



VOICE OF REASON

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ARL Book Hits Vouchers

Voucher plans for tax support of private schools, most of them sectarian institutions, are the subject of Americans for Religious Liberty's new book, *The Case Against School Vouchers*.

Written by Edd Doerr, Albert J. Menendez, and John M. Swomley, ARL's executive director, research director, and president, respectively, the book is an up-to-date (as of the end of August 1995), concise, well documented (192 foot notes) examination and critique of tuition voucher and similar plans for diverting public funds to denominational elementary and secondary schools.

The book shows how vouchers would seriously undermine religious liberty and violate federal and state constitutional provisions requiring separation of church and state. It summarizes the state referenda and opinion polls that show Americans opposed to vouchers 2 to 1. Two chapters examine the selective and pervasively sectarian nature of nonpublic

schools. Others show that a great deal of the criticism of public education and praise for nonpublic education is exaggeration and special interest propaganda.

The ARL book also draws upon recent studies showing that school choice plans, whether limited to public schools or expanded to include nonpublic schools, are rarely more than empty promises. The book concludes that the Milwaukee voucher "experiment," much touted by voucher promoters, has not produced significant results.

The Case Against School Vouchers is an indispensable resource for lawmakers, policy developers, educators, parents, and taxpayers confronted with intense campaigns being waged by sectarian special interests to get Congress and state legislatures to approve voucher plans or "experiments."

Copies are available from ARL, PO Box 6656, Silver Spring, MD 20916, at \$10 each, plus \$1.50 for shipping and handling. Quantity prices are available upon request. ■

Robertson's Family Contract Provokes Opposition

The Christian Coalition's much-ballyhooed Contract with the American Family now faces the real test of convincing Congress and public opinion that its prescriptions for America will be beneficial, reasonable, and constitutional. Critics across the religious spectrum say the proposals will gravely harm the nation's interfaith fabric and its constitutional principles.

While its ten-point agenda includes some subjects not directly related to church-state relations, e.g., crime victim restitution and encouragement of more private charity through more generous tax codes, most of the Christian Coalition's proposals are direct assaults on separation of church and state.

Perhaps the most dangerous proposal is the so-called "religious equality amendment," based on the false premise that religion, especially evangelical Christianity, is being persecuted in America. This proposed constitutional amendment whose precise text is still not available, would strip state and federal courts of the authority to protect religious minorities by mandating public expressions of religious belief, including vocal prayer, in public school classrooms, sports events, high school graduation ceremonies, and presumably wherever the public is gathered. Christmas events would be specifically protected. No one who objected to these allegedly voluntary celebrations would any longer have the legal right to bring action under the First Amendment.

The Christian Coalition's manifesto charges widespread "anti-religious bigotry" and claims that "people of faith grow increasingly distressed by the hostility of public institutions toward religious expression." Bills to be introduced in Congress would

allow the most powerful religious groups in any jurisdiction to run roughshod over others who do not share their religious convictions. And while Pat Robertson's mouthpieces say this will not restore daily religious devotionals in those public schools which required them prior to 1962, others are not so sure.

Derek H. Davis, director of the Institute of Church-State Studies at Baylor University, told the House Subcommittee on the Constitution on June 9 that the proposed amendment "would threaten the religious liberty of America's religious minorities, would drown out the voices of minority religions, and the Establishment Clause would be stripped of its power to prevent it." Davis said the proposal "would give governments at all levels the power to appropriate monies to religious organizations, schools and even houses of worship." The amendment, "would

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Parochial Voted Down Again

On September 5 Newfoundlanders voted 54% to 46% to end church control over the Canadian province's schools. By a bigger vote than that in 1949 approving Newfoundland's joining Canada, Newfoundlanders supported popular Premier Clyde Wells' plan to consolidate the sectarian-controlled but tax-supported schools into a more efficient, less costly public school system. Students will be able to receive religious instruction in released time classes held in the new public schools.

At present there are separate Catholic, Pentecostal, Adventist, and Protestant (representing five denominations) schools. The Catholic Church opposed the change but many Catholics voted for it.

The *Toronto Globe and Mail* praised the vote as an important step toward improving the province's "lamentable record of scholastic performance."

This referendum marks the first time that a Canadian electorate has had an opportunity to express opposition to the parochial arrangements common across Canada. (See "Parochial, Canadian Style," ARL newsletter No. 48, Winter 1994.)

The Newfoundland vote is significant for Americans as sectarian special interests in the U.S. press Congress and state legislatures to approve voucher plans for tax support of denominational private schools. Here we have a province-wide electorate turning out the practical equivalent of a voucher plan after knowing nothing else for three centuries. Newfoundlanders are telling us that a voucher plan costs more than public schools and produces lower quality education. Lawmakers in Washington and our state capitols should pay attention. ■

In Government We Trust

No wonder the Catholic bishops want a voucher plan to provide tax support for church schools. According to a new study by Catholic University in Washington, the average Catholic family contributes only \$386 annually to the church, compared with Assemblies of God families, who donate \$1,696 per year. Southern Baptists donate \$1,154, Presbyterians \$1,085, and Evangelical Lutherans \$756. Catholics are second in average family income to Presbyterians, while Assemblies of God families have among the lowest family incomes.

Why the low level of giving among Catholic families? The answer is not hard to find. Rank and file Catholics are increasingly unhappy about a church leadership that has turned its back on the reforming impulses of the Second Vatican Council and that is increasingly authoritarian and reactionary. Most Catholics today disagree with their church's rigidly conservative positions on family planning, abortion, divorce, clerical celibacy, and ordination of women. So they are voting with their feet and their checkbooks.

Since 1965 church attendance, parochial school enrollment, and giving to the church have declined by 50% or more. Catholic divorce rates, family size, and abortion rates are very similar to those of the general population.

Catholic schools in the U.S. receive nearly a billion dollars

annually in various federal and state aids that have managed to squeeze around the Constitution. There is no reason why the federal and state governments should pour countless millions or even billions into church schools when church members themselves do not care to support church institutions.

Benjamin Franklin got it right two centuries ago when he said, "When a religion is good, I conceive it will support itself; and when it does not support itself, and God does not take care to support it so that its professors are obliged to call for the help of the civil power, 'tis a sign, I apprehend, . . ." We leave you to imagine the end of old Ben's quote. ■

Weicker's Wisdom

As Congress gears up for the next round in the perennial battle over religious freedom, no one's absence is more noticed than former Connecticut Senator Lowell P. Weicker, Jr. The Nutmeg State's revered Republican was a leader in the Senate's rejection of President Reagan's proposed school prayer constitutional amendment in 1984. His eloquence, candor and courage in that and other First Amendment battles warmed the hearts of all Americans who cherish separation of church and

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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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state and freedom of conscience. Along with another independent-minded Republican senator, John Danforth of Missouri, the forces of reason held off the advocates of religious authoritarianism a decade ago.

