



VOICE OF REASON

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Cairo: Real World 1, Vatican 0

On the whole, the United Nations International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD), held in Cairo September 5-13, was a success, despite massive, frantic efforts by the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church to derail it.

World population continues to grow about 1.7% per year, about 90 million people being added each year. At the same time, environmental degradation (deforestation, desertification, soil erosion, fishery overexploitation, depletion of fresh water and relatively clean fossil fuel supplies, renewable resource overuse, waste accumulation, etc.) is accelerating. Unless world population, now at 5.5 billion, is held below 7.3 billion by 2015, a planet-wide catastrophe is inevitable.

Most of the delegates to the Cairo conference, from over 180 countries, agreed on the final Programme of Action, which recognizes the interdependence of economics, ecology, population, and human rights, and stresses the importance of universal access to family planning information and means, improving the status of women, and advancing education, particularly of females.

U.S. representatives to the conference did not seek to make freedom of choice on abortion an internationally recognized right, but did press the view that, while abortion should not be promoted as a family planning method, it should be decriminalized by individual countries and treated as a public health problem. Over 50 million abortions are performed annually, many of them illegally and under such unsafe conditions that a great many women die (at least 100,000 per year) or suffer injury.

The hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church, which dogmatically opposes contraception, sterilization, and abortion for any reason, used every weapon at its command to try to derail the conference, despite the well documented fact that the vast majority of Catholics around the world disagree with the Vatican and use contraception, sterilization, and abortion to limit or space their children to the same degree as non-Catholics.

Catholic theologian Daniel Maguire, a frequent critic of the Vatican, called the ICPD draft program a "moral masterpiece," and Frances Kissling, president of Catholics for a Free Choice, was a highly visible participant at Cairo.

The Clinton administration, represented at Cairo by Undersecretary of State Tim Wirth and Vice President Al Gore, provided important leadership for progress, in sharp contrast with the Reagan administration, which enthusiastically espoused the Vatican line at the 1984 population conference in Mexico City. At Cairo the Vatican attacked Vice President Gore personally, accusing him of misrepresenting U.S. policy. American bishop James McHugh played hardball by telling the press that American Catholics would desert Clinton and the Democratic Party if the administration did not move closer to the Vatican position.

As the conference wound down the Vatican's high pressure tactics offended most delegates, who finally approved language close to that of the original Draft Programme. When the final votes were taken, the Vatican and its allies (Malta, Argentina, Honduras, Slovakia, Uruguay, Ecuador, Guam) dissented from some sections of the final document.

The final Programme of Action is only a piece of paper, a set of recommendations. Its only force is moral. National governments must implement its proposals and appropriate money to pay for them. As we know from Murphy's Law and from the propensity of Catholics bishops and fundamentalist leaders to meddle in politics, achieving population stabilization and the sustainable use of the planet's limited and dwindling resources will be a serious challenge to the whole world for many years to come. ■

Holy Terror

In 1982 a group calling itself "The Army of God" kidnapped an Illinois physician, who performed abortions, and his wife, and later bombed clinics in Virginia and Florida. In 1984 other persons using the "Army of God" name bombed eight clinics in the Washington, DC, area, along with the offices of the ACLU and the National Abortion Federation. Federal investigators said that the men arrested were the sole members of the "Army of God" and that no conspiracy against clinics existed.

In 1993 a woman named Shelley Shannon was convicted of the attempted murder of Dr. George Tiller, a physician who performs abortions, in Wichita, Kansas. Seized by police at the home of Ms. Shannon was a copy of a 113-page handbook issued by "The Army of God," a detailed how-to manual for using terror tactics against abortion clinics and staff.

The manual was brought to light at a Washington press conference on September 29 by the Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice (formerly the Religious Coalition for *(continued on page 6)*

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Editorials

A Convergence to Watch

Americans have long tended to think of religious or lifestyle identification in terms of vertical columns: Catholics, Protestants (Methodists, Episcopalians, Baptists, Presbyterians, etc.), Jews, Muslims, Hindus, Humanists, etc. This way of looking at the world has always been flawed, but has become especially so in the last twenty years or so.

It is now more accurate and useful to recognize that the religious divisions in our society tend to be horizontal rather than vertical. Thus, since the mid-1970s we have seen a converging of religiously and politically conservative Catholics, Protestants, Jews, and even some "unbelievers" who have come together around religio-political agendas typified by those of Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority and Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition. (Indeed, Falwell was merely the titular leader or front man for a group conceived and hatched by two conservative Catholics, Paul Weyrich and Richard Viguerie; a very conservative Jew, Howard Phillips; and a Baptist, Ed McAteer.) These agendas include opposing freedom of conscience on abortion and promoting tax support for sectarian private schools through vouchers or tuition tax credits, censorship, opposing gay rights, partial or complete takeovers of public schools, and so on.

The latest major development in this convergence of forces on the religious right is the issuance earlier this year of a statement entitled "Evangelicals and Catholics Together: The Christian Mission in the Third Millennium." While much of the document is aimed at reducing tensions if not actually reconciling the differences between conservative Catholics and evangelicals, its main thrust—however couched in glittering generalities and mollifying, obscure language—is the promotion of a political agenda: "the *right* ordering of civil society" (with a heavy emphasis on *right*). This "right ordering" would entail further weakening the application of the church-state separation principle, already battered by decades of assaults; ending freedom of choice on abortion, under the transparent guise of "protecting" women from "rampant exploitation by the abortion industry"; tax support for sectarian private schools, under the guise of "parental choice in education" and "simple justice," which the state (that is, taxpayers) must support; using public education facilities to promote particular religious values; and the censorship of "widespread pornography" and of "anti-religious bigotry in the entertainment media."

The true goals of this new effort are evident from the names of the 38 men and two women who drafted and/or endorsed the statement. Among them are Charles Colson, former Nixon hatchetman and Watergate figure; Richard John Neuhaus, religious right propagandist and former Lutheran minister turned Catholic priest; Richard Land, a prominent figure in the fundamentalist takeover of the Southern Baptist Convention; New York Cardinal John O'Connor; televangelist and activist Pat Robertson; Mary Ann Glendon, Harvard law professor and opponent of abortion rights; Os Guinness, the brains behind the "Williamsburg Charter" and the seriously flawed public school curriculum "Living With Our Deepest Differences"; William Bentley Ball, attorney long identified with the political aims of the Catholic hierarchy; Michael Novak of the American Enterprise Institute; Robert Destro, a Reagan appointee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission; as well as the Catholic bishops of Denver and San Francisco.

