



VOICE OF REASON

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The Newsletter of Americans for Religious Liberty

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'Religion in the Public Schools' Guide Issued

Responding to gathering pressure on Congress for a school prayer amendment and widespread ignorance about what public schools may and may not do regarding religion, 35 national religious and civil liberties organizations, including Americans for Religious Liberty, issued short but comprehensive guidelines on April 13.

The statement's drafting committee included the American Jewish Congress, the ACLU, the American Jewish Committee, the American Muslim Council, the Anti-Defamation League, the Baptist Joint Committee, the Christian Legal Society, the Seventh-day Adventist Church, the National Association of Evangelicals, the National Council of Churches, People for the American Way, and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Other groups, such as ARL, contributed to the drafting. Other groups endorsing the statement, "Religion in the Public Schools: A Joint Statement of Current Law," included Humanist, Unitarian Universalist, Friends, Sikh, Presbyterian, United Church of Christ organizations.

At the press conference announcing release of the statement, broadcast nationally on CNN, ARL executive director Edd Doerr said:

"The comprehensive statement on 'Religion in the Public Schools' released today by this broad array of organizations is important for a number of reasons:

"It shows that the widest possible spectrum of Americans of diverse beliefs and faith commitments is deeply concerned about preserving religious liberty, about making sure that our common schools continue to serve children of all persuasions equally and without discrimination.

"It shows the wisdom of our country's founders in developing the principle of separation of church and state as the best possible guarantor of religious liberty, freedom of conscience, and interfaith harmony.

"It shows that our judicial system has generally been on the right track in interpreting our charter of government as upholding what Jefferson called the 'wall of separation between church and state' in his letter to the Danbury Baptists, as implementing the ideas spelled out in Madison's Memorial and Remonstrance Against Religious Assessments, and as agreeing with the view Washington expressed in his letter to the Touro Synagogue that under our system government 'gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance.'

"It should serve as a warning to politicians and policymakers that tampering with our basic religious liberty safeguards is a dangerous and divisive course of action."

The statement itself covers such topics as student prayers, graduation prayer, official participation in religious activity, teaching about religion, student assignments and religion, religious literature distribution, religious harassment, creation-

ism, "equal access" clubs, religious holidays, student garb, and teaching values. The statement is not meant to cover all issues but, rather, to summarize the state of the law and correct some of the widespread misunderstandings about religion and public education.

U.S. Secretary of Education Richard W. Riley praised the statement as an example of "the new spirit of thoughtfulness that seems to be emerging in the civic dialogue on religion and public education." Riley noted that a recent CBS News/*New York Times* poll showed that "the majority of all Americans—55 percent—did not know that a child's right to pray privately in school is constitutionally protected."

Copies of the statement are available for \$1 each from ARL, PO Box 6656, Silver Spring, MD 20916. ■

Pat Robertson's 'Contract on America'

While House Speaker Newt Gingrich's "Contract With America" is an essentially secular legislative agenda, the Radical Religious Right and its political allies are putting together a truly scary set of proposals. On the agenda being readied for introduction in Congress by such groups as televangelist/activist Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition, the Christian Action Network, the Traditional Values Coalition, Concerned Women for America, the Family Research Council, and Focus on the Family are the following:

- School prayer. Not the simple sort of public school prayer amendment that Congresses have repeatedly rejected over the past 30 years, but a more sophisticated amendment masquerading as protection for religious liberty.

- Passage of legislation to end alleged "government hostility" toward religious expression.

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Voucher Blitz Under Way

Undeterred by repeated defeats in the courts, in legislatures, in referendum elections, and in opinion polls, advocates of tax support for sectarian private schools, buoyed by last November's election results, have begun a massive nationwide campaign to build pipelines from public treasuries to church school coffers. The gimmick to facilitate the fund transfer is the tuition reimbursement voucher or tax credit.

Given the federal and state budget crunches, however, most voucher proposals are made to look like modest or limited "experiments" or "pilot projects." The idea is to pass relatively modest programs and hope that changes in Supreme Court members will allow reversal of anti-parochial precedents. If that works, then the way would be cleared for campaigns for full tax support of nonpublic, predominantly sectarian private schools.

In a nutshell, the objections to voucher plans are that they would violate the U.S. and most state constitutions, compel citizens to support religious institutions not under meaningful public control (as are public schools) which commonly practice forms of indoctrination and discrimination not tolerated in public schools, splinter communities and children along religious and other lines, cost as much as \$25 billion per year, and wreck public education.

The rationale that vouchers would expand educational choices falls apart when it is recognized that educational choice in the nonpublic school context means that the private schools choose the students, the teachers, and the particular religion to be taught.

Americans for Religious Liberty is active in the various national and state coalitions opposing voucher plans. ARL members may get information on national and local groups opposing voucher plans by contacting our national office (PO Box 6656, Silver Spring, MD 20916).

Following are the latest developments:

Washington, D.C.: Sens. Dan Coates (R-IN) and Joseph Lieberman (D-CT) have reintroduced their bill to provide \$30 million per year for as many as 20 voucher demonstration projects. The same proposal was defeated in the Senate last July 53 to 45 after speeches against it by Sens. Edward Kennedy (D-MA) and Christopher Dodd (D-CT).

District of Columbia: As part of Congress's efforts to straighten out D.C.'s financial crisis, House Speaker Newt Gingrich's D.C. task force will propose a voucher plan for tax aid to nonpublic schools, which ignores the fact that D.C. voters in 1981 rejected a similar tuition tax credit measure by the smashing margin of 89% to 11%.

Pennsylvania: Republican Gov. Tom Ridge and a massive lobby effort by Catholic Church officials are pushing the legislature to pass a pilot \$38 million voucher program for nonpublic schools. The vouchers would be worth \$700 at elementary schools and \$1,000 for secondary schools. If the plan applied to all nonpublic schools in the state, as Ridge and the Catholic bishops envision, it would cost an estimated \$250 million per year.

Ohio: Gov. George Voinovich and the usual parochial lobby groups are pushing the legislature to approve a \$5 million voucher pilot project and a \$250,000 Commission on School Choice, to be appointed by the pro-voucher governor to administer the project. The proposal is not a separate bill, but tucked into the governor's budget. The voucher project is to take place in Cleveland, though the Cleveland Board of Education voted 7-0 to oppose the scheme.