Weicker, recently retired as Governor of Connecticut, has just published his autobiography, *Maverick: A Life in Politics* (Little, Brown and Co., \$22.95). In this graceful memoir, written with journalist Barry Sussman, Weicker has a lot to say about liberty, the Constitution and common sense. "The court is our barrier against tyranny. If that barrier is removed, we will have established a precedent for a series of amendments that would continue to undermine the independence of the judiciary. . . . No greater mischief can be created than to combine the power of religion with the power of government; history has shown us that time and time again. The union of the two is bad for religion and for government. It gives rise to tyrants and inquisitions." And, "As inspiring as it sounds, prayer in school has the potential for doing damage to children and their families, to the cause of true religion, and to the ideal of separation of church and state our founders embraced."

Warning against the latest school prayer campaign, Weicker says, "One problem with school prayer is that we would end up with organized, virtually compulsory prayer and not voluntary prayer. Another is that any prayer that could satisfy the varying

Christian denominations, Jews, Muslims, Taoists, and all other interested parties would be not much of a prayer at all. As someone said, it would be in the order of a 'to whom it may concern' prayer. Not one I, as an Episcopalian, would want my children voicing.

"It would also be the first step in demolishing the wall of separation between church and state. One has only to observe events in Bosnia, Northern Ireland, and the Mideast in recent years to understand the nitroglycerin that results from mixing church and state. There is no question in my mind that the unique concept of keeping matters ecclesiastical out of our governing is America's greatest contribution to the laws of civilization."

Weicker challenges all Americans, of whatever political or religious persuasion, to stand up and be counted: "The attack on the First Amendment has been bipartisan in nature. So must its defense be bipartisan. And not simply bipartisan, but composed of people of all faiths and no faith at all. What we are fighting for is the freedom to interpret life and the world around us as each of us chooses."

He concludes, "Here in the United States there is no value more traditional, more central to our way of life, than that of separation of church and state. It is our great gift to the world."

We should heed his timeless words of wisdom. ■

Riley Memo Seeks School Religion Common Ground

In August, U.S. Secretary of Education Richard W. Riley issued an advisory memorandum on religion and public education for the nation's public school superintendents. It was, he said, an attempt "to find a new common ground in the growing and at times divisive debate about religion in our public schools."

Riley and Attorney General Janet Reno conferred at the request of President Clinton. Clinton asked them to provide school officials with guidance concerning the extent to which religious expression and activities are permitted in public schools.

Two principles underlie the Riley statement: "First, schools may not forbid students acting on their own from expressing their personal religious views or beliefs solely because they are of a religious nature. Schools may not discriminate against private religious expression by students, but must instead give students the same right to engage in religious activity and discussion as they have to engage in other comparable activity. Generally, this means that students may pray in a non-disruptive manner during the school day when they are not engaged in school activities and instruction, subject to the same rules of order as apply to other student speech.

"At the same time, schools may not endorse religious activity or doctrine, nor may they coerce the participation in religious activity. Among other things, of course, school administrators and teachers may not organize or encourage prayer exercises in the classroom. And the right of religious expression in school does not include the right to have a 'captive audience' listen, or to compel other students to participate. School officials should not permit student religious speech to turn into religious harassment aimed at a student or a small group of students. Students do not have the right to make repeated invitations to other students to participate in religious activity in the face of a request to stop."

The statement is based largely on 'Religion in the Public Schools: A Joint Statement of Current Law,' which was released in April by a coalition of 36 religious and civil liberties groups,

including Americans for Religious Liberty.

President Clinton brought the issue to national attention in a July 12 address at James Madison High School in Northern Virginia. Observers believe the President's statement was a measured and positive attempt to forestall far-reaching and dangerous proposals to amend the Constitution.

The Riley statement also addresses such issues as teaching about religion and values, the distribution of religious literature on campus, released time for religion instruction, the wearing of religious garb, and the provisions of the Equal Access Act.

Secretary Riley's advisory memorandum and the 'Religion in the Public Schools' statement are both available from ARL for \$1 each. ■

ARL in Action

Since our last report, ARL president John M. Swomley has spoken before conference and church audiences in Arizona, Kansas, Washington State, and Missouri. In June he and executive director Edd Doerr were delegates to and conducted workshops at the ACLU biennial conference in New York.

ARL's Edd Doerr lectured at the Chautauqua Institution in western New York and addressed university, church, and other audiences in Denver, Buffalo and Baltimore. He also debated one of Pat Robertson's lawyers at the Columbia University School of Law in New York.

Doerr has been a guest on TV and radio talk shows in Washington, D.C., Detroit, and New Orleans and Monroe, Louisiana.

Robertson's Family Contract

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give government a whole new jurisdiction over religion and permit government to advance religions which are repugnant to many of our people," and "would create a whole new framework of fusion of religion and government." In short, "The proposals for a Religious Equality Amendment represent radical surgery—surgery from which I fear we would never recover."

While Christian Coalition's Ralph Reed said the proposal would not restore mandatory religious exercises to schools and result in situations of religious intolerance as in Pontotoc County, Mississippi, many of his supporters seem likely to favor religious majoritarianism. House Speaker Newt Gingrich has ridiculed the efforts of a mother in Mississippi to halt the daily religious activities in her children's public school. Gingrich suggested that she could move, or better yet, could receive vouchers to send her children to another type of school. Rep. Tom Delay (R-TX) told supporters, "This is not all that we would like to have, but it's a step in the right direction."

The Christian Coalition has specifically targeted the Lemon Test, enunciated by the Supreme Court in 1971 as a way for courts to apply the First Amendment to legislative enactments. That test says that legislation must have a secular purpose, must not excessively entangle religious and political institutions, and must neither inhibit nor advance religion. This common sense touchstone has been targeted for extinction by the Religious Right because it interferes with their plans for the nation.

The Family Contract calls for the elimination of the Legal Services Corporation (LSC) because the federal agency has

allegedly "paid for 210,000 divorces in 1990." The LSC is the legal aid of last resort for the very poor.