Some of the conservative Catholic/evangelical values are shared

by moderates and liberals across the American spectrum, and thus there exists some common ground. But this particular call for "Evangelicals and Catholics to be Christians together in a way that helps prepare the world for the coming of him to whom belongs the kingdom, the power, and the glory" is clearly intended to mobilize some sectors of the population in a political effort with aims antithetical to democratic values, civil liberties, church-state separation, religious toleration and pluralism, and individual freedom of conscience. ■

Neuhaus's Non-Solution

Richard John Neuhaus, one of the slickest of Religious Right theoretician/propagandists, proposed recently in the *Wall Street Journal* that *Roe v. Wade*, the 1973 Supreme Court ruling that recognized a fundamental right to freedom of conscience on abortion, be "overcome" so that "the abortion question can then be submitted to the deliberation and decision of the people, as prescribed in this representative democracy." This "solution" may strike some as rather appealing. What's wrong with allowing democracy to "settle" a vexing controversy?

To begin with, the Supreme Court in *Roe* has already submitted the abortion question to "the deliberation and decision of the people." It did so in the most democratic and

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quintessentially American way, by recognizing that individual women have a constitutional right to deliberate and decide, each one for herself, if and when to become mothers. *Roe* liberated women from the tyranny of permanent or temporary majorities. It liberated women from traditional male domination. It applied the spirit of the Bill of Rights, and in particular the spirit of the First and Ninth Amendments, the idea that some liberties are so basic, so fundamental, that government may not infringe them.

Rev. Neuhaus, a Lutheran minister turned Catholic priest, is pushing the line advanced by his close associate, Harvard law professor Mary Ann Glendon. In a survey of abortion law in western Europe and the U.S., Glendon deplored the fact that reproductive choice has constitutional protection in the U.S. while in Europe, where abortion is legal in every country except Ireland and Poland, reproductive choice is a legislatively conferred and regulated privilege.

Neuhaus, Glendon, and their friends seem to have forgotten that the main purpose of government in this country, as Jefferson *et al* articulated in the Declaration of Independence, is the protection of individual liberty, a view incorporated implicitly in the Constitution and explicitly in the Bill of Rights, if not always honored in practice. Rights are to be regarded as unalienable and fundamental, beyond the reach of governments and majorities.

Implementation of the Neuhaus/Glendon view would mean that reproductive choice could be quite free in one state, somewhat restricted in another, and prohibited in still another, and could be changed depending on the vicissitudes of politics. A woman's rights could expand or contract each time she crosses a state line.

Just as we do not subject our religious views to majority votes, so too must we bar majorities or powerful minorities from imposing on women views on fetal personhood and the morality of abortion inconsistent with their own.

And we haven't even mentioned the Thirteenth Amendment, which bans involuntary servitude. ■

Red Mass One-Upmanship

Since 1928 the Roman Catholic Church in the U.S. has put on an annual "Red Mass" in Washington on the first Sunday in October. Supreme Court justices, cabinet members, and other national big wheels are invited to hear a political sermon at this revival of a medieval custom. Every year a number of these dignitaries attend, evidently ignoring the incongruity of this mix of religion and politics with our constitutional principle of separation of church and state.

This year Supreme Court Justices Rehnquist, Scalia, Ginsburg, Kennedy, and Thomas showed up, along with Attorney General Janet Reno and Education Secretary Richard W. Riley. They were treated to a 20-minute harangue by Connecticut bishop Edward M. Egan, who urged the justices to "help rid the country" of the "political correctness" which he claimed "muzzles" the voices of those who oppose freedom of choice on abortion and advocate tax support for sectarian private schools.

If Bishop Egan, while pontificating to an audience of Supreme Court Justices and cabinet members in the cathedral where John F. Kennedy's funeral was held, really believes that advocates of his church's political agenda are being "muzzled" he should consider seeking treatment for his paranoia.

If one religious body can hold a religio-political service and invite jurists and other government officials to attend, why can't every religious body do likewise? Maybe they should. Then the

jurists and dignitaries could be observed to see which and how many such services they attend, which religious bodies are preferred and which are slighted. Maybe then all jurists and cabinet members would see the absurdity of the situation and confine their churchgoing to their own churches, synagogues, or mosques. ■

Public Schools, Public Opinion

Despite being seriously underfunded and often under attack, American public schools continue to retain the confidence of the general public. The 26th annual Phi Delta Kappa/Gallup survey of public opinion about public schools shows that 71% of the national sampling rates public schools nationwide from A to C on an A through F scale. However, 74% rated the public schools in their communities A to C, 80% give that rating to schools attended by kids from their neighborhood, while 92% gave an A to C rating for the school attended by their oldest child.

Similarly, the poll finds that 51% believe that schools nationwide have gotten worse during the past five years, while 37% believe that about schools in their community and only 15% believe that about the school attended by their own child.

These interesting discrepancies suggest strongly that the overwhelming majority of parents are somewhat or very much pleased by the schools they are familiar with, while they seem to buy into the negative propaganda about schools they are not familiar with. In other words, they like the public schools they actually know but have been influenced by media attacks to think that schools they do not know are not as good.

On another topic, by a margin of 54 to 45 respondents oppose using public funds to pay all or part of nonpublic school tuition, though the question was somewhat clumsily worded. More accurate indicators of public opinion were the referenda on vouchers or tuition tax credits in California, Oregon, and Colorado in the early 1990s in which tax support for nonpublic schools was defeated by better than 2 to 1. ■

The Confederacy and Religious Liberty

Americans are intensely interested in the Civil War, which many see as a defining moment in our history, the Iliad of our national experience. A cottage industry has grown up around this tragic period of our national life, and interest remains high in virtually every battle and in the roles played by the men and women of that era.

One virtually forgotten story is that of the Constitution of the Confederate States of America. With a rare exception or two, few scholars have devoted much attention to what is, in reality, an important document hammered out in the anvil of wartime.

For our purposes, it is worth remembering that the Confederacy's Constitution, different though it was in many respects from that of the United States, reaffirmed the Founding Fathers' attachment to religious liberty and the separation of church and state.

The formal document that embodied the political and legal system of the Confederacy, adopted unanimously on March 11, 1861, and ratified on February 22, 1862, repeated the exact

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The Confederacy and Religious Liberty

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language of the U.S. Constitution's First Amendment: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." This language became Article 1, Section 9, Paragraph 12.

Similarly, the U.S. Constitution's Article 6 ban on religious tests for public office was retained by the Confederates as Article 6, Section 1, Paragraph 4: "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the Confederate States of America."