Wisconsin: On March 14 U.S. District Court Judge John Reynolds ruled in *Miller v. Benson* that allowing Milwaukee's limited voucher plan, confined to secular private schools, to be expanded to include religious schools would be unconstitutional, following the Supreme Court precedent set in 1973 in *PEARL v. Nyquist*. Nonetheless, Republican Gov. Tommy Thompson continues to push in the legislature to have sectarian schools included in the voucher plan.

California: Although California voters rejected a voucher initiative at the polls 70% to 30% in 1993, new efforts are under way to get another initiative on the ballot in 1996. This time around the proposal has the backing of multibillionaire John T. Walton, son of the founder of the Wal-Mart store chain, and money manager William E. Oberndorf, who are reported to be willing to spend \$25 million to get the measure passed. No single voucher plan has yet been agreed on by voucher promoters, who are divided between religious and Libertarian groups, who favor Milton Friedman-type universal subsidies for nonpublic schools, and those like academics John Coons and Terry Moe, who favor a plan tilted toward the poor. Apparently no voucher promoters favor a plan that would eliminate the profoundly undemocratic features of nonpublic schools that differentiate them from public schools.

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Americans for Religious Liberty is a nonprofit public interest educational organization dedicated to preserving the American tradition of religious, intellectual, and personal freedom in a secular democratic state. Membership is open to all who share its purposes. Annual dues are \$25 for individuals; \$30 for families; \$10 for students and limited income.

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John Paul II Plunges into Politics

Pope John Paul II's March 31 encyclical letter "Evangelium Vitae" ("The Gospel of Life"), a blunt, unequivocal condemnation of reproductive freedom, plunges the Vatican anew into politics, seeks to undermine freedom of conscience and religious liberty, threatens church-state separation, and will heighten interfaith tensions, politicize religion, increase oppression of women, and put new pressure on Catholics to conform to an outmoded authoritarianism.

Claiming to speak with "the authority which Christ conferred upon Peter and his successors," John Paul denounced abortion as "murder" while insisting that contraception, artificial insemination, and *in vitro* fertilization are likewise morally impermissible. He also condemned euthanasia, apparently without distinguishing between involuntary "mercy killing," on the one hand, and voluntary euthanasia or assisted suicide, on the other.

John Paul's 194-page statement called on Catholics, Catholic politicians, and others to oppose laws allowing abortion, but did not make clear how laws can be opposed without violating the conscience rights of women. He also accused modern secular countries of engaging in a "conspiracy against life."

Responses to the document were immediate. Planned Parenthood president Pamela J. Maraldo said, "As a practicing Catholic, I am appalled by a document that denies the moral authority of women and jeopardizes the health of people around the world."

Catholics for a Free Choice president Frances Kissling, a member of ARL's advisory board, said she agreed with John Paul that the Bible provides no guidance on the topic of abortion, but added that the pope's call for politicians to oppose laws respecting freedom of conscience on abortion and euthanasia "seems to be a sweeping disregard of the complexity of modern political democracies." She said the pope does not address how Catholic lawmakers are to reconcile the demands of Vatican teaching with pluralistic, constitutional systems of government.

One of the strongest reactions came from the Rev. Katherine Hancock Ragsdale, the Episcopal minister who is president of the Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice, a coalition of 36 Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, and other faith groups and organizations: "The Pope fails to recognize that those of us who differ with the Catholic Church on abortion and contraception are motivated by deeply held values and faith commitments. By not directly addressing antiabortion violence in his discussion and by failing to acknowledge and honor the conscience of those who disagree, the Pope participates—inadvertently we hope—in the 'culture of death' he decries.

"Unlike the Catholic hierarchy, our faith traditions do not agree that abortion reflects an absence of values or commitment to life. In fact, our experience confirms that women often choose abortion out of deeply held faith commitments and in order that they and their families might have life and have it abundantly.

"Difficult decisions about when and if to have children are integral to the responsibility of stewardship given to humankind in Genesis.

"Mutual respect and forbearance are hallmarks of our faith traditions. They are also hallmarks of democracy. Our faith traditions stand with the Catholic Church in opposing poverty, violence and other barriers to human well-being. We hope the Catholic hierarchy will join us in respecting the consciences of women who struggle with difficult moral decisions about

abortion and contraception."

While a spokesman for the U.S. Catholic Conference declared that "the Christian tradition is completely clear" on the abortion issue and Religious Right activist Richard John Neuhaus said that the encyclical puts "beyond the bounds of legitimate debate any question about the grave immorality of abortion," the real world picture is not at all that clear.

During most of the history of Christianity, early abortions were not considered the killing of a person. Abortion was condemned not as murder but as a sin of contraception, a violation of the supposed single legitimate purpose of sex, procreation. Theologian Augustine around the year 400 held that abortion is not murder because a fetus does not yet have a soul. The Catholic Church's most honored theologian, Thomas Aquinas, held a similar position nearly a thousand years later.

In 1140 C.E. Catholic canon law held abortion to be murder only when the fetus is fully formed. In 1588 Pope Sixtus V decreed all abortion and contraception to be murder, but Pope Gregory XIV annulled the decree three years later. It was not until 1869 that the Vatican took its present hard line against abortion. In 1968 Pope Paul VI, against the advice of his own experts, issued a strong encyclical condemning contraception, a decision that led to open revolt among Catholics around the world.

The 1995 encyclical is not likely to influence most Catholics. A 1993 *USA Today*/CNN/Gallup poll showed that 86% of U.S. Catholics would follow their own consciences on difficult moral questions, while only 9% said they would follow papal teachings. Other polls show strong majorities of Catholics opposed to the Vatican positions on abortion and contraception.

John Paul's letter will encourage the anti-choice movement while increasing pressure on politicians of all faiths to bend to pressure from extremists. It will set back the improving relations between Catholics and non-Catholics while reviving fears among many of Catholic hierarchy meddling in politics and challenging fundamental principles of freedom of conscience. And it will put cruel pressures on Catholics, most of whom have long since grown accustomed to making their own moral and political decisions. ■

Religion and the Media

A new book, *Prime Time: How TV Portrays American Culture*, demolishes the myth, often propounded by the Religious Right, that American television is hostile to religion. Written by S. Robert Lichter and Linda S. Lichter of the Center for Media and Public Affairs, a conservative watchdog group in Washington, D.C., the book is a scientific survey of 1,000 programs which appeared on prime time network television from the 1950s to the 1990s. The Lichters and co-author Stanley Rothman have been cited by religious conservatives for their previous studies of religion and the media.