Ending government support for the arts, humanities and public broadcasting are supported. These agencies are accused of funding "obscenity, pornography, and attacks on religion."

The agenda seeks wider censorship of cable TV and calls for virtual privatization of education and welfare. The Christian Coalition says the tax code should allow taxpayers to "subsidize private charitable programs of their choice rather than giving more tax dollars to a failed, discredited bureaucratic welfare state."

While the Christian Coalition now believes it cannot outlaw all abortions at once, it seeks an incremental approach by ending Medicaid funding for abortions for poor women for any cause. It supports "an end to federal funding for organizations that promote or perform abortions," defunding of international family planning organizations, and abolition of Title X family planning programs.

The Christian Coalition endorses a \$500 per child tax credit and says its "long term goal" would be \$8,000 to \$10,000 per child, a cost to taxpayers of \$40-50 billion per year. That would supposedly encourage marital permanence. It also suggests that the fundamentalist preference for women to stay home, while men exercise authority in marriage, would receive governmental endorsement.

Related to this is endorsement of a proposed Parental Rights Act which would limit state authority to intervene in possible child abuse problems. The Act endorses corporal punishment and protects parental control over the "health care, discipline and religious training" of their children. Only when there is "clear and

Americans for Religious Liberty Responds to Robertson's 'Contract'

The Christian Coalition "Contract with the American Family," . . . has little to do with really helping American families. Rather, it represents a full-blown assault on the American constitutional principle of separation of church and state, the formal entrance onto the political stage of what is for all practical purposes a religious political party that can only divide Americans along religious lines, and a movement that can only harm American families.

The "Contract" would intrude government into the business of the family and religious institutions, contaminate our common schools with sectarian divisiveness, undermine the rights of conscience of children and women, threaten the health of children and women, reduce access to wholesome and noncommercial media fare for children and families, weaken and possibly destroy our system of religiously neutral democratic public schools, greatly increase educational costs while lowering educational quality, and balkanize our society along creedal, ideological, ethnic, class and other lines.

Americans for Religious Liberty joins with millions of Americans across the religious and non-religious spectrum in insisting:

- That the Jeffersonian constitutional principle of separation of church and state be maintained and strengthened;
- That, recognizing our country's rich pluralism and the fact that students have never lost their right to engage in voluntary personal private prayer in public schools, the religious neutrality of our public schools be respected and reinforced;
- That religious liberty is adequately protected by the First

and Fourteenth Amendments and that no new amendment is needed;

- That public funding for education be limited to secular public schools under full public control;
- That the right of every woman to freedom of conscience on reproductive matters be safeguarded from public or private infringement;
- That both private charity and government assistance have important roles to play in maintaining and enhancing families and family values;
- That children's rights should be considered no less important than parental rights and that children have the right to a family environment that is nurturing and nonabusive;
- That while we deplore images of gratuitous violence and sexual exploitation, we oppose censorship because a society is healthiest when people can choose among views in an open marketplace of ideas;
- That federal funding for the arts, humanities, public broadcasting, and public education makes indispensable contributions to a culturally enriched, creative society, which in turn enriches the lives of children and families;
- That families and family values are enhanced by public actions and policies that help alleviate the effects of poverty.

Americans for Religious Liberty urges Americans of all persuasions to work together in a democratic spirit to protect children, families, and the constitutional guarantees of fundamental liberties from the narrow political agendas of sectarian special interests.

convincing evidence" can government officials intervene in family matters, according to this proposal, which has received support from Southern Democrats as well as Republicans. (Its cosponsors are Rep. Parker of Mississippi and Sen. Heflin of Alabama.) The Christian Coalition indulges in a bit of xenophobia and America-firsting by denouncing the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and urging that the Senate reject the treaty because it "threatens the sovereignty of U.S. law and interferes with the parent-child relationship." Sex education and home schooling are factors in the Christian Coalition condemnation, since they claim that the U.N. treaty supports the former and rejects the latter.

The Christian Coalition supports so-called school choice schemes which will ultimately fund private and church-run schools from the public treasury. Bills to provide financial grants to enable inner-city children to attend private and parochial schools have already been introduced. This voucher-type program will undoubtedly become the first step toward a massive defunding of public education, coupled with government subsidies to nonpublic education. Hostility to public education suffuses the Christian Coalition manifesto.

But other voices are demanding to be heard. Many Christians and Jews who disagree vigorously with this Religious Right agenda denounced these proposals, calling them mean-spirited sectarianism which ignores the needs of the poor and dispossessed. A coalition of religious leaders criticized the priorities and proposals of the Christian Coalition at a Washington press conference in May. The Rev. Robert J. Brooks, who heads the Washington Office of the Episcopal Church, said, "As a follower of the teachings of Christ, I tell you that the Christian Coalition does not speak for me, and it does not speak for the Episcopal Church. The Christian Coalition does not stand for the values that I learned in

the Bible."

A statement issued by a new political organization called "The Cry for Renewal" also took issue with the Religious Right. Its May 29 statement said, "The almost total identification of the Religious Right with the new Republican majority in Washington is a dangerous liaison with political power. With the ascendancy and influence of the Christian Right in party circles the religious critique of power has been replaced with the religious competition for power. . . . We are especially concerned with the harsh rhetoric toward the powerless coming from the nation's capitol to abandon or blame the poor for their oppression and affirm the affluent in their complacency. . . ."

Endorsers of the "Cry for Renewal" include Joan Brown Campbell, general secretary of the National Council of Churches; Edmond L. Browning, presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church; John Hurst Adams, senior bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church; Paul Sherry, president of the United Church of Christ; Marian Wright Edelman, president of the Children's Defense Fund; and Archbishop Rembert Weakland of Milwaukee. The statement was also signed by a number of evangelical, Catholic and mainline Protestant clergy, as well as the ecumenical officers of the Russian and Greek Orthodox churches.

One signer, Jim Wallis of *Sojourners* magazine, added, "For several years now, the Religious Right has virtually controlled the national discussion of politics and morality with the help of the media, who have virtually ignored alternative voices. And with all its money, the Religious Right literally has been able to buy its own microphones and broadcast its message around the world. The time has come to challenge the Religious Right and offer a deeper perspective. A clear, visible, public alternative is vitally needed today—one that lifts up another vision of the relationship between faith and politics." ■

Supreme Court Leaves 'Wall' Wobbly

As its current term ended on June 29, the U.S. Supreme Court handed down a pair of rulings and a pair of non-rulings that increased uncertainty over the Court's commitment to defending the First Amendment's church-state separation principle.