Thus, only 70 years after the drafting and completion of the original Constitution, those who broke away from the federal government still cherished the religious liberty provisions so much that they retained them in their fundamental governmental charter.

Those who suggest today that our Founding Fathers did not mean what they said in 1789 might take a look at what the Southern generation of 1861 did.

It is an interesting irony that a disproportionate part of the noisy rhetoric aimed at tearing down the wall of separation between church and state, largely the work of Virginians Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, emanates from voices from the former Confederate States such as Virginia televangelists Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell. ■

Loose Canon

If we were given to conspiracy theories, it might occur to us that James T. McHugh is a mole planted by someone to embarrass the Roman Catholic Church. McHugh is bishop of the Catholic diocese of Camden, New Jersey, and, as a leading member of the Committee for Pro-Life Activities of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, has emerged as what the *New York Times* refers to as "moral spokesman" for the American Catholic bishops.

In his first capacity, Bishop McHugh triggered a strike in

September by 200 of the lay teachers in his diocese's eight private high schools. The teachers object to the addition of language to a proposed three-year contract that would grant him the power, solely and without appeal, to dismiss teachers he considers to be violating "the policies of the Diocese of Camden as stated by the Bishops."

Teacher union president William T. Blumenstein, Jr., while acknowledging that all 157,000 teachers in U.S. Catholic schools are governed by a "bishop's clause," said that McHugh's proposal goes too far. Under a "bishop's clause" teachers may be fired for doctrinal deviation in the classroom or for private behavior that is contrary to church law, as in the case of a teacher who divorces and remarries without obtaining a church annulment. The striking teachers say that McHugh "wants to enlarge his authority over non-church related issues."

It is interesting that Bishop McHugh is seeking to further extend hierarchy control over Catholic school teachers' professional and private lives at the same time that he and his fellow New Jersey bishops are expanding their campaign to get New Jersey to provide tax support for their private schools by means of vouchers. We hope that lawmakers in Trenton understand that church control of teachers' lives is utterly incompatible with tax support extracted from all citizens of all faiths.

In his capacity as a spokesman for the Catholic bishops on "pro-life activities," McHugh has attracted high media visibility with his attacks on the Clinton administration's policies on reproductive rights and women's rights both domestically and at the recent U.N. Conference on Population and Development in Cairo. He even went to far as to declare on national television that the administration's policies on reproductive rights provide a "powerful incentive to American Catholics to walk away from the Democratic Party." Such overt politicking by a church spokesman would surely seem to many to put in jeopardy that church's tax exempt status, which bars partisan political activity.

Sensible Catholics, who are, after all, the majority, are surely embarrassed by a bishop who seems to want to stir up a return of the anti-Catholic prejudice that most of us thought had faded away. ■

Books

Justice William J. Brennan, Jr.: Freedom First, by Roger Goldman with David Gallen, Carroll and Graf Publishers Inc., 374 pp., \$24.95.

This is a potpourri of praise for the retired Justice whose decisions strengthened religious freedom and civil liberties in the U.S. A mixture of tributes by friends, an analysis of his contributions to jurisprudence, and a collection of a dozen Brennan opinions make this an unusual, though not a particularly well structured or coherent, volume. The authors conclude that Brennan "strongly opposed government attempts to support religion . . ." and "interpreted the free exercise clause to require government to take steps to accommodate the religious practices of individuals."

U.S. Religious Interest Groups, by Paul J. Weber and W. Landis Jones, Greenwood Press, 207 pp., \$69.50.

After giving a brief history of religious group lobbying, the authors describe in detail the positions, concerns, history, and funding of 120 religion-based groups which exist to influence

public policy in the United States. The groups are further categorized by policy concerns, political identification, religious affiliation, and size of annual budget. Weber and Jones, both associated with the University of Louisville, conclude that "both liberal and conservative religious interest groups will survive and remain active players in the drama of American politics. We can count on religious interest groups to remain diverse, dynamic, and remarkably adaptable."

This is an essential reference tool for students of religion and politics.

Fighting the Odds: The Life of Senator Frank Church, by LeRoy Ashby and Rod Gramer, Washington State University Press, 749 pp., \$32.00.

This is a comprehensive and absorbing biography of the Idaho Senator (1956-1980) who served on ARL's first National Advisory Board. The authors show Church to have been a principled and effective leader who warned against "political action programs wrapped in religious garb."

— Al Menendez

Population Study Finally Published

In our Spring 1992 issue we reported on the suppression of National Security Memorandum 200, the report on the population problem ordered by President Richard M. Nixon in 1974 ("The Strange Case of the Missing Population Report"). That report and other material have finally been published in Stephen D. Mumford's new book *The Life and Death of NSSM 200* (Center for Research on Population and Security, P.O. Box 13067, Research Triangle Park, NC 27709, 384 pp., \$18.95).

Mumford's book shows that rising concern that high rates of population growth "impair individual rights, jeopardize national goals, and threaten international stability" led President Nixon in July 1969 to present a special message to Congress outlining the problem and calling for creation of a Commission on Population Growth and the American Future. Congress responded by creating the Commission. Nixon named John D. Rockefeller, III, to chair it. The Commission's recommendations, presented to Nixon in 1972, were humane, liberal, and far-reaching, anticipating the Programme of Action presented to the 1994 Cairo conference. The Commission called for more sexuality education, equal rights for women, universal access to contraceptive information and supplies, and even liberalization of abortion laws.

Feeling heat from Catholic Church officials and facing a reelection fight, Nixon renounced the Rockefeller Commission report in May 1972. Once safely reelected, however, in April 1974 Nixon ordered the Secretaries of State, Defense, and Agriculture, and the Directors of the C.I.A. and A.I.D. to make a

comprehensive study of the "Implications of Worldwide Population Growth for U.S. Security and Overseas Interests." The study, National Security Study Memorandum 200 (NSSM 200), was completed in December 1974, four months after Nixon's resignation. President Ford circulated the report among the relevant cabinet secretaries and agency heads and then endorsed it in November 1975 in National Security Decision Memorandum 314.

The 227-page NSSM 200 report rather accurately predicted world population growth trends and their effects on the environment, living standards, and U.S. security interests. The report concluded that rapid population growth posed threats of "serious damage to world economic, political, and ecological systems, and . . . to our humanitarian values."

The report recommended that U.S. policy work toward achieving "a replacement level of fertility (a two-child family on the average) by about the year 2000." It insisted on the right of individual couples to determine the number and spacing of their children, and that they have the "information, education, and means [emphasis in report] to do so."