In their new book the authors conclude "Clergy are a rarity on prime time, and religious themes are rarer still. When they do appear, however, the clergy are portrayed as the establishment's human face. Unlike executives, politicians, and military brass, they have always been one of television's good-guy professions.

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Religion and the Media

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Throughout the three decades of our study, the proportion of positive clergy has always exceeded 80 percent. During the 1950s and 1960s, television always portrayed clergy as "compassionate and humanitarian as well as in placing their behavior in the context of traditional religious settings. Shows from the 1950s and early 1960s dealt directly with religious themes by portraying a transcendent God whose ways surpassed human understanding but whose laws must be obeyed." Portrayals of the clergy since the 1970s have tended to emphasize their roles as "either social activists or questioners of church authority." The common theme remains that "only the clergy have always commanded television's respect." ■

Pat Robertson

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- Tax support for sectarian private schools through either vouchers or tuition tax credits; dismantling of the U.S. Department of Education.
- A constitutional amendment to outlaw freedom of conscience on abortion.
- Ending tax support for domestic and overseas family planning programs.
- Defeat of the nomination of Dr. Henry Foster to be Surgeon General and abolition of the office of Surgeon General.
- Ending all funding for fetal tissue research and human embryo experimentation.
- Ending funding for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the National Endowment for the Arts.
- Defunding the Legal Services Corporation.

It would take a book to explain in detail the serious objections to each and every one of these proposals, but certain general objections are obvious.

None of these agenda items would enhance religious freedom, improve education, help families or children. On the contrary, they would undermine religious liberty, freedom of conscience, and the constitutional principle of church-state separation that is the best guarantor of that freedom. They would weaken education, replace democratic education with indoctrination, wreck programs that help families and women and children, further disadvantage the poor, and divide Americans by creed, class, ethnicity, and in other ways.

Although the promoters of this agenda claim to speak for religion in general and Christianity in particular, their proposals have little to do with mainstream Christianity, genuine compassion, or social justice, and much to do with intolerance, callous unconcern for the disadvantaged, and a narrow, mean-spirited triumphalism. They are not real conservatives but radicals bent on remaking society, a la Victor Frankenstein, into an ugly monstrosity.

Thinking, compassionate Americans—liberals and conservatives, Democrats and Republicans and Independents, Christians, Jews, Humanists and others—need to make their voices heard against this irresponsible movement. ■

Voucher Blitz

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Arizona: When the legislature adjourned in April, all of the various voucher plans that had been introduced died in committee. They ranged from Gov. Fife Symington's \$1500 per student experimental plan to a \$3500 per student plan by House education committee chair Dan Schottel.

Texas: The House and Senate are struggling over proposals to radically alter education in the Lone Star State. The proposals, backed by Gov. George W. Bush, would start a pilot voucher program, authorize vocal prayer in public schools, provide a minute of silence for meditation, restrict sex education to encouraging abstinence and bar condom distribution.

Illinois: The Republican-dominated state Senate in March passed 31-27 an experimental plan for \$2500 per student vouchers for nonpublic schools in Chicago.

New Jersey: While adverse public opinion has prevented the legislature from passing Gov. Whitman's voucher proposal, the Department of Education, headed by a voucher promoter, has urged the legislature to allow sectarian private schools to get public funding as "charter schools." Both Republicans and Democrats spoke out against the plan.

Michigan: A group called Teach Michigan is planning to circulate initiative petitions to put a voucher plan on the ballot in 1996. Michigan voters defeated a voucher plan at the polls in 1978 by 74% to 26%.

Washington State: An initiative petition similar to Michigan's is being circulated. In 1975 the state's voters rejected 60% to 40% a proposed amendment to the state constitution to permit tax aid to sectarian schools. The legislature this year is also considering a voucher plan.

Minnesota: Reversing his position as a candidate in 1990, Republican Gov. Arne Carlson has said he may support a \$2,500 per student voucher plan for nonpublic schools introduced in the legislature.

Indiana: The Senate in March approved a bill to provide tax aid for students attending mandatory remedial education programs in nonpublic schools.

Maryland: A modestly priced voucher plan died in the legislature. ARL executive director Edd Doerr presented testimony against it at a committee hearing. ■

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.

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Religious Right Renews Pressure on the GOP

After toning down the rhetoric of religious intolerance for the past couple of years, the Religious Right's leading spokesmen are now turning up the pressure on their preferred vehicle of political power, the Republican Party.

The Christian Coalition's executive director, Ralph Reed, warned Republican conservatives in February that evangelical Christians and antiabortion Catholics will refuse to vote for a Republican presidential ticket next year if either the presidential or vice-presidential candidate favors abortion rights. Warning the Conservative Political Action Committee's annual conference, Reed complained that religious conservatives "are still being told that the social issues are losers, that we must downplay values and sublimate our Christianity, especially if we want to get into the White House in 1996."

Reed apparently backtracked from his previous stances which advocated some compromises by religious conservatives and a broadening of Religious Right issues to include economics, crime and welfare concerns. Observers wonder whether the personable Mr. Reed has been reined in by his boss, Pat Robertson, whose sharply divisive rhetoric remains undiminished.

Reed explained his dilemma: "We've been willing, and we are willing now, to be patient on our own agenda so we can assist you on realizing our broader agenda together. Pro-life and pro-family voters, one-third of the electorate, will not support a party that retreats from its noble and historic defense of traditional values and which has a national ticket or a platform that does not share Ronald Reagan's belief in the sanctity of human life."

Other Religious Right leaders have echoed these complaints. Gary Bauer, president of the Family Research Council, warned that nominating any abortion rights supporter for president or vice-president or softening the party's anti-abortion platform planks "would absolutely guarantee an explosion and perhaps even a third party." Bauer and James Dobson, who heads Focus on the Family, have reportedly met with Republican Party officials to press their agenda and threaten massive defections if Republicans contemplate any changes in church-state policies. "If the Republican Party wants to continue to get the pro-family and pro-life vote, they are going to have to get over any hesitancy for making the case for family values," warned Bauer.