In the most troubling ruling, the Court ruled in *Rosenberger v. University of Virginia* that the university, founded by Thomas Jefferson, could not refuse to use mandatory student activity fees to subsidize a student religious publication. The 5-4 ruling by Justice Anthony Kennedy, with Justices Rehnquist, Scalia, Thomas, and O'Connor concurring, held that withholding the subsidy denied the conservative religious students "their right of free speech."

Justice O'Connor was the swing vote in *Rosenberger*, possibly swayed by the facts that the funds came from student activity fees and not general taxes and that the program was close to the fine line between constitutionality and unconstitutionality. Her vote will be crucial in future church-state cases.

Justice Souter wrote a strong, eloquent dissent in the case, joined by Justices Stevens, Ginsburg, and Breyer. Wrote Souter: "The Court today, for the first time, approves direct funding of core religious activities by an arm of the State. It does so, however, only after erroneous treatment of some familiar principles of law implementing the First Amendment's Establishment and speech clauses, and by viewing the very funds in question as beyond the reach of the Establishment Clause's funding restrictions as such."

He added that "Using public funds for the direct subsidization of preaching the word is categorically forbidden under the Establishment Clause, and if the Clause was meant to accomplish nothing else, it was meant to bar the use of public money."

Souter showed that the subsidy directly contravened Jefferson's Virginia Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom of 1785-86.

Justice Thomas's concurring opinion was a broad attack on the traditional understanding of church-state separation. It is obvious that if Justice Thurgood Marshall had been replaced by President Bush with a jurist equally committed to the Bill of Rights, *Rosenberger* would have gone the other way, which points up the importance of presidential elections in shaping the direction of the federal courts.

J. Brent Walker, general counsel for the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs (whose amicus brief to the Court was joined by Americans for Religious Liberty and other organizations), said of the ruling, "This is a sad day for religious liberty. For the first time, the Supreme Court has sanctioned funding of religion with public funds. Our founders understood that, for religion to be meaningful it must be voluntary, freed from government assistance and control."

The *Rosenberger* ruling is sure to further heat up the already intense struggle over proposals supported by the Catholic bishops, Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition and its allies, and some Republican Party leaders for massive tax support of

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sectarian private schools through tuition vouchers. Robertson mouthpiece and legal strategist Jay Sekulow said the decision points the way to vouchers. However, National School Boards Association general counsel August Steinhilber said that the majority ruling clearly distinguished student activity fees from taxes.

In its second ruling on June 29, the Court ruled 7-2 in *Capitol Square Review and Advisory Board v. Pinnette* that Ohio officials could not bar the Ku Klux Klan from placing a large cross on a public square adjoining the state capitol, especially as the state had already permitted a Christmas tree and a Menorah to be displayed there. The Court held that Capitol Square in Columbus is a public forum and therefore that free speech principles trumped the Establishment Clause.

Americans for Religious Liberty had joined in *amicus curiae* briefs to the Supreme Court in both cases on the Establishment Clause side.

In a "non-decision" on June 26 the Supreme Court vacated a Ninth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals ruling, applicable to Idaho and eight other western states, forbidding student-led graduation prayers. The non-ruling leaves the nine western states without any clear guidance regarding student-led graduation prayers, which, as the Ninth Circuit held in this case, *Joint District No. 241 v. Harris*, "are indistinguishable from those that might be said in a church service. If said there, no one would dispute that their intent and primary effect was to advance religion. We do not think the character of the prayers changes when said at graduation." The non-ruling leaves school boards without adequate guidance from the courts as fundamentalist groups seek to circumvent the Supreme Court's 1992 ruling in the Rhode Island *Lee v. Weisman* case that clergy-led graduation prayers violate the First Amendment.

In a second non-ruling on June 29, the Court vacated a Second Circuit ruling that the town of Trumbull, Connecticut, could bar the Knights of Columbus from placing a creche on the town green.

This year's Supreme Court church-state rulings do not tear down the constitutional wall of separation, but they do damage the wall and encourage the opponents of separation, all of which makes the work of Americans for Religious Liberty and its allies even more important. ■

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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The Republican Candidates on Church and State

Sen. Robert Dole of Kansas, the Senate Majority Leader, is clearly the front-runner in his third bid for the GOP presidential nomination. (He was his party's vice-presidential nominee in 1976.) Dole, who has been in Congress since 1960, has long supported conservative causes, though his less than vigorous advocacy has made him relatively unpopular among the party's hard-right factions, secular and religious. His 1994 liberal rating from Americans for Democratic Action was zero, which means he never supported a single issue considered vital to that liberal organization.

Dole has supported school prayer, aid to private and parochial schools, and various restrictions on abortion. In 1994 he sponsored a \$30 million private school voucher bill that was defeated. As early as 1974, when he was locked in a tight reelection battle, Dole used abortion rights as a wedge issue and attacked his opponent, a physician, for having performed a handful of abortions. Dole narrowly won. He has supported Jesse Helms's various school prayer amendments.

To shore up his right flank, the Kansan attacked the film industry in May, accusing it of pandering to violence and vulgarity. His speech became front-page news and won plaudits even from those who are not politically or religiously conservative. It was seen as an appeal for cultural and social conservatives, increasingly a major factor in Republican primaries. The issue, however, seems to have little to do with government policies and raises questions of censorship, even though Dole denied any such intent along those lines.

Dole endorsed the broad objectives of the Religious Right's Contract with the American Family in May, and Christian Coalition director Ralph Reed went out of his way to praise Dole at the press conference which unveiled the 10-point family agenda.

Texas Senator Phil Gramm is a long-shot for the nomination but is well financed and has pockets of support from movement conservatives, including actor Charlton Heston, a National Rifle Association backer. Gramm supports school prayer, vouchers, and takes a dim view of abortion rights. But religious-based social issues have never been central to his career, and he disappointed the Far Right when he refused to rule out prospective vice-presidential candidates who were pro-choice. Apparently trying to mend fences, Gramm endorsed the Christian Coalition family agenda and devoted several major addresses to "culture war" issues. Like Dole, however, Gramm lacks the instant rapport with the Religious Right that Dan Quayle or Bill Bennett would have had. Still, Gramm supported the Hatch and Dole amendments for vouchers. He was also one of 38 senators to support a school prayer resolution introduced by Sen. Jesse Helms in 1992. He also supported a Helms 1994 school prayer proposal.