After President Ford approved the report, it somehow got stamped "classified" and disappeared from view until three years or so ago. Mumford's book makes a strong case that pressure from the hierarchy of the Catholic Church got the report bottled up and ignored. Thus, thanks to behind the scenes pressures and the

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Population and Prosperity

The following are excerpts from the keynote address to the UN International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo in September by Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland, who is also a physician.

"Population growth is one of the most serious obstacles to world prosperity and sustainable development. We may soon be facing new famine, mass migration, destabilization and even armed struggle as peoples compete for ever more scarce land and water resources. . . .

"With 95% of population increase taking place in developing countries, the communities that bear the burden of rising numbers are those least equipped to do so. They are the ecologically fragile areas where current numbers already reflect an appalling disequilibrium between people and earth.

"The preponderance of young people in many of our societies means that there will be an absolute increase in the population figures for many years ahead, whatever strategy we adopt here in Cairo. But the Cairo Conference may significantly determine, by its outcome, whether global population can be stabilized early enough and at a level that humankind and the global environment can survive. . . .

"The final programme of action must embody irreversible commitments towards strengthening the role and status of women. . . . It must promise access to education and basic reproductive health services, including family planning as a universal human right for all. . . .

"I am pleased by the emerging consensus that everyone should have access to the whole range of family planning

services at an affordable price. Sometimes religion is a major obstacle. This happens when family planning is made the moral issue. But morality cannot only be a question of controlling sexuality and protecting unborn life. Morality is also a question of giving individuals the opportunity of choice, of suppressing coercion of all kinds. . . . Morality becomes hypocrisy if it means accepting mothers suffering or dying in connection with unwanted pregnancies and illegal abortions, and unwanted children living in misery.

"None of us can disregard that abortions occur, and that where they are illegal, or heavily restricted, the life and health of the woman is often at risk. Decriminalizing abortions should therefore be a minimal response to this reality, and a necessary means of protecting the life and health of women.

"In a forward looking plan of action it therefore seems sensible to combine health concerns that deal with human sexuality under the heading 'reproductive health care.' I have tried, in vain, to understand how that term can possibly be read as promoting abortions or qualifying abortion as a means of family planning. Rarely, if ever, have so many misrepresentations been used to imply meaning that was never there in the first place.

"The total number of abortions in Norway stayed the same after abortion was legalized, while illegal abortions sank to zero. Our experience is similar to that of other countries, namely that the law has an impact on the decision making process and with the safety of abortion—but not on the numbers. Our abortion rate is one of the lowest in the world."

Population Study Finally Published

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timidity of politicians, nearly 20 years has been wasted. The population/ecology problem has grown worse and, from what we know happened in Cairo in September, the Vatican has once again contributed enormously to frustrating the will of most nations in trying to bring population into line with the sustainable

carrying capacity of our planet.

Mumford's book, containing the complete text of the NSSM 200 report, is vitally important to our overdue efforts to achieve a population/resource balance. It also points to the need for curtailing the political influence of a powerful church hierarchy that ignores the world's welfare as much as the opinions of most of its own members. ■

Population/Ecology: A Recommended Reading List

The Life and Death of NSSM 200: How the Destruction of Political Will Doomed a U.S. Population Policy, by Stephen D. Mumford (Center for Research on Population and Security, P.O. Box 13067, Research Triangle Park, NC 27709, 1994, 384 pp., \$18.95).

Full House: Reassessing the Earth's Population Carrying Capacity, by Lester R. Brown and Hal Kane (W.W. Norton & Co., 1994, 261 pp., \$8.95).

Critical Masses: The Global Population Challenge, by George D. Moffett (Viking, 1994, 353 pp., \$26.95).

Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit, by Al Gore (Houghton Mifflin Co., 407 pp., 1992, \$22.95).

Our Angry Earth, by Isaac Asimov and Frederik Pohl (Tom Doherty Associates, 1991, 323 pp., \$19.95).

The Diversity of Life, by Edward O. Wilson (Harvard University Press, 1992, 424 pp., \$29.95).

The World Food Problem, by Phillips Foster (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 367 pp., \$22.00).

Living Within Limits: Ecology, Economics and Population Taboos, by Garrett Hardin (Oxford University Press, 1993, 339 pp., \$25.00).

While these books overlap to a greater or lesser degree, each is an important contribution to our understanding of the population/ecology problem. Each can be read independently, but in the aggregate they cover the ground so thoroughly that no doubt whatever can remain that increasing population and diminishing resources are fast squeezing all of us between a rock and a hard place.

Holy Terror

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Abortion Rights), the National Abortion Federation, and the Center for the Pro-Choice Majority. The third edition of the manual, produced by the shadowy group sometime between March and August of 1993 (judging from internal evidence), gives detailed instructions on explosives, arson, chemical attacks, disabling alarm systems, sabotage, and various techniques for harassing and intimidating clinics and their staffs. The manual clearly condones the use of terror, force, and violence to block women from exercising their right to choose abortion.

The introduction to the manual declares that the U.S. "is a nation under the power of Evil—Satan, who prowls about the world seeking the ruin of souls of mankind" and "a nation ruled by a godless civil authority that is dominated by humanism, moral nihilism, and new-age perversion of the high standards upon which a Godly society must be founded."

At the press conference, Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice president, the Reverend Katherine Hancock Ragsdale, an Episcopal priest, denounced the advocacy and instructions for terrorism and violence and called on the Justice Department to act swiftly to put an end to violence against clinics and women's rights. Her views were echoed by representatives of the United Church of Christ, the Presbyterian Church (USA), the United Methodist Church, Reform Judaism, and the Unitarian Universalist Association.

Sylvia Stengle, director of the National Abortion Federation, a national association of abortion providers, said that the tactics described in the "Army of God" manual are similar or identical to those by which clinics and staff have been victimized for years.

Stengle praised the leadership of President Clinton and

Attorney General Reno and the Justice Department's formation of an interagency task force on anti-choice violence. She also called on the media "to stop giving celebrity status to extremists through interviews and talk shows, to stop giving them a platform for justifying their violence."

Between 1977 and 1994 a total of 1,642 incidents of violence and threats against clinics have been recorded, including three murders and two attempted murders. There have been 625 clinic blockades and 33,552 arrests made for blockading or disrupting clinics.

Rabbi Lynne Landsberg called on the "right-to-life" community to join with the pro-choice community in working to reduce the number of unintended or unwanted pregnancies in order to reduce the need for abortions. ■

Safeguarding the Future

Religious liberty and church-state separation will never be completely secure. But you can help provide the means for their defense in the future in two ways:

Include a bequest to Americans for Religious Liberty in your Will, add ARL to your Will, or, include ARL as a beneficiary in a life insurance policy. Bequests and insurance proceeds to ARL are tax deductible.