Even among hard-line conservative activists, strategy changes on abortion rights and school prayer are being contemplated. William J. Bennett, former Education Department Secretary and now head of Empower America, said Republicans "shouldn't continue to fight on ground we cannot win." Bennett said the Republican platform call for eliminating most abortions "hurt the conservative cause with a lot of voters in the middle and will have no effect on the number of abortions." Bennett and Texas conservative writer Marvin Olasky support abandonment of the "no abortion under any circumstances" position in favor of a "containment" strategy which seeks to marginalize abortion as a "nonnormative practice engaged in by side-stream groups and not given societal approval."

On school prayer, some conservatives express doubts that any constitutional amendment would work to their satisfaction. Introducing a fear about the religious neutrality of public school officials, University of Chicago law professor Michael McConnell warned that "traditionally religious people should be very cautious about school prayer because school administrators could water it down, run roughshod over the sensibilities of religious minorities and allow prayer to become demeaned by demands to rotate the source of daily prayers to accommodate every competing group."

The *New York Times* chided Republicans for ignoring the opinions of rank and file GOP voters on abortion rights. The *Times* cited numerous polls, including its own July 1994 survey, showing that only 28% of all Republicans thought abortion "should not be permitted," compared to 21% of all voters. The *Times* commented on February 19, "For the first time in years, there are signs that traditional Republicans are tired of following orders from a fringe element that has only lately, and selfishly, latched on to their party. There is a silent majority in the GOP. That majority favors the constitutionally protected right of American women to have abortions if they so choose."

In his new book, *Politically Incorrect: The Emerging Faith Factor in American Politics* (Word Publishing, 312 pp., \$19.95), Reed tries to make the Religious Right palatable to the general public. "The agenda of religious conservatives is informed by faith, tempered by tolerance, and guided by an abiding respect

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Funding the Religious Right

Much of the funding for Religious Right causes comes from a new breed of entrepreneur called "The Christian Capitalists" by *U.S. News & World Report*. Commented the news-weekly on March 13, "The Christian capitalists are managers, professionals and small-business owners mostly, Southern suburban family men who belong to the nondenominational Protestant megachurches whose modern steeples rise above the interstates that ring cities such as Dallas, Atlanta, and Nashville."

An example is Norman Miller, chairman of Interstate Batteries, who donates \$8,650 a year to the Free Market Foundation to help identify religious and social conservatives in Texas who want to end legal abortion and establish prayer and devotions in public schools. The Free Market Foundation actively supported Republicans in Texas in 1994 and helped the GOP sweep many statewide races, and nearly captured

the Texas Senate.

LifeLine, an Oklahoma City-based long distance telephone carrier, designs its appeals for Christians only. Especially opposed to gay rights, LifeLine's executives donated 10% of their \$34 million sales to support conservative political and religious causes.

The de Vos family of Michigan, co-founders of Amway, gave \$2.5 million to the Republicans last year for the construction of a television studio to beam the GOP's message to America. An Atlanta businessman, S. Truett Cathy, advises House Speaker Newt Gingrich on social welfare issues. Executive Bob Reese of Flowdata, Inc., is planning a state senate campaign in Texas. Says Reese, "The Christian principles that are the basis for my life are very similar to the positions of the Republican Party platform."

'Christian' Law

Religious Right lawyers are storming the barricades that have maintained the wall of separation between church and state. Founded by televangelist Pat Robertson, the American Center for Law and Justice (ACLJ) operates out of Robertson's Regent University complex in Virginia Beach, Virginia. Employing twenty attorneys, the ACLJ, with five other regional offices, is pressing claims for greater religious group involvement in the public sector. "Religious free speech" is their battle cry.

The ACLJ has a \$10 million annual budget. Its lead attorney, Jay Sekulow, has successfully argued three cases before the U.S. Supreme Court. The group is launching a Human Life and Reproduction Project to fight abortion, and is working with sympathetic legal scholars to draft a new "religion amendment" to the Constitution. This amendment would undoubtedly weaken the present First Amendment, though the professed goal is to enhance religious activities in the public

realm.

The ACLJ and other groups are hoping for a victory in the *Rosenberger* case, argued in March before the Supreme Court. Activists have banded together to form the Alliance Defense Fund, which seeks \$25 million to aid Religious Right litigation.

Another group, the Center for Law and Religious Freedom, is a milder version of the ACLJ. Associated with the Christian Legal Society, it has been around for twenty years and supports a more expansive interpretation of the free exercise clause.

Robertson's Regent Law School, established in 1987, is raising up a new generation of lawyers to advance the cause. However, the percentage of the school's students who passed the Virginia Bar exam in 1994 was the lowest in the state, and Regent is only provisionally accredited by the American Bar Association.

Pressure on the GOP

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for the dignity of other human beings. We desire a good society based on the shared values of work, family, neighborhood, and faith." Reed adds, "What religious conservatives want is to accommodate the historic role of faith in American civic life. In short, they seek to restore that time-honored tradition of civil religion—not to establish Christianity by law or create an official church. They want a nation of strong families and basic goodness that respects the right of all individuals to express their faith and which does not prohibit faith to inform the laws that govern society."

Reed's harsh side also comes through: "Today the First Amendment has been twisted into a weapon that billy-clubs people of faith into submission and silence. All this is part of a culture that treats faith as a form of pathology. The zealous disdain for religion in American jurisprudence amounts to intolerance. The full weight of American culture, law, and politics leans heavily against those who seek to bring their faith to bear in the larger society."

Reed favors prayer that is "student-initiated, nonproselytizing, and respectfully nonsectarian." Is there such a thing? Would his fellow evangelicals settle for that?

Reed has a nostalgia for a time that never really existed. He writes, "Unique among all nations in history, with the exception of Israel, America was settled by persons of faith. Wide-eyed school children in early America read *McGuffey's Readers* by candlelight, memorizing scripture verses and church hymns." He also exaggerates with such statements as: "Until our culture begins to honor and affirm religion, civility may never return to American civic discourse," and, "After the Scopes trial of 1925, people of faith withdrew to their churches, creating a cultural ghetto of their own making." Reed seems to forget that only the most narrow fundamentalist Protestants retreated after the Scopes trial. Millions of other Americans of different traditions continued to participate fully in public life and made significant contributions to the civil rights and economic well-being of the people of the Republic.

While attempting to appear fair-minded and inclusive, Reed

continually falls back on his favorite term "people of faith," which he implicitly defines only as born-again Christians, almost all of them Protestant. That hardly represents the breadth of religious experience in the United States today.