Patrick Buchanan is making a second try for the presidency, having amassed almost three million votes (23% of all) in his 1992 primary challenge to George Bush. Then, as now, Buchanan represents the party's Far Right, though this time he has been joined by several others. Buchanan has been a pioneer in articulating the social issue anger and frustrations of his fellow right-wing Catholics and the much larger number of fundamentalist Protestants. He has repeatedly warned GOP leaders that social and cultural conservatives, whose political values are usually rooted in religion, will bolt the party if it fails to hew to a hardline position on abortion rights.

More than anyone else, Buchanan represents the marginalized Right, the neo-Confederate diehards, home school advocates, and opponents of public education and affirmative action. He is anti-immigration and favors activist government in certain areas, such as foreign trade, job security, crime, and the maintenance of public morality. He has called for a return to "Christian civilization," and his repeated attacks on Israel have caused him to be labeled anti-Semitic. He is so hardline on church-state issues that he criticized the Family Agenda for not going far enough to outlaw all abortions and to mandate religion in public education. Pugnacious and articulate, Buchanan is unlikely to win the nomination. In the unlikely even that he did, he would almost certainly lose by a wide margin in the general election. His populist-conservatism has too many negatives to triumph in a multi-cultural nation.

Indiana Senator Richard Lugar is a moderate Midwestern conservative who has made his mark as a foreign policy specialist. This is considered a handicap in 1996, since polls show few voters consider foreign policy top priority.

Lugar has a conventionally conservative voting record on most church-state issues, casting votes in favor of the 1992 Hatch Amendment on school vouchers and a similar 1994 amendment proposed by Dole. He is generally considered anti-abortion. And while supporting Pres. Reagan's 1984 proposed constitutional amendment on school prayer, Lugar opposed a 1992 Senate resolution advocated by Helms. In 1994 Lugar did an about-face and supported Helms's school prayer rider, which would have compelled school districts to allow classroom prayer under threat of federal aid cutoff.

Former Tennessee Governor Lamar Alexander is another long-shot, who has made education his primary issue. He supports vouchers and other forms of private school aid, in order to "challenge" public schools with "competition." Moving to the right since his campaign began, Alexander opposes abortion rights and favors school prayer. His only national experience came in the Bush administration.

Public Opposes Vouchers: Gallup

Americans oppose voucher plans by 65% to 33%, according to the Gallup/Phi Delta Kappa poll released on August 22. The poll question used was, "Do you favor or oppose allowing students and parents to choose a private school to attend at public expense?" The poll result was very close to the 66.9% to 33.1% opposition to parochialism recorded in 20 statewide referendum elections between 1966 and 1993.

Gallup/Phi Delta Kappa reported opposition at 55% to 45% when the same question was used in 1993.

Gallup/PDK also found that public education enjoys more support than negative media coverage might suggest. While 65% of those polled rated public schools nationally from OK to excellent, 88% of the same respondents rated the schools in their own communities OK to excellent.

Two candidates of the extreme right can only be described as quixotic, given their limited national identity. California Rep. Robert Dornan, who represents an ultraconservative Orange County district, is a vocal opponent of abortion rights and gay rights, a supporter of public school religious activities, and an advocate of parochialism. In August 1992 Dornan was one of 140 supporters of the Goodling Amendment to permit school vouchers. Dornan has made his mark on such issues as gun control and anti-communism. He has publicly questioned the loyalty of President Clinton, and his legendary mean-spiritedness has given him the nickname "Mad Dog."

Allen Keyes of Maryland has never held elective office. The only African-American in the field, Keyes has concentrated on abortion
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Candidates' Religious Affiliations

Religious affiliations of candidates for public office mean less than they used to, primarily because there are conservatives, moderates and liberals, in both theological and political terms, in almost all of America's religious communities. Republicans tend to attract conservatives or traditionalists within denominations while liberals or progressives within most faith communities gravitate toward the Democrats.

It is also true that few voters will automatically support one of their co-religionists in politics anymore, though this may be less true for groups that still harbor feelings of discrimination or minority status.

Still, the religious groups to which candidates belong may shape individual attitudes on some issues and may also be the target groups for political vote-getting efforts.

Sen. Dole is a lifelong Methodist and would become the first Methodist president since McKinley. However, he and his wife Elizabeth recently severed their ties with Washington, D.C.'s prestigious Foundry United Methodist Church, apparently because the pastor, Philip Wogaman, is too liberal in his views on theology, social action and politics. Dole is one of the few candidates in recent years to take such a step in the middle of a campaign, though it can be argued that this is a private matter.

Sen. Lugar is also a Methodist, while Sen. Gramm is an Episcopalian and Gov. Alexander, a Presbyterian.

Sen. Specter is the first person of Jewish faith to seek the Republican nomination. In recent fund raising letters, Specter has appealed to co-religionists by charging that anti-Semites are dogging his campaign. Specter has won three statewide races in Pennsylvania and anti-Jewish prejudice was noticeably absent. In 1986 he defeated Democrat Bob Edgar, a Methodist minister, by a wide margin, and carried rural Methodist counties two to one.

The three right-wingers, Buchanan, Dornan and Keyes, are Roman Catholics, though their views are far to the right of average Catholic voters, even Republican Catholics. In the 1992 primaries, Buchanan did better among conservative Protestants—and in New Hampshire among non-churchgoers—than among his fellow Catholics.

Despite Republican appeals for "family values" voters, three candidates, Dole, Gramm and Wilson, are divorced and remarried. The only U.S. president to have been divorced was Ronald Reagan, who also stressed family value issues during his two terms as America's 40th president.

The Republican Candidates

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and other morality issues. His hard-hitting morality and family-first speeches have pleased Republican audiences, but the former Reagan administration official has no political base. Most recently a Baltimore talk show host, Keyes lost Senate races in Maryland in 1988 and 1992.

The only Republican candidate to support church-state separation is Pennsylvania's senior Senator Arlen Specter. Specter's March 30 announcement of his candidacy was welcomed by moderate Republicans turned off by the ultraconservative and anti-choice positions of candidates like Phil Gramm and Pat Buchanan. Specter is certainly to be commended for this statement in his announcement speech: "When Pat Robertson says there is no constitutional doctrine of separation between church and state, I say he is wrong. When Pat Buchanan calls for a holy war in our society, I say he is wrong. When Ralph Reed says a pro-choice Republican isn't qualified to be our president, I say the Republican Party will not be blackmailed."