Please contact us if you would like further information.

Americans for Religious Liberty
P.O. Box 6656, Silver Spring, MD 20916
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The Religious Right at Midterm

Two years ago, America's cantankerous and often fragmented coalition of religious conservatives and social-issue voters lost access to the most visible symbol of political power when the presidency passed from George Bush to Bill Clinton. Not only has President Clinton, a foe of the religious right and now its principal object of hatred, set the legislative agenda for Congress, but he has also appointed two new justices to the Supreme Court. At the highest echelons of the federal government at least, the religious right has lost power and influence.

But these shifts have not deterred this highly vocal and committed segment of the electorate. Rather, they have concentrated on regrouping and consolidating their stranglehold on the Republican Party in key states and in influencing the outcome of state and local races, from school boards to state capitals. And they have had some major successes. Among them are the following:

The respected political journal *Campaigns and Elections* reported in September that religious rightists are the dominant force in 18 state Republican parties, including Texas, Minnesota, California, Florida, and Virginia. The Christian Right has a "substantial influence" in another 13 states. "Forces of the Christian Right are cohesive, mobilized, dedicated and often well financed," concluded the political monthly's special report based on a state by state survey of Republican party governing organizations. The South and West are more receptive to Christian Right influences than New England and the Northeast, which are substantially Catholic, Jewish and mainline Protestant. The bottom line, according to *Campaigns and Elections*: The Christian Right, using any yardstick, has leveraged finite voter support into major influence within state GOP party organizations and, consequently, has become a powerful component of the Republican coalition and its tactical support apparatus."

Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition is flourishing. Claiming over a million members, and under the direction of the personable and charismatic Ralph Reed, the Coalition is edging toward the center of the GOP, seeking respectability by emphasizing nondivisive issues that are unrelated to religious conviction. The Christian Coalition has begun to endorse candidates with whom it disagrees on some issues, such as abortion, though its tentative moves toward moderation have already provoked a backlash from hard rightists like Randall Terry. Liberals and moderates remain skeptical of this change in strategy, believing that it may be so much eyewash, i.e., an attempt to disguise its true sectarian agenda until it is in a position to legislate changes in the nation's cultural life.

Perhaps the most ominous development is new polling data which suggests that many millions of American voters may be receptive to religious-based appeals and to policies which aim to reverse widespread perceptions that "moral decline" is now the major underlying problem of U.S. society.

A poll released in September by People for the American Way found that 51% of Americans believed that most of the country's problems relate to declining standards of morality, while only 34% believe that economic inequalities are responsible for the nation's critical problems. (The other 15% were uncertain where to lay the blame.) By no means do all Americans who hold this view believe that religious right prescriptions will ameliorate the problems. Many religious conservatives, and secular ones as well, will interpret this to mean that government is incapable of solving problems related to moral, ethical or religious change. But the

"Christianity does not provide a political agenda but rather an underlying social conscience with which to approach politics. Religion plays its most constructive role precisely when church and state are separate. When the two are fused, however, when organizations acting in the name of Christianity seek political power, then religion becomes subordinate to politics. It becomes infected with the darker egoism of group and nation; it no longer softens and counters our ungenerous impulses but clothes them in holy righteousness."

John B. Judis, *The New Republic*
September 12, 1994

religious right will surely use broad feelings of anxiety to lobby for more religion (their own brand, of course) in public schools, government financing or tax support for private religious schools, and for more family-friendly tax legislation as well as censorship of lifestyles deemed unacceptable to them.

The prestigious *Times-Mirror* Center for the People and the Press released a major study of the U.S. electorate in September, and announced that the fastest-growing political group were the "moralists." These individuals represent 18% of the adult population and 20% of registered voters (25% in the South). The *Times-Mirror* report said of this group, "The size of this group has almost doubled since 1987, as more religious and cultural conservatives—many of them Democrats—have identified with the GOP. They are drawn to the party as a defender of traditional moral values. These voters are religious, socially intolerant and opposed to social welfare. They are militaristic and xenophobic and critical of big business as well as big government."

Not all the moralists are evangelical white Protestants, though 40% of them are, which is nearly twice their number in the entire population. These voters exhibit a "moderately high attentiveness to politics and voter turnout." They attend Bible study or prayer group meetings more than other voters, admire Rush Limbaugh and Ronald Reagan, favor a constitutional amendment to permit organized prayer in public schools, disapprove of permitting gays to serve in the military, and abhor abortion. Only one out of seven voted for Clinton in 1992, and even fewer support him today. The moralists are most numerous in the South, the Midwest and in rural areas.

The *Times-Mirror* study concluded, "At the national level, the social and cultural conservatism of the moralists has displaced the fiscal conservatism and pro-business views as the dominant strain of Republicanism. The moralists now dominate the Republican Party in southern regions and in rural America."

But there remains a strong negative side to the balance sheet.

Polls consistently show that more American voters would oppose the candidates closely identified with the Religious Right than would support them, even though a majority of voters say

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The Religious Right at Midterm

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the issue is not of primary importance to them.

In Minnesota's Republican primary, voters supported incumbent Governor Arne Carlson by a two to one margin over Allen Quist, who had wrested the party's convention endorsement with the help of Religious Right activists. Quist, who belongs to a tiny Lutheran sect which broke with the conservative Lutheran Church Missouri Synod because the larger group was not fundamentalist enough, campaigned as a hard-line social rightist. He opposed abortion for any reason, sought to do away with no-fault divorce laws, lauded home schooling, favored creationism, and spent 30 hours of legislative time during his days as a state representative expounding on sexual topics. Quist allegedly made forays into pornographic bookstores and gay bath houses. Quist opposed civil rights for gays, and suggested that men are "genetically predisposed" to hold dominant roles in society.

Republican primary voters wanted none of this extremism. Gov. Carlson, a moderate liberal on social issues and a fiscal conservative, upset Democratic Governor Rudy Perpich in 1990 and is favored to win reelection in November.

Even in Texas, where the Religious Right took party leadership roles and used religious affiliation criteria to dump long-time Republican activists, their long-term influence at the grassroots level may be exaggerated. GOP gubernatorial candidate George W. Bush repudiated the party platform which calls for requiring public schools to give "equal time to creationists and evolutionary theories of creation in public schools." Bush opted for a local option approach and has steadfastly avoided the hot-button social issues address by the GOP Platform.