Reed shaves the truth in some of his passages. "Vigorously defending Michael Farris, the Religious Right's GOP candidate for Virginia Lieutenant Governor in 1993, Reed says Farris never worked for Jerry Falwell and received over 20% of the black vote. Reed charged also, "The Democrats engaged in a vicious campaign of religious bigotry." As a matter of record, Farris managed Falwell's Moral Majority chapter in Washington State, and he received less than 10% of the African-American vote. Democrats attacked Farris's hostility to public education, not his religious faith. Reed has a hard time keeping his moderate posture. His real views keep finding a way to the surface.

Reed makes one prediction that many fear could come about. "The future of American politics lies in the growing strength of evangelicals and their Roman Catholic allies. If these two core constituencies—evangelicals comprising the swing vote in the South, Catholics holding sway in the North—can cooperate on issues and support like-minded candidates, they can determine the outcome of almost any election in the nation. No longer burdened by the past, Roman Catholics, evangelicals, Greek Orthodox, and many religious conservatives from the mainline denominations are forging a new alliance that promises to be among the most powerful and important in the modern political era."

Time Out

Time magazine's selection of Pope John Paul II as 1994's Man of the Year did not please readers. According to a follow-up article in the newsweekly, more than 1200 readers wrote to express their opinion about the choice. *Time's* editors commented, "Our choice was more than just controversial; it was roundly criticized by a sizable majority of those who wrote to us."

This possibility is considered by Keith A. Fournier in *A House United? Evangelicals and Catholics Together, a Winning Alliance for the 21st Century* (Navepress, 367 pp., \$19.95). Fournier, an evangelical or charismatic Catholic attorney, and a graduate of the Franciscan University of Steubenville, is the executive director of Pat Robertson's American Center for Law and Justice. Fournier reveals that Catholics "constitute six of the twenty-six full-time ACLJ lawyers in America, and an increasing number of Roman Catholics are becoming part of the ACLJ's financial support base along with thousands of evangelical Protestants.

Fournier's book promotes political and cultural unity among these two large groups though he spends a great deal of time trying to soften the hostility to Catholics still widespread on the Protestant right wing. He believes both groups should put aside their historic theological objections. A valuable appendix includes the "Evangelicals and Catholics Together" statement signed in September 1992 by representatives of the right wings of both of these religious traditions.

How central is the Religious Right to the future strength of the Republican Party? This is the subject of *Disciples and Democracy: Religious Conservatives and the Future of American Politics*, edited by Michael Cromartie (William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 132 pp., \$12.95). A number of journalists and political scientists tackle this theme and tend to believe that religious voting is likely to increase in coming elections. In one essay four political scientists write, "The enduring religious

underpinnings of electoral coalitions strongly suggest that culture is the foundation of American politics, and that rival sets of beliefs, world views, and lifestyles set the bounds of consensus and conflict. This view runs against the conventional wisdom, which posits economic conflict and class solidarity as the foundations of politics. While both cultural and economic factors clearly influence election returns, the former represent long-term influences and the latter short-term factors." These analysts also believe the Religious Right on balance helps the Republicans more than it hurts them. They conclude, "Evangelicals are now an important Republican voting bloc, social-issue conservatism represents a source of Republican votes, and the Christian Right appears to be a modestly helpful ally."

Interestingly, these analysts admit that "the non-religious population has become a significant voting bloc only recently; at least 15 percent of U.S. adults, and perhaps twice that many, can be classified as secular."

This study, while useful to some extent, ignores the fact that George Bush lost 60 percent of his 1988 support among Jews and religiously nonaffiliated voters in the 1992 election. Bush also lost 40 percent of mainline Protestants. Exit polls did not ask detailed questions about the source of voter defection, but one can reasonably infer that Bush's record low support among religious moderates and liberals cost him heavily in such states as Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut, and perhaps elsewhere. ■

ARL in Action

Since our last report, ARL president John Swomley has lectured on church-state issues at Willamette University, the University of Portland, Lewis and Clark Law School, Pacific University, and George Fox College, all in Oregon. He also addressed meetings and workshops in Missouri, and was a guest on radio talk shows in San Diego, CA, and Portland, OR.

ARL executive director Edd Doerr spoke at church services and other meetings in Phoenix, Harrisburg, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Hagerstown, MD, and Washington and testified against a voucher parochial bill before the Maryland legislature. He was also a guest on TV and radio talk shows in Washington, New York, Cleveland, Buffalo, Palm Beach, FL, and Lancaster, PA.

Research director Al Menendez and Edd Doerr are the authors of an article, "Persecution Complex: Are Christians an Endangered Species?" in the March/April *Liberty* magazine. (Copies are available for \$1.00 from ARL.)

Doerr is author of an article in the January *USA Today* magazine, "Curbing Population: An Opportunity Missed." (Copies are available from ARL for 50¢.)

Research director Al Menendez was named associate director of ARL at the organization's April board meeting.

Edd Doerr's article "Freedom of Religion, Freedom from Religion" has been reprinted in *Civil Liberties: Opposing*

Viewpoints (Greenhaven Press, San Diego, 1994), a collection of essays on a range of civil liberties issues intended primarily for school and college use. The article appeared originally in the May/June 1993 issue of *The Humanist*.

ARL Supports U.N. Cairo Programme

ARL has joined with other organizations in endorsing the "Contract with the Future" sponsored by Zero Population Growth. The Contract supports the Programme of Action developed for the 1994 U.N. Conference on Population and Development held in Cairo. It urges lawmakers to adopt measures that "encourage a sustainable balance of people, resources and the environment."

The Contract specifically urges measures to promote universal access to a full range of reproductive health care services; increase federal support for research and development of safe and effective contraceptives for both men and women; enact a comprehensive national adolescent pregnancy prevention program; promote school-based programs that raise awareness of population and environmental issues; enhance the empowerment and advancement of women through education, employment and training programs; increase funding for international population, reproductive health, child survival, literacy, environmental preservation and other programs that promote sustainable development and human well-being; and protect the environment while promoting sustainable development.

Update

Supreme Court Hears U.Va Case

On March 1 the Supreme Court heard oral arguments in *Rosenberger v. University of Virginia*, a case that may or may not have profound effects on church-state jurisprudence. A ruling is expected by July.

The case involves a challenge to the university's policy of denying student activity fees to fund religious activities, in this case a student religious publication called *Wide Awake*, which had sought \$6,000 from the university. The university won in the lower federal courts on church-state separation grounds.