On church-state issues, Specter's 10-point program prominently includes "champion[ing] tolerance and freedom, including a woman's right to choose." However, he also promised to promote privatization of public schools. As most private schools are operated by religious bodies opposed to reproductive choice and all too often unfriendly to women's rights generally, school privatization would inevitably undermine the reproductive freedom Specter favors.

In 1994 Specter voted against Jesse Helms's school prayer proposal, which was defeated. In 1992 he voted against a plan by Sen. Hatch to divert federal aid to nonpublic schools. On July 27, 1994, he voted against a proposal by Sens. Dan Coates (R-IN) and Joseph Lieberman (D-CT) to provide vouchers for private schools. That scheme was defeated after it was sharply attacked by Sens. Edward Kennedy (D-MA) and Christopher Dodd (D-CT), both of whom are Catholics.

If Sen. Specter wants to lock in the moderate Republican vote he should clarify his position on school privatization, which seems to be inconsistent with his voting record. ■

Update

Wisconsin Vouchers Nixed

Wisconsin's Supreme Court on August 25 issued a preliminary injunction halting, at least temporarily, the expansion of Milwaukee's five year old voucher plan to include denominational schools. Strongly backed by Gov. Tommy Thompson, the plan was to be expanded from 1,450 students (though only 850 ever enrolled) in secular private schools to 7,000 students in 1995-96 and to 15,000 in 1996-97 with sectarian religious schools allowed to participate in the \$3,600 per year voucher program. The whole program would have cost about \$25 million, \$17 million of which would have been lost by the Milwaukee public schools.

The plan was challenged in court by the ACLU, on behalf of a group of Milwaukee parents and religious leaders, and by the local teacher union.

Even before the court ruling, a number of parents had complained that their children were being illegally screened out on the basis of previous school performance. Other parents complained of children being kept out by registration fees of \$50 to \$350 and by tuition and uniform fees. Under Wisconsin's voucher law students were supposed to be able to attend the private schools without charge.

Californians will be spared having to go through another bruising voucher referendum campaign, at least until 1998. On August 15 the California group heading the voucher drive, the so-called American Education Reform Foundation, announced that it was "pulling the plug" on its effort to get another voucher initiative on the ballot in 1996. Californians defeated a voucher plan at the polls 70% to 30% in 1993. The voucher group, headed by Wal-Mart billionaire John Walton, said that polling data showed the plan would lose again. Foundation president Eugene Ruffin said the group would mount an aggressive three-year propaganda campaign and try again in 1998. Meanwhile, another smaller group, the Bay Area Californians Advocating Reform in Education, is still trying to get its voucher plan on the ballot in 1996.

Pennsylvania's \$42.3 million three-year voucher "experiment" bill was defeated 105-96 in the House of Representatives in mid-June. The vote was a victory for the 40-organization Public Education Coalition to Oppose Tuition Vouchers, which includes ARL.

The Ohio legislature passed a \$5.2 million voucher "experiment" for the Cleveland school district, over the objections of the local school board. The plan, to begin in the 1996-97 school year, is being challenged in court.

The Florida legislature, responding to strong anti-voucher sentiment in the state, dropped a voucher bill like a hot potato.

New Jersey Gov. Christine Whitman is pushing hard to get the state to adopt a voucher plan. Her administration has held three public hearings on the subject around the state. Details of the parochial plan are still being worked out.

School Prayer Poll

According to the 1995 Gallup/Phi Delta Kappa poll on public attitudes toward public education, Americans favor vocal prayer in public schools by a margin of 71% to 28%. The same respondents, however, opposed vocal school prayer 55% to 41% "if it offends a large percentage of parents." On the same poll, by 70% to 24% respondents said they would prefer "a moment of silence for contemplation or silent prayer" over "spoken prayer."

With regard to vocal prayer, respondents were asked if such prayers should be "basically Christian, reflecting Christian beliefs and values" or should "reflect all major religions, including Christianity." By 81% to 13% respondents preferred the latter alternative. By 73% to 20% respondents said they would favor allowing "spoken Jewish, Muslim, or Hindu prayers by students of these faiths."

The poll was silent on who would decide what constitutes a major religion, how all this religious activity would be regulated, and how implementation of such a proposal would work in the real world without compounding classroom problems.

Abortion Rights

On September 27 federal judge James F. Battin held that Montana's one-parent notification requirement for young women seeking abortions fails to provide an adequate alternative as mandated by the Supreme Court. On August 31 a similar South Dakota law was ruled invalid by the U.S. Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals.

On September 20 Alaska Supreme Court judge Dana Fabe ruled that a private hospital receiving federal and state funds may not ban abortions.

On July 25 the Third and Eighth U.S. Circuit Courts of Appeals overruled attempts by Arkansas, Nebraska, and Pennsylvania to restrict Medicaid abortions in cases of rape and incest.

On September 8 Portland, Oregon, federal district judge James Redden sentenced anti-choice activist Rochelle Shannon to 20 years in prison for attacks on six women's clinics in four states during 1992 and 1993.

On September 19 a Milwaukee federal grand jury indicted Robert Cook on three felony counts, including violation of the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act (FACE), for soliciting another person to kill abortion providers and burn clinics. On September 18 a federal judge in Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, convicted and sentenced two anti-choice activists for violating FACE by chaining themselves to a clinic. On September 14 a Texas federal judge jailed another activist for attacking a Houston abortion

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Update

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provider's car. On September 7 a Kansas federal judge sentenced two FACE violators to jail for blocking access to a clinic by welding themselves to disabled vehicles. On August 17 the Justice Department filed suit against a Jackson, Mississippi, anti-choice activist for violating FACE by threatening clinic staff.

Religious Test Overturned

South Carolina's religious test for public office was ruled unconstitutional on August 2 by the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. In 1992 then-Gov. Carroll Campbell and Secretary of State Jim Miles both rejected the application of Prof. Herb Silverman to become a notary public. The federal appeals court held that the discriminatory state constitutional provision violated Article VI of the U.S. Constitution, as the Supreme Court held in 1961 in *Torcaso v. Wilkins*.

Pro-Choice Directory Published

The Body Politic, P.O. Box 2363, Binghamton, NY, 13902, has recently published its 1995-96 National Pro-Choice Directory (\$5 each plus \$2 for postage and handling). The directory lists the names and addresses of all national, state, and local organizations that support abortion rights and reproductive choice.