The Religious Right can point to no major congressional

victories for its positions on school prayer, vouchers, or major restrictions on abortion.

The Religious Right's influence on the Republican Party is seen as a mixed bag, not an unalloyed blessing, by many within the party and without. As the *Times-Mirror* study noted, "The influx of religious and cultural conservatives has moved the party's center of gravity to the right, and there are signs that it is fragmenting over social tolerance issues."

The majority of voters do not see morality issues as crucial to their votes for president and congress, despite their widespread concerns about value issues in general. Only 9% of voters polled in the *Times-Mirror* study cited "morality and values" as the most important political issue. Far higher percentages cited crime (26%), health care (14%), and job security (12%).

Voters remain wary of ecclesiastical influence on the political scene. Fully 30% of those polled in the *Times-Mirror* study agreed with the statement, "Religious leaders have too much say in the way the government in Washington is run." Fewer disagreed, and about 40% had no opinion. This is consistent with numerous other polling data that suggest that endorsement of candidates by religious leaders produces more opposition from voters than support.

Some political analysts believe that the Religious Right is now content to piggyback on the backs of moderate or moderately conservative Republicans who are strongly placed to win elections. This gives the Religious Right lobbies a higher percentage of claimed victories and shows their apparent willingness to endorse less than perfect candidates. This seems to be part of the new strategy decided upon by the Christian Coalition, the most visible and well financed Religious Right lobby. Its leaders are strenuously seeking to appear moderate in its public positions and in its candidate endorsements. ■

ARL Publishes New Studies

Increasing entanglement of religion and politics threatens political division along religious lines and damage to American democracy, pluralism, and freedoms, warns Americans for Religious Liberty president John M. Swomley in his new book *Religious Political Parties* (ARL, 113 pp., \$10, 1994).

Swomley labels the radical religious right a neo-fascist movement that challenges religious liberty, public education, and social tolerance. "What is happening in present-day America is the rise of a radical religious right that attacks the secular state in order to make it a Christian nation, that attacks the secular public school system by insisting on Christian prayers in classes and at public school events and seeks control of local school boards by Christian Coalition sponsored or promoted candidates."

Swomley warns that Americans must confront this reality. "Unless the American people take this threat seriously, the radical religious right may eliminate some of our constitutional liberties and seriously change the face of American politics for the worse. The American dream could be transformed into a nightmare."

Swomley, a political scientist and United Methodist minister, is Professor Emeritus of Christian Ethics at the St. Paul School of Theology in Kansas City. He is secretary of the American

Civil Liberties Union national board and chairs its church-state committee.

In a 44-page appendix to the book, ARL research director Albert J. Menendez surveys religious political parties around the world from Afghanistan to Venezuela.

ARL has also published *Abortion and Public Policy* (ARL, 61 pp., \$10, 1994), a reprint of an essay by John M. Swomley that originally appeared in the *St. Louis University Public Law Review* in 1993. In it Swomley, who has served on the Board of Consultants of the Midwest Bioethics Center and is currently on the Advisory Board of Planned Parenthood of Greater Kansas City, ably defends freedom of conscience on abortion and offers guidance for public policy on the issue.

Supplementing Swomley's essay is the *amicus curiae* submitted to the U.S. Supreme court in the *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* case representing a dozen Nobel laureates and other scientists. The brief, organized by ARL, showed the Court what science has to contribute to the debate over abortion rights.

The two new books, part of ARL's monograph series, are available for \$10 each from ARL, PO Box 6656, Silver Spring, MD 20916.

Catholic Hospitals Have Cake, Eat It, Too

America's Catholic hospital system constitutes one-sixth of the U.S. health care delivery system, according to an important new study just released by Catholics for a Free Choice (CFFC), a Washington, DC-based advocacy and research group.

The CFFC study also revealed that Catholic hospitals routinely exclude certain medical procedures, such as abortion and sterilization, which violate Catholic ethics and canon law. Despite these prohibitions, Catholic hospitals receive the bulk of their revenues from government sources.

The report challenges the roseate portrait of Catholic hospitals as uniquely committed to providing health care to the poor and disadvantaged. "In truth, Catholic hospitals and health care facilities provide no more and, in some cases, less, charity care than other nonprofit health care facilities," concludes the report. One survey undertaken by the Catholic Hospital Association in 1989 estimated that Catholic hospitals rendered a relatively low level of uncompensated care, only 4.6% of their expenses for that year. Another survey, published in *Modern Healthcare* magazine in 1993, found that Catholic hospitals provided less charity than public, other religious or secular nonprofit hospitals.

More importantly, Catholic hospitals impose a medical code on all personnel and patients which forbids a wide range of reproductive health services. The CFFC report says, "The hierarchy's prohibitions against medical procedures and services it deems objectionable extends to both Catholics and non-Catholics who use Catholic hospitals and health care facilities." Furthermore, "Catholic hospitals distinguish themselves by their refusal to provide a broad spectrum of basic reproductive health and other services: not only abortion, but also contraceptive sterilization, contraceptive services and supplies, most forms of assisted reproduction, comprehensive AIDS prevention information and condom distribution, and the morning-after pill for rape victims."

This denial of services constitutes an additional hardship. There are 46 Catholic hospitals designated by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services as "sole providers" for a

defined geographic area, usually an entire county. These are the only hospitals which exist in those communities. Additional federal funding in the form of higher Medicare reimbursements is provided to these hospitals. In only two of the 46 counties is the majority of the population Catholic. In 29 counties less than one-fourth of the population is Catholic. Says the CFFC report, "These numbers make clear that in these cases at least, non-Catholic women are being denied reproductive health services in huge numbers because their only source of short-term hospital care is a Catholic institution." Not all of these counties are in rural areas. Fully 1,326,724 people reside in these 46 counties. Nearly 100,000 live in Stueben County, New York, and 93,000 reside in Grand Junction, Colorado.

CFC president Frances Kissling blames the Catholic bishops for this state of affairs and charges that they have an ambitious agenda that transcends restricting abortion. She says, "The bishops want public and social policy to reflect their own religious and moral positions."

Kissling says the bishops' agenda is threefold:

"First, the bishops want Congress to expand the current conscience clause—the statutory language that sanctions their refusal to provide abortion and sterilization services—to allow them to ban from health care facilities they control any service they deem immoral, including contraception, in vitro fertilization, and many other noncontroversial services.

"Second, the bishops want the protection of the conscience clause extended to employers, insurance companies, and networks of health care providers. Thus, regardless of their own religious affiliation, employees of Catholic schools, colleges, hospitals, agencies, and dioceses would have no coverage for those services which church officials oppose.