ARL and other groups joined an *amicus* brief to the Court prepared by J. Brent Walker of the Baptist Joint Committee and Oliver S. Thomas of the National Council of Churches. The brief takes the position that public funding of the religious publications violates the Establishment Clause.

Mississippi School Prayers Halted

On April 18 federal judge Neal B. Biggers, Jr., issued a preliminary injunction ordering the Pontotoc County School District in Mississippi to cease broadcasting prayers over the school intercom. The suit, supported by the ACLU and People for the American Way, was brought by Lisa Herdahl, an active church member who, along with her children, objected to the school sponsored devotions. Judge Biggers held that the practice violated the First Amendment and tended to divide students along religious lines.

Klan Cross Challenged

Americans for Religious Liberty has joined with the Council on Religious Freedom and the American Humanist Association in an *amicus* brief to the Supreme Court opposing a Sixth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals ruling in *Pinette v. Capitol Square Review and Advisory Board* that erection of a large unattended Latin cross on the Ohio Capitol Square at Christmas by the Ku Klux Klan did not constitute impermissible government endorsement of religion. The brief, written by CRF attorney Lee Boothby, maintains that the Sixth Circuit ruling does not follow relevant Supreme Court precedents. The case was argued on April 26 and a ruling is expected by July.

Kiryas Joel Redux

In June of 1994 the Supreme Court, backing lower court rulings, held unconstitutional in *Grumet v. Kiryas Joel Village School District* a New York State law creating a special school district for members of a Hasidic Jewish sect. Within a few days the legislature passed a new law to accomplish the same purpose. The new law was upheld on March 8 by a local trial court, which held the law to be "religiously neutral." ARL will join other groups in the National Committee for Public Education and Religious Liberty (PEARL) in an *amicus* brief opposing the ruling.

EEOC Wins Case

The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has won a federal court settlement in *EEOC v. Dillard Department Stores*. The agency had charged that Dillard has discriminated in employment against persons opposed on religious grounds to

working on their sabbath. The parties agreed to back pay for the victims of discrimination and job offers to qualified persons identified by the EEOC. ARL had joined with the Council on Religious Freedom in an *amicus* brief supporting the EEOC position.

Reproductive Rights

The Department of Justice is increasing use of the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act (FACE) to clamp down on persons harassing clinics, patients, and clinic staffs. FACE has been involved in prosecutions recently in North Dakota, Ohio, Missouri, New Mexico, Florida, and Kansas.

Wisconsin federal judge Rudolph Randa ruled the FACE law unconstitutional on March 16, dismissing charges against six anti-choice activists who blockaded a Milwaukee clinic. Randa's ruling is a radical departure from the decisions of seven federal district courts and one federal appellate court that have found FACE constitutional in the last year.

Connecticut federal judge Peter Dorsey on April 13 ruled that Operation Rescue violated federal racketeering law by blocking access to a clinic in 1989.

Five women's health care clinics were firebombed in California in February, according to federal investigators.

A *New York Times*/CBS News poll has shown that only 28% of Republicans think that abortion should not be permitted, compared to 21% of the general population.

Corliss Lamont Jay Wabeke Robert M. Stein

Three important supporters of ARL and church-state separation died recently. Their contributions to this cause were significant.

Corliss Lamont, philosopher, writer, civil libertarian and philanthropist, was the lead plaintiff in the successful ARL-ACLU challenge to U.S. tax aid to sectarian private schools overseas. Dr. Lamont was also a major supporter of ARL since the organization's founding. His international peace activities were hailed by British writer H.G. Wells in his 1933 (sic!) novel *The Shape of Things to Come*.

Jay Wabeke was a tireless activist for public education and church-state separation in Michigan. He was active in the 1970 and 1978 parochial referenda in that state and served on ARL's Board of Directors. He was the main catalyst behind the lawsuit that resulted in the Supreme Court's 1985 landmark ruling in *Grand Rapids School District v. Ball*, which barred publicly paid teachers from serving in sectarian private schools.

Robert M. Stein was a member of the ARL Board of Directors and staunch supporter of ARL. He was a longtime civil liberties and social justice advocate in the American Ethical Union.

Religious Freedom Law Overturned

The 1993 Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA) was ruled unconstitutional on March 13 by U.S. District Court judge Lucius Brunton in Texas. The case, *Flores v. City of Boerne*, involved an effort by a Catholic church to get a permit to enlarge its 72-year-old building, which was denied because the city applied a landmark preservation law to the building. The ruling is being appealed.

Congress passed and President Clinton signed the RFRA in 1993 to require the courts to apply the "compelling state interest" test in adjudicating laws. Under the test, government, at whatever level, would have to show a "compelling government interest" that could be accomplished in no other way before it could interfere with free exercise of religion rights. The law was designed to correct the positions taken by Justice Scalia and a bare majority of the Supreme Court in 1990 in *Employment Division v. Smith*, in which the Rehnquist court practically eviscerated the Free Exercise clause.

The RFRA was supported in an *amicus curiae* brief by the Coalition for the Free Exercise of Religion, a coalition of more than 60 organizations including Americans for Religious Liberty and the ACLU.

School Prayer Opposed

Opposition to a potential constitutional amendment on school prayer has been rising. The American Bar Association's mid-year convention in February passed a resolution opposing school prayer. Peter L. Zimroth of the New York City Bar Association said, "This is simply not the business of government." Echoing his sentiments was Roberta Cooper Ramo, president-elect of the ABA, who told delegates, "Religion and prayer are no business of the government in any way."

Some religious conservatives are expressing concerns about a school prayer amendment. Writing in the winter 1995 issue of the Heritage Foundation's *Policy Review*, Joe Loconte, the journal's deputy director, argued: "A growing number of conservative, evangelical Christians are raising deep concerns about the difficulties that even student-led prayer creates in matters of faith, conscience and civility." Loconte added, "School prayer was not the glue that held together a moral or religious consensus in society; neither will its return lead to spiritual or cultural renewal. Religious conservatives ought to be the first to raise objections when spiritual disciplines like prayer are reduced to public exercises to help ward off social ills. America's growing cultural pluralism makes school prayer an anachronistic proposition; it assumes a religious consensus that almost all evangelicals admit no longer exists. In such an environment, children of minority faiths or of no faith will endure the subtle intimidation of a majority-ridden benediction."

