St NW, Suite 301, Washington, D.C., 20009, 91 pp., \$15.

How to Win: A Practical Guide for Defeating the Radical Right in Your Community, Radical Right Task Force, c/o National Jewish Democratic Council, 711 Second St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20002, 252 pp., \$25.

The Political Activity of the Religious Right in the 1990's: A Critical Analysis, by Lori Forman. American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56 St., New York, NY 10022, 26 pp., free.

With religious liberty, pluralism, tolerance, and church-state separation under increasing attack from a whole spectrum of religious radical right activists and extremists, publication of these books is timely.

Cantor's book is a comprehensive, documented guide to the organizations, leaders, methods, and connections of the

Protestant fundamentalist sector of the religious right. It has touched a sensitive nerve and has been fiercely attacked by radical right activists. Askin's book is an equally thorough study of the Catholic right.

How to Win is a blockbuster how-to book for dealing with the radical right on the community and state levels. Dozens of experts (including the reviewer) have contributed concise information on the issues—creationism, parochial vouchers, school prayer, censorship, abortion rights, gay and lesbian rights, environment—together with practical guidelines on organizing and directories of resources and groups.

Forman's booklet is a handy short introduction to the main groups of the religious right and their agendas.

To this list of resources should be added *Challenging the Christian Right: The Activist's Handbook*, by Frederick Clarkson and Skipp Porteous (Institute for First Amendment Studies, Box 589, Great Barrington, MA 02130, 290 pp., \$20) which we reviewed in Issue 46 and, of course, the books on substantive issues that ARL has been publishing for several years (see ad in this issue).

— Edd Doerr

Standing Firm, by Dan Quayle, Harper Collins, 402 pp., \$25.00.

Readers who can stand to wade through our former Vice President's whinings and criticism of his fellow Republicans will find his views on religious matters spelled out in considerable detail. Quayle clearly favors the Religious Right and its paranoid positions on many domestic issues.

Interestingly, Quayle criticizes his boss, George Bush, for denouncing the omission of any references to God in the Democratic platform, though, predictably, he blames Bush's speech writers who "made him look foolish." Didn't Bush have something to do with that reckless charge, or was he a puppet who merely delivered his lines?

Quayle also echoes the line propagated increasingly by Religious Right propagandists when he writes: "Christianity is central to our lives, but to many in the media and the entertainment industry, Christianity is something that consists chiefly of corrupt televangelists and redneck rabble-rousing, something to be cartooned and ridiculed."

— Al Menendez

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