"Third, the bishops want abortion services excluded from the basic benefits package."

This eye-opening report, *The Catholic Health Care System and National Health Care Reform*, is available for \$10 from Catholics for a Free Choice, 1436 U St., NW, Ste. 301, Washington, DC 20009. ■

Update

Vouchers/Parochialaid

The Kentucky Supreme Court ruled in September that county governments may not subsidize bus service for parochial schools, as Jefferson County (Louisville) had been doing for years. While other Kentucky counties provide this form of tax aid to denominational schools, Jefferson County made direct payments to the schools. In fiscal 1993 this amounted to \$468,000. County officials have said they may try to find a way to circumvent the ruling. Catholic schools in the Louisville area complained about the ruling, as they had relied on the public funds for a large percentage of their transportation budget.

New Jersey's Catholic bishops have begun a propaganda campaign to get the state legislature to approve a voucher plan for tax aid to sectarian private schools. Beginning in early September the New Jersey Catholic Conference began sending all pastors in the state special bulletin inserts to be distributed at all Sunday services for eight weeks. The bishops are backing a

voucher plan cooked up by Jersey City mayor Bret Schundler, who is working with Gov. Christine Whitman and Education Commissioner Leo Klagholz to draft an experimental voucher plan for Jersey City. Meanwhile, a coalition of 33 organizations, Community Advocates for Public Education (CAPE), has been formed to educate the public about the dangers of a voucher plan.

Although Puerto Rico's \$1,500 per student voucher plan was ruled unconstitutional earlier this year, the island commonwealth's Supreme Court decided on August 5 to allow the plan to continue to be funded until it can rule on its constitutionality. Of the island's 600,000 students, 15,561 are involved in the voucher plan. Of that number 11,436 (74%) switched from one public school to another, 2,291 (15%) moved from private to public schools, while 1,834 (11%) switched from public to private schools, down from 18% last year. About 95% of Puerto Rico's private schools are religious.

A hot issue in Maryland's gubernatorial contest is vouchers for nonpublic schools. Republican candidate Ellen R. Sauerbrey is

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pushing a \$2,000 per student per year voucher plan. Democratic candidate Parris Glendening responds that tax aid to nonpublic schools "would destroy the public school system." In early 1993 the legislature defeated a voucher plan that outgoing governor William Donald Schaefer tried to slip through not as a bill but as a budget line item.

In Florida, Republican gubernatorial candidate Jeb Bush, son of George Bush, is advocating vouchers for private and parochial schools. Democratic Governor Lawton Chiles, running for reelection, opposes vouchers.

In Pennsylvania, the 23 organizations in the Public Education Coalition to Oppose Tuition Vouchers (P.O. Box 4384, Harrisburg, PA 17111) have launched an educational campaign to counter the years long effort by sectarian special interests to get a voucher plan through the legislature.

Voucher proposals in the Ohio legislature did not come to a vote this year, though hearings were held in the Senate.

Michigan's Charter School Scam

Newsweek (September 26) calls the Noah Webster Academy "the boldest attempt to use public money—up to \$5,500 per student—to support what critics call private, and sometimes religious, education."

Here's what's happening. Lansing attorney David Kallman, a home-schooling activist, figured out a way to use Michigan's new charter public school law to try to circumvent the state constitution's very tight prohibition on tax aid to nonpublic education (which was added to the constitution in 1970 through a referendum and which ARL executive director Edd Doerr helped to write).

Under the Michigan law, citizens can apply for charters through local school districts or community colleges. Kallman applied for a charter to the Berlin Orange Fractional School District No. 3, in Ionia, forty miles northwest of Lansing, a tiny,

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strapped school district with 20 students and one teacher. The district awarded Kallman's Noah Webster Academy a 99-year charter in exchange for an agreement by the "academy" to kick back 1% of the state funds it expects to receive. With an enrollment of about 2,000 Webster figures to take in \$11 million per year, with a kickback of perhaps \$110,000 to the Berlin Orange School District.

Noah Webster Academy, however, has no classrooms. It is a network of 2,000 students around the state who are taught at home by parents. The "academy" operates out of a log cabin on a ten-acre lot in Ionia, which Dennis Herron, president of the Berlin Orange School District until last June, sold to a fundamentalist Bible institute in Chicago for \$125,000, which in turn leases the property to Noah Webster for \$1 a year. Kallman plans to use the state funds to set up a computer network to connect all the homes in the operation. What plans he has for the rest of the \$11 million per year are not known.

The scam is being challenged in court by the Council About Parochialism (CAP) and members of the state and local boards of education. Americans for Religious Liberty is a longtime member of the CAP coalition.

Parochialism advocates in Michigan view the case as a major test to see if constitutional barriers to tax support of sectarian private education can be gotten around.

In another development, Detroit's Plymouth United Church of Christ has applied for a charter from Central Michigan University for its private school. If the charter is approved, the school would receive \$5,500 per year per student in state funds. It claims that it would not be unconstitutional because the school says it does not teach religion. Michigan ACLU disagrees.

Reproductive Rights

Pennsylvania's somewhat restrictive abortion law, upheld by the Supreme Court in 1992, requires that women seeking abortions receive information from a physician 24 hours before the procedure, which imposes something of a burden on many women. As of several weeks ago, however, the burden has been lightened. Clinics are providing the information via recorded messages from physicians on the telephone, thus eliminating an extra trip to a clinic. Similar recordings are being used by clinics in Ohio, Nebraska, North Dakota, Utah, and Kansas.

On September 7 the Second Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals ruled unconstitutional a court-appointed 36-foot buffer zone around a Buffalo clinic. The court held that the Buffalo facility had not presented enough evidence to justify a buffer zone similar to the one approved by the Supreme Court for a clinic in Melbourne, Florida.

The Louisiana legislature on August passed legislation to allow public funding for abortions for rape and incest victims, thus avoiding a threatened cut-off of \$3 billion in federal Medicaid funds.

Arkansas's Constitutional Amendment 68, barring use of public funds for abortions in cases of rape and incest, conflicts with federal law. So ruled a federal district court on July 25. Judge Bill Wilson ruled that as long as the state chooses to participate in the federal Medicaid program, it must cover all abortions for which federal funds are available.

On August 22 federal District Court Judge Richard Battey ruled unconstitutional the parental notice provision of South Dakota's 1993 abortion law because it lacks a bypass or waiver arrangement. However, the court upheld the law's required 24-hour waiting period and a 48-hour delay after parental notice for minor

women.