Another conservative, Adam Wolfson, executive director of the *Public Interest*, warned, "Religious conservatives ought to proceed with caution. Might not a state or federally mandated prayer become one more instance where Americans depend upon government to do something that could be done better by themselves?"

Creationist Loses

Creationist public school science teacher John Pelozo has lost his appeal to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals (*Pelozo v. Capistrano Unified School District*). Pelozo had claimed that the school district was forcing him to violate the Establishment

Ernst Mayr Honored

Evolutionary biologist Ernst Mayr, a member of ARL's National Advisory Board, received the \$100,000 International Prize for Biology. Dr. Mayr, professor emeritus at Harvard, pioneered the field of population genetics and has been a principal editor and historian of Darwin's work.

Clause by requiring him to teach evolution, which he defined as a religious belief. The appellate court dismissed Pelozo's claim as "patently frivolous," rejecting his defining of evolution as religion. Pat Robertson's American Center for Law and Justice is handling Pelozo's case, which is being appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

In other developments, the Alabama state board of education agreed in March that a newly adopted K-12 science curriculum will not give "preferential treatment" to evolution over other explanations of the origin of life. The board action, according to *Education Week*, was designed to appease advocates of creationism, who object to science textbooks teaching evolution as fact. The board also agreed to a revision of the curriculum to make it say that no "social theory" (?) will be promoted in science classes.

The Merrimack, NH, school board has not only approved a measure to require a period of "silent reflection or prayer" in local public schools, but has also authorized a local fundamentalist minister, the Rev. Paul Norwalt, to prepare a proposal for teaching creationism in science classes. Since Merrimack's "silent prayer" was mandated, several other New Hampshire towns have adopted similar measures and some students have been suspended for "refusing to honor the silent prayer period."

California Religious Freedom Case

The California Supreme Court will shortly rule on whether the state can compel a widow to rent one of four apartments in the Los Angeles area to an unmarried couple in violation of her religious convictions (*Evelyn Smith v. Commission on Fair Employment and Housing*). ARL has joined in an *amicus* brief to the Court with the Council on Religious Freedom and Seventh-day Adventist groups in arguing that in this case the widow's free exercise of religion claim is stronger than the Commission's interest.

Private Privilege

While the near-bankrupt District of Columbia is slashing \$32 million from its public school budget, it is paying \$13.5 million to educate 624 students, from disproportionately white and affluent families, in private schools. The students represent 9% of the city's special education children but get 26% of the city's special education budget. D.C. School Superintendent Franklin Smith says that if the city were not spending so much on the private schools for children of affluent parents who know how to "work the system" to their advantage, the public schools could do a much better job for the rest of the special education children.

(continued on page 10)

Jesus Portrait Ban Stands

The Supreme Court on May 1 let stand lower federal court rulings holding that hanging a painting of Jesus in a Bloomington, Michigan, public high school for 30 years violated the First Amendment. The Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals had ruled that placing the painting in the school had a religious rather than secular purpose and effect. Student Eric Pensinger, who graduated in 1993, challenged the constitutionality of the painting during his senior year. Pensinger's suit said that the painting's presence suggested that the school endorsed a particular religion and that local school officials considered there was something wrong with him because he was not a Christian.

Spiritual Healing

The Minnesota Court of Appeals in April upheld a \$1.5 million

compensatory damages claim against a Christian Science couple and two practitioners they had hired to provide spiritual treatment to the couple's son, who died in 1989 in a diabetic coma. However, the Court overturned a \$9.5 million judgment against the Christian Science Church on the ground that the church's belief in faith healing is protected by the First Amendment.

Robertson Sues IRS

Christian Coalition leader Pat Robertson's American Center for Law and Justice filed suit against the Internal Revenue Service on April 17 in federal district court in Washington, D.C., charging that the IRS violated the First Amendment in revoking the tax exempt status of the Church at Pierce Creek in Vestal, NY. The IRS acted against the church when the church violated

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tax laws by running paid political ads in newspapers in October of 1992 urging votes against Bill Clinton. Federal tax law bars endorsement of or opposition to political candidates by tax exempt organizations. The Pierce Creek church is an ultraconservative congregation associated with anti-choice activist Randall Terry.

Prayer Day Trip OK'd

A West Virginia federal court ruled on May 1 that the Jefferson County school board erred in denying permission to a junior high Bible club to take a field trip on May 4 to Washington for the "National Day of Prayer." Judge Irene M. Keeley held that the 1984 federal Equal Access law required the school system to treat all non-curricular groups alike. The district had allowed other student groups that are secular to take field trips on school time.

Moyers on Baptist 'Capture'

Bill Moyers, NBC Nightly News commentator and a Southern Baptist, said in a Feb. 23 broadcast that a "political posse" had taken over the country's largest Protestant denomination, the Southern Baptist Convention. Moyers commented in response to the press conference by SBC president Jim Henry and SBC Christian Life Commission director Richard Land announcing their opposition to the nomination of Dr. Henry Foster to be U.S. Surgeon General. Moyers said, "No one can speak for all Baptists. But in the last decade, the Southern Baptist Convention was captured by a political posse allied with the Republican Party. . . . Suddenly, the 39 legal abortions performed by Henry Foster, which he says he did reluctantly, are a theological sin and a political opportunity."

International

United Nations: The Vatican/Holy See Permanent Observer Mission to the U.N. went all out to block the U.S.-based Catholics for a Free Choice and similar organizations in Brazil, Mexico, and Uruguay from attending the Fourth World Conference on Women to be held in Beijing in September. The effort failed, but had the unintended consequences of damaging the Vatican's image and of giving prominence and publicity to the liberal Catholic group.

The Clinton administration and other governments opposed the Vatican move and more than 200 NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations) signed an open letter to the U.N. opposing "the

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attempt by the Vatican to deny women's self-determination, to thwart the principles of freedom of speech and association and to politicize the accreditation process within the U.N."

The Holy See's permanent observer status at the U.N., like that of Switzerland, is based not on its being the headquarters of a religion but on the Vatican's being a state, a 108-acre enclave with only 400 citizens, nearly all of them male church officials.

London: Britain's public schools are being pressed by both conservative Christians and Muslims to introduce more religious education and more specifically religious worship services. Though the country's second highest Anglican clergyperson, Archbishop John Habgood of York, suggested that school worship is no longer viable, religious conservatives continue to press for more of it.