International

Dublin: Prime Minister John Bruton's government, with broad political support, plans a referendum in November to greatly liberalize Ireland's constitutional ban on divorce. Voters defeated a divorce measure 2 to 1 in 1986, not only because of intense opposition from the Catholic Church hierarchy but largely because of unanswered questions about property rights and pensions. Polls indicate that 65% of voters favor the amendment.

Zagreb: The Croatian parliament is reported to be in the process of enacting a new law and concluding an agreement with the Catholic Church that are at odds with the prohibition against religious discrimination in the country's constitution. The agreement will make Catholic religious education compulsory in public schools. The new law provides that only religious groups with 30,000 to 50,000 members will be recognized by the state, which will essentially outlaw 30 denominations, all but Catholics (76% of Croatia's population), Serbian Orthodox (11%), and

Muslims (1.2%). Stanko Jambrek, secretary of the Protestant Evangelical Council, said the new arrangements would bring about "religious cleansing" in Croatia.

Vienna: Over half a million Austrians (7 million of Austria's 8 million people are at least nominally Catholic) have signed a petition calling for reforms in the Catholic Church: equal rights for women, women priests, optional clerical celibacy, less authoritarianism. An average of 35,000 people are leaving the church annually, in part because Catholics pay a tax of up to 1.5% of salaries to the church, which adds up to about \$400 million per year in taxes.

Beijing: Peruvian president Alberto Fujimori, attending the Fourth World Conference on Women in September, urged other Latin American leaders to break the Vatican's influence over Latin American family planning issues. The Catholic Church in Peru has mounted a strong campaign against the Fujimori government's family planning program, announced on July 28. Although Peru is nominally 90% Catholic and Fujimori is Catholic, opinion polls show that Peruvians overwhelmingly support birth control education and access to family planning services.

Bonn: In August Germany's highest court ruled 5-3 unconstitutional the Bavarian state law requiring a crucifix to be hung on the wall in every public school classroom in the state. The law was challenged by Ernst and Renate Seler of Fischbach, a farming village near Munich. State and Catholic Church officials have denounced the ruling, which did not order the crosses removed but only declared them no longer mandatory.

Rome: The Vatican newspaper, *L'Osservatore Romano*, has approved the proposal by Rome Mayor Francesco Rutelli to name a street for Mussolini-era (1936-43) National Education Minister and former Rome mayor Giuseppe Bottai, who ordered Jews expelled from Italy's education system. According to several Italian newspapers and writers, Bottai was a vicious anti-Semite who began accumulating lists of Jewish teachers and students even before the Fascist government enacted its racial policies in 1938.

Rome: Beginning in October the Vatican will require all the Catholic Church headquarters' lay (non-clerical) employees, who already must be Catholic and swear loyalty to the pope, to agree in writing to adhere to official church doctrines even in their private lives. This will mean no divorce, no abortion, no contraception, and no associating with organizations whose "goals are incompatible with the doctrine and discipline of the church." The Vatican has 2,300 lay employees. ■

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Books

The Case Against School Choice: Politics, Markets, and Fools, by Kevin B. Smith and Kenneth J. Meier (M.E. Sharpe, Armonk, NY 167 pp., \$19.95). *Education Vouchers: Handbook for Attorneys: Model Briefs, Case Law, State Constitutions*, ed. by David Heller (National Committee for Public Education and Religious Liberty, 165 E. 56th St., New York, NY 10022, 131 pp., \$25).

Political scientists Smith and Meier critically examine the "bible" of voucher promoters, *Politics, Markets and America's Schools*, by John E. Chubb and Terry Moe (Brookings Institution, 1990), which attributes public school failings to democracy and bureaucracy and offers ill-defined "school choice," vouchers, and

markets as the remedy. Smith and Meier show pretty conclusively in this well documented study both that public schools in the U.S. are improving and that the Chubb-Moe recommendations are nearly worthless. The authors also show that the German, Japanese, and Dutch school models are hardly something we should emulate, and that Britain's school choice plan since 1988 has caused more problems than it may ever solve. They make clear that parents pushing voucher plans are more interested in denominational education and avoiding public school integration than in educational quality. The authors make a devastating critique of voucher plans without ever mentioning the constitutional problem.

The PEARL book, intended mainly for attorneys and other specialists, points up the relevant case law on voucher schemes, contains a useful bibliography on the subject, summarizes the relevant state constitutional provisions, and includes, as samples of voucher plans, bills introduced in the Illinois and Ohio legislatures in 1995. The legal analysis shows that voucher plans should be struck down by the courts, though in the present political climate it would be foolish to put too much reliance on the courts to correct legislative errors.

— Edd Doerr

Catholic Intellectuals and Conservative Politics in America, 1950-1985, by Patrick Allitt, Cornell University Press, 315 pp., \$29.95.

Those who have ever wondered why so many political conservatives have been committed Roman Catholics now have a solid historical reference which probes the phenomenon and draws reasoned conclusions. While most American Catholics have never been political conservatives, and most conservatives are not Catholic, there were and are areas of common concern. Since World War II Catholic conservatives have emphasized natural law, values-oriented, family-connected traditionalism and anti-communism. But they became marginalized within Catholicism as a result of the Second Vatican Council. Writes Allitt, "The Catholic new conservatives of the 1950s had rallied around the principles of anticommunism and antiliberalism. The 'liberalization' of the Catholic hierarchy; the liturgical, ecumenical, and intellectual reforms of Catholicism in the next thirty years; and the discrediting (for many Catholic Americans) of militant anticommunism in the Vietnam era made their once solidly respectable position in Catholicism increasingly marginal."

Concentrating on intellectuals makes an interesting book, but American politics had rarely been susceptible to intellectual leadership. Allitt also fails to consider the impact of Catholic conservatives on the development of the New Religious Right.

— Al Menendez

American Jews and the Separationist Faith: The New Debate on Religion in Public Life, edited by David G. Dalin, Ethics and Public Policy Center, 169 pp., \$19.95.

There is an old saying that if there are two Jews in a room, there will be three opinions. In this sprightly collection of short essays by 40 Jewish thinkers, scholars, and leaders, one finds considerable variety, from cogent defenses of church-state separation by Samuel Rabinove and Marc D. Stern to muddled backing for Christian Coalition-type thinking. The book ends with a sour afterword by conservative Irving Kristol attacking "secular humanism." The thoughtful reader will conclude that the major Jewish organizations are correct in their strong and principled support for church-state separation.

— Edd Doerr

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The Evolution Controversy in America, by George E. Webb, University Press of Kentucky, 297 pp., \$34.95.