Federal courts in Florida and Arizona have dismissed challenges to the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act passed by Congress earlier this year.

On September 7 the Wyoming Supreme Court declined to block a November 8 referendum on Initiative 1, a proposed state constitutional amendment that would outlaw virtually all abortions. The amendment is opposed by the Wyoming No on No. 1 Committee, P.O. Box 1222, Casper, WY 82602.

In Seattle in September a young couple running late for an appointment for an abortion were pulled over for speeding by a state trooper, who tried for 90 minutes to talk them out of the abortion and made them follow him to a church camp for anti-abortion lectures. The F.B.I. is investigating the case for possible civil rights violations.

Religious Harassment Allowed

Responding to tremendous pressure from fundamentalists, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission voted in September to drop religion from its "Proposed Guidelines on [workplace] Harassment Based on Race, Color, Religion, Gender, National Origin, Age or Disability." Similar pressures led both houses of Congress to approve measures to bar the EEOC from banning workplace religious harassment. The proposed guidelines defined illegal harassment as any verbal or physical conduct that "denigrates or shows hostility or aversion toward an individual because of his/her . . . religion . . . or that of his/her relatives, friends or associates."

Spiritual Healing Cut Off

As a result of complaints registered by student Matthew Barry, the University of Washington in Seattle has discontinued including Christian Science practitioners under the student accident and illness plan, citing church-state concerns. As a result of a similar complaint by the ACLU, the Washington State Public Employees Benefits Board voted on August 25 to discontinue reimbursement for Christian Science practitioners in the state's Uniform Medical Code.

Episcopalians Broaden Pro-Choice Stance

On September 2, the 71st General Convention of the Episcopal Church passed a resolution expressing "its unequivocal opposition to any legislative, executive or judicial action on the part of local, state or national governments that abridges the right of a woman to reach an informed decision about the termination of pregnancy or that would limit the access of a woman to safe means of acting on her decision."

The resolution broadened previous church policy from 1988 which affirmed the right to abortion but did not voice direct opposition to legislative barriers. The new policy was adopted because of concern about recent legislation in many states restricting access to and availability of abortion services.

"This resolution serves notice that, as Christians, we understand that women's decisions of conscience concerning their own reproductive health care cannot and must not be determined or coerced by government," said the Reverend Katherine Hancock Ragsdale, an Episcopal priest and president of the Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice. "It affirms that the discussions and even arguments about abortion that have gone on in our Church assemblies, our pews, our homes, our hearts

and our prayers are appropriate—for this is a matter of conscience, of faith and morality, and such discussions belong in our Churches free from state mandate or manipulation.”

New Sectarian School Set Up

Before the ink was dry on the U.S. Supreme Court's June 27 ruling that New York State's law creating a special school district for the Satmar Hasidic sect, a similar sectarian school was created in Minnesota. The Kittson-Central school district in northwestern Minnesota has entered into an agreement to set up a one-room public school intended solely for the use of local members of the Plymouth Brethren denomination. The school district is apparently changing the curriculum and other aspects of the school to accommodate the beliefs of the Plymouth Brethren.

Utah: Teaching About Religion

Utah voters will vote in November on a proposed amendment to the state constitution, Proposition 3, to permit the "Nonsectarian Study of Religion" in public schools. Proponents of the measure, which passed the legislature almost unanimously, maintain that the amendment is needed because the state constitution bars public funding for "any religious worship, exercise or instruction." Utah ACLU attorney Kathryn Kendell, however, said that "Everything that amendment is apparently designed to protect is already protected under the Utah and United States constitutions." There is little organized opposition to the measure.

As ARL has repeatedly pointed out, while neutral, academic study of religion in public schools is constitutionally permissible, in actual practice it is rather difficult to do correctly, given the rarity of adequate text materials and scarcity of properly trained teachers.

San Diego Cross

The U.S. Supreme Court on October 11 let stand a lower federal court ruling requiring the city of San Diego to remove a 38-foot stone cross from Mt. Soledad in a municipal park that dominates the skyline. The federal district court had held that "a sectarian war memorial carries an inherently religious message and creates an appearance of honoring only" certain service men.

International

St. John's, Newfoundland: Premier Clyde Wells announced in August plans for legislation to replace the province's tax-supported entirely sectarian school systems with public schools. A royal commission on education recommended the step in 1992 and opinion polls show the change favored by 57% of Newfoundlanders. The government estimates the ending of denominational separatism in education will save \$10 million annually. The Catholic and Pentecostal churches oppose the change. Newfoundland has three sectarian school systems, Roman Catholic, Pentecostal and a third comprising Anglicans, the United Church of Canada and the Salvation Army.

Warsaw: Poland's parliament in September fell short of overturning President Lech Walesa's veto of a more liberal abortion law. This leaves in place a 1993 law, passed at the behest of the Catholic bishops, that allows abortions only in cases of rape or danger to a woman's life. The vetoed bill passed in July would have allowed abortions in case of "a difficult social situation."

Despite predominantly Catholic Poland's having one of Europe's strictest anti-abortion laws, Poles have a very high abortion rate. Many women go to the Netherlands or Russian Kaliningrad (formerly German East Prussia), but increasingly large numbers are having abortions in Poland itself as the restrictive law is not being enforced.

Kansas City: Rwanda's genocidal carnage, according to a report in the *National Catholic Reporter*, is owed in part to opposition to birth control by Catholic Church officials in the seriously overpopulated small country. A million people are estimated to have been killed in the country, which is estimated to be 60%-75% Catholic. Fr. Wolfgang Schonecke, a German priest working in the region, wrote in a September article that Rwanda's Catholic hierarchy had "cozy relations" with the Belgian colonial administration and then with repressive local leaders. Schonecke added that, while some church groups worked for social justice and human rights, their efforts were undercut by church leaders "too closely linked with the ruling regime to be a credible voice of protest."

Port-au-Prince: Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide does not enjoy good relations with the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church in the predominantly Catholic country. The local hierarchy tried to prevent Aristide from running for office, denounced his presidency before he took office, and supported the military coup that overthrew him. The Vatican is the only body in the world that had relations with the dictatorship that replaced Aristide, a priest who was suspended by his order, the Salesians. Aristide is apparently far more popular with ordinary Haitians than the bishops are.

Riyadh: Saudi religious police disrupted a Protestant religious service and arrested the minister of the congregation of Filipino migrant workers. Non-Muslim religious services are banned in Saudi Arabia. Services for internationals are held at embassies and in private homes. Americans attend services at the British embassy.

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