A group called Christians in Education and an ecumenical organization called the Order of Christian Unity are continuing pressure for more religious worship and education. The Order of Christian Unity sponsors Bible essay projects throughout the British schools. Baroness Cox, a leading campaigner in Parliament for Christian education in the schools, presents the annual prizes.

Meanwhile, the Muslim Unity Organization is seeking Islamization of schools which have Muslim majorities. Many schools in London, Leicester, Bradford, and Blackburn are predominantly Muslim. The Grange Upper School in Bradford is 85% Muslim. Its principal, Richard Thompson, a Quaker, has expressed fears that Islam is gaining the upper hand in his school.

A manifesto issued by the Waltham Forest Islamic Bureau proclaimed: "The only guarantee of our children's belief is to live under an Islamic state. It is in such a land that all educational subjects will be based on Islam. This will ensure that our children will be a generation who do not study Islamic history but actually make Islamic history."

Warsaw: Polish medical authorities have ordered a private fertility clinic to stop *in vitro* fertilization procedures on the ground that they violate Poland's strict anti-abortion law, passed by the Parliament in 1993 as a result of pressure from Catholic Church officials. Senator Zofia Kuratowska, a physician, opposes the ban, saying it could lead to more religiously motivated medical decisions. "I am afraid this will be the precedent for more medical actions according to religious doctrine, and only religious doctrine."

Ottawa: The Supreme Court of Canada reopened debate on whether the Ontario government should finance independent religious schools. At present Ontario finances only the Roman Catholic Separate School System but not Protestant and Jewish schools. This curious arrangement has resulted because of guarantees imbedded in the 1867 act which created the Dominion of Canada. In 1994 the Ontario Court of Appeal

(continued on page 12)

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rejected a case filed by Jewish and evangelical Protestant parents who claimed they were discriminated against under the Ontario school finance laws. The Supreme Court announced in February that it would hear arguments to extend full funding to more than 200 private religious schools in Ontario. These schools educate 70,000 students, and the extension of state aid to them would cost the province between \$156 million and \$340 million a year.

Dublin: On March 18 Irish President Mary Robinson asked the Supreme Court to rule on the constitutionality of a measure to guarantee the right to information on foreign clinics for Irish women who may want to travel abroad for abortions. Her request followed passage by both houses of the parliament of a measure to legalize that information. Abortion is illegal in Ireland except in cases where a woman's life is in danger. About 5,000 Irish women go to the U.K. for abortions each year. The ever so slight liberalization was approved by the Parliament earlier in March and was the result of a referendum held in 1992. The Catholic Bishops Conference opposed the measure as assistance to "murder."

Quito: Ecuador's Catholic Church officials have rejected a compromise proposal endorsed by eight former education ministers. The proposal seeks to overturn a law requiring two hours weekly of government-financed religious instruction in public schools. Non-Catholic religious leaders, students, and union officials protested the law in January. Protestants say the law favors the Catholic Church. The compromise proposal would replace the law with one that would allow local churches to provide teachers in schools as extracurricular activities, but not at public expense.

Quebec: The Quebec Human Rights Commission ruled in February that public schools cannot forbid students to wear the hijab, a head scarf worn by Muslim girls. The commission held that banning the scarf violates freedom of religion. The fact that all Quebec public schools are either Catholic or Protestant does not permit them to ban symbols of affiliation to other religions. The issue arose because several Montreal-area Catholic schools have forbidden the wearing of the hijab. On a related issue the commission ruled that non-Muslim teachers at a Muslim private school should not be required to wear religious garb.

Washington: The Voice of America, the government-run radio network which portrays American life overseas, announced in February that it is launching the first religion and ethics program in its 53-year history. The program, called "Perspectives," will explore religion, spirituality, ethics, and values. VOA director Geoffrey Cowan said the timing of the weekly program "has nothing to do with the religious right, or the Republican control of Congress." ■

Books

Yugoslavian Inferno: Ethnoreligious Warfare in the Balkans, by Paul Mojzes, Continuum Publishing Co., 248 pp., \$24.95.

To what extent is religion a factor in the Balkan conflicts today? Paul Mojzes, a professor of religious studies at Rosemont College, has gone a long way in helping to clarify the extent of religious animosity and the roles played by the three major religious communities in the disintegration of Yugoslavia.

His perspective is moral and ethncial, his approach forthright, honest and blunt. "The religious leadership bears responsibility for fanning the fires of ethnoreligious intolerance. The religious leaders had a role both in promoting the process of disinte-

gration and in adding a religious element to the wars." He also believes that "Insofar as this is a religious war, it is being fought largely by irreligious people who wear religion as a distinguishing badge but do not know what the badge stands for."

Mojzes blasts Roman Catholic leaders in Croatia for supporting "unconstitutional initiatives" such as attempting to eliminate the legal provision banning religious-based political parties. Catholic leaders also showed no remorse for the persecution of the Serbs during the 1940s, and "sought to reinforce the notion of the unity of the church, nation and state." Not mincing his words, he says, "The Roman Catholic bishops initiated the process of ethnoreligious confrontation. The outcome of that political move was nothing short of catastrophic, and the Roman Catholic leadership bears a considerable responsibility for the ensuing tragedy."

The Serbian Orthodox bishops also promoted ethnic and religious antagonisms against the Muslims and the Catholics. They "excelled in contributing to the warfare," and supported Serbian aggression and discrimination against other faiths. They have been silent in the face of an undeniable Serbian genocide against the Muslim community during the past three years. The Orthodox hierarchy "favors obligatory religious education in schools" and has praised the introduction of the Orthodox catechism in the schools controlled by Bosnian Serbs in Bosnia and Croatia. The parliament in Belgrade, however, refused to accede to similar church demands for Serbia proper. In one of the great ironies of history, the largely secular Muslim community in Bosnia has been pushed toward fundamentalist extremism as a result of Serbian persecution.

— Al Menendez

The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind, by Mark A. Noll, Eerdmans, 274 pp., \$19.99.

Mark Noll gently criticizes the flight from intellectuality, the anti-scientific attitudes and political shallowness that seem to define the conservative wing of U.S. Protestantism today. Calling the fundamentalist movement in early twentieth century America not only "a response to general changes in American life" but "an intellectual disaster," Noll shows how different modern evangelicalism is from its forebears in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Ever the optimist, Noll searches for glimmers of hope on the horizon, especially in areas of political reflection.

— Al Menendez

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