Webb, a professor of the history of science, has produced a balanced history of the political, legal, educational and religious controversies surrounding evolution. He concentrates on the political battles of the 1920s when fundamentalist religious groups saw the teaching of evolution in public school science classes as a threat to their values and beliefs and sought legislation to prohibit mention of the subject. Though many states were targeted, only Tennessee, Mississippi and Arkansas passed anti-evolution statutes. After the Scopes trial, the issue resurfaced in new form, mainly in the Deep South, as a result of the newly formed "creation science" movement. Now largely linked to the resurgence of religious and political conservatism and to decades of scientific illiteracy, the antievolution movement is alive and well. Says Webb, "Despite adverse court decisions, legislative failures, and ambiguous results at the local level, creationists retained a realistic hope that they could compromise the teaching of evolution in American public schools."

— Al Menendez

Hollywood Censored: Morality Codes, Catholics and the Movies, by Gregory D. Black, Cambridge University Press, 336 pp., \$29.95.

Black, a communications professor, gives us a splendid analysis of the forces within the U.S. Catholic Church that exercised extensive censorship over the motion picture industry from the 1930s to the 1960s. A combination of historical factors converged to give a church which was traditionally disliked by many Americans considerable influence over the production of Hollywood films.

Despite lingering anti-Catholicism in the country, a St. Louis priest, Daniel Lord, largely wrote the Production Code that required movies to support "Christian values," modesty in dress and behavior, support for the government and the moral status quo. A prominent Catholic layman, Joseph Breen, became the chief enforcer of the Code as head of the Production Code Administration. As if that were not enough, a laymen's organization, the Legion of Decency, was set up in 1934 to put further pressure on the movie industry through ratings and boycotts.

The "czar" of the movie industry purity code was a Presbyterian Republican from Indiana, Will Hays, who agreed with the Catholic-oriented campaign, as did many conservative Protestants, who urged establishment of state government movie censorship boards.

The story of this massive censorship campaign, which affected those states with censorship boards, as well as the film industry at its source, is dramatic and well told. As Black makes clear, "The intent of the censors was to prevent mass entertainment films from challenging the moral, political and/or economic status quo. . . . Censorship prevented Hollywood from interpreting the

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Clinton Speech Praised

This letter by ARL executive director Edd Doerr was published in a number of newspapers.

President Clinton deserves praise for his July 12 speech on religious liberty at James Madison High School in Vienna, Va.

Responding to irresponsible demands by radical religious right leaders that something be done by Congress about alleged "government hostility toward religion," Mr. Clinton made clear that the First Amendment is the best protection we have or need for religious freedom, and that there is no need whatever for a new constitutional amendment to deal with religion or religious expression.

Mr. Clinton noted that public school officials occasionally have interfered with free exercise rights, as in a case where a principal told his student she could not read her Bible in study hall, but he emphasized that such cases are very rare and certainly do not justify changing the Bill of Rights.

Regrettably, Mr. Clinton neglected to call attention to the fact that far more common than school interference with religious freedom are instances of schools improperly and unconstitutionally promoting religious exercises, such as prayers over public address systems and allowing fundamentalist proselytizing in public schools.

Mr. Clinton has directed Attorney General Janet Reno and Education Secretary Richard Riley to send an advisory memorandum to every school district making clear what public schools may and may not do with regard to religion.

His directive, based on the statement on "Religion in the Public Schools" issued in April by 36 religious and civil liberties groups, should help a great deal to clean up improper practices in the schools and to reassure Americans that our system of church-state separation is the best arrangement possible for protecting religious liberty, ensuring interfaith peace and honoring our country's great religious pluralism.

Books

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morals and manners, the economics and politics, and the social and ethical issues facing American society in direct and honest terms."

— Al Menendez

Let Us Pray: A Plea for Prayer in our Schools, by William J. Murray, William Morrow and Co., 205 pp., \$20.

Murray's book, touted on the jacket by Newt Gingrich, is an embarrassment to the publisher and an affront to informed readers which is likely to have an audience only because the author is the son of Madalyn Murray O'Hair, the most vocal of the challengers of government sponsored devotions in public schools in the 1960s. Murray, displaying a seriously flawed knowledge of history and unconcern for the rights of minorities and dissenters, parrots the Religious Right line that government neutrality toward religion is really hostility and recommends that local community majorities or pluralities be allowed to impose religious practices in public schools.

— Edd Doerr

Kennedy vs. Humpbrey, West Virginia, 1960, by Dan B. Fleming, Jr., McFarland and Company, 206 pp., \$25.95.

It's been more than 30 years since John F. Kennedy narrowly won the presidency, but books exploring the issues in that campaign still appear with regularity. This one, by a Virginia college professor, is superb. It analyzes the 1960 West Virginia Democratic primary, calling it "the pivotal battle for the Democratic presidential nomination." Fleming concludes: "The primary election signaled a major breakthrough in religious bias in the United States as the anti-Catholic factor in presidential politics was greatly reduced by Kennedy's victory in West Virginia. . . an important stepping-stone in advancing the cause of political freedom for all Americans, no matter what their religious beliefs. A political taboo had been removed from the national political scene. The much maligned voters of West Virginia should always be proud that in a crucial moment in the nation's history, they displayed to the world that they were not religious bigots."

— Al Menendez

Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan, by Nancy Maclean, Oxford University Press, 292 pp., \$30.00.

Nancy Maclean argues that the second Ku Klux Klan was an authentic American fascist movement, rooted in class conflicts and energized by religious fervor. The 1915-25 Klan was hostile to both labor and upper class capitalism, representing instead the angers and resentments of lower middle class white Protestants of Anglo-Saxon descent.

The Klan opposed equality for women, supported Prohibition and other efforts at external moral reform and control. But religion was its anchor. Maclean writes, "Klansmen looked to evangelical Protestantism in general, and to fundamentalism in particular. In it, Klan leaders found the spiritual anchor for their ideology.... The Klan advocated fundamentalism as a parallel, all-encompassing explanation of and prescription for social order: a reactionary populist vision backed by the authority of the Almighty."

Maclean says Klansmen promoted "belief in the literal truth of the Bible," saw "the social gospel as the entering wedge of communism," and "actively promoted religious revivals." Revivalism fit right wing politics perfectly. Revivalists "invested conservative political messages with divine sanction" and "infused right-wing political commitments with an emotional force that made them impervious to rational disputation," concludes Maclean, an assistant professor of history at Northwestern University.

— Al Menendez

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