



VOICE OF REASON

Dole Endorses Vouchers

Presidential candidate Bob Dole endorsed tax support for nonpublic schools through vouchers in campaign speeches on July 17 and 18 in Minneapolis and Milwaukee. Dole has long supported vouchers and was cosponsor of a voucher bill that was defeated in the Senate in 1994. The candidate evidently thinks supporting vouchers will help his flagging campaign, despite the fact that polls and statewide referenda show two to one opposition to vouchers.

Dole's Minneapolis and Milwaukee speeches were made before carefully selected audiences of parochial school supporters. ARL executive director Edd Doerr presented a response on National Public Radio on July 17 immediately after the news story on Dole's speech.

Dole specifically proposed a \$2.5 billion federal voucher plan intended to induce states to put up a like amount in matching grants. The plan would be aimed first at the District of Columbia and 14 as yet undesignated states.

The Dole plan would provide \$1,000 per year vouchers for grades 1 through 8 and \$1,500 for high school students. The poorly thought out plan would not only raise serious constitutional problems, but it would create chaos with local school districts and state school finances.

Dole's plan is a larger version of one concocted by George Bush's Education Secretary Lamar Alexander, who is listed as a backer of a voucher plan that will be before Washington State voters in November.

Dole used his speeches to attack teacher organizations, which he said had "run [public schools] into the ground."

President Clinton responded that transferring tax dollars to nonpublic schools would weaken public schools, especially those in poor communities. Clinton campaign spokesman Joe Lockhart said that "Bob Dole wants to tear down public education by pitting teachers against parents and dramatically reducing our investments in public schools." ■

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ARL's Doerr Answers Dole

Immediately following its news story on Bob Dole's Minneapolis speech endorsing school vouchers on July 17, National Public Radio's "All Things Considered" presented this commentary by ARL executive director Edd Doerr.

Tuition vouchers for tax support of private schools are widely touted as the cure for both real and imagined ailments of our public schools. Few people oppose serious efforts to improve public education, but tuition voucher plans are pure snake oil. Let us count the ways.

Vouchers would divert ever scarcer educational dollars away from needy public schools to existing and new private schools, schools that have the tremendous unfair advantage of being selective and not bound by the same rules as our democratic public schools. Over 80% of private schools are pervasively sectarian, so vouchers would tax all Americans to support church institutions, a clear violation of the First Amendment principle of separation of church and state. The Supreme Court so ruled in 1973.

Many religious leaders and religious liberty experts have long recognized that government financial support for—and entanglement with—religious institutions is bad for religion, bad for government, bad for religious freedom.

Vouchers are promoted under the appealing but misleading banner of school choice. But it is really the private school that makes the choice, through selective admissions and by attracting applicants chiefly from the faith that runs the school. Vouchers would fragment our children and our communities along religious, ideological, ethnic, social class, and other lines. We have enough Bosnias and Northern Irelands now.

Voucher advocates often speak of promoting educational diversity. But students find more diversity in our pluralistic public schools than in religiously homogeneous private schools.

Research on school choice in the U.S. and other countries has not shown that it improves education and may actually make education worse for the poor and disadvantaged.

The main beneficiaries of voucher plans would be certain churches and church schools. Many religious leaders and people, however, fear that accepting tax money would eventually cost church schools their freedom from government controls, and also weaken their ability to survive on their own.

Finally, the American people do not want to be taxed to pay for private schools. In 20 statewide referenda in recent years, by a 2 to 1 margin, voters have rejected vouchers and other schemes to provide tax aid to private schools.

There are ways to improve our public schools, such as providing more adequate and more equitably distributed funding for them. But tuition vouchers, educational snake oil, will do far more harm than good. ■

Prayer, Parochial and Politics

Once again politicians are seeking to use religion to garner votes. House Speaker Newt Gingrich and House Majority Leader Dick Armey, eager to protect the electoral gains the Republican Party made in 1994, made getting a House vote on an ostensible prayer amendment to the Constitution a priority item. Televangelist Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition indicated that getting a recorded vote in the House of Representatives by early September would allow the powerful Religious Right group to include the results in the 45 million voter guides it plans to mail to 100,000 conservative churches in October.

Accordingly, the House leadership arranged for a subcommittee hearing on a proposed amendment on July 23. Two separate proposed amendments had been introduced last November by Representatives Henry Hyde (R-IL) and Ernest Istook (R-OK), but the two sponsors could not agree on the text of an amendment. Hyde's proposal was a trickily worded amendment intended to authorize tax support for religious institutions and thus gut the First Amendment's establishment clause. Istook's proposal was aimed at circumventing the Supreme Court's rulings against government sponsored, sanctioned, or regulated religious devotional activities.

Lacking agreement between Hyde and Istook, Majority Leader Armey consolidated the two proposals into one: "Proposing an amendment to the Constitution . . . to further protect religious freedom, including the right of students in public schools to pray without government sponsorship or compulsion, by clarifying the proper construction of any prohibition on laws respecting an establishment of religion. In order to secure the right of the people to acknowledge and serve God according to the dictates of conscience, neither the United States nor any state shall deny any person equal access to a benefit, or otherwise discriminate against any person, on account of religious belief, expression, or exercise. This amendment does not authorize government to coerce or inhibit religious belief, or expression or exercise."

The Rev. Oliver Thomas, a Southern Baptist lawyer representing the National Council of Churches, told the hearing that the Armey amendment "would diminish, not expand, the exercise of religious faith."

Anne L. Bryant, executive director of the National School Boards Association, warned the subcommittee that the amendment would turn public schools into a "battleground for what will be a problem for children, and a war for parents and school personnel."

Mark Pelavin of the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism said the proposed amendment "demeans religion, threatens our most precious rights and distracts America from addressing its most pressing problems."

James M. Dunn and J. Brent Walker of the Baptist Joint Committee said the Armey amendment, H.J. Res. 184, "would perform radical surgery on the First Amendment which has never been amended in over 200 years." Dunn and Walker said that the amendment is not needed to protect religious freedom, that "God has not been kicked out of the public schools," that "religion has not been banished from the public square," that the amendment is aimed at getting "government funding of religious activities," and that the amendment is being driven by politics. "Our constitutional rights and our religious liberties," they concluded, "should not be sacrificed on the altar of political expediency."

Testifying for the amendment at the hearing were the usual extremists, like William Donohue of the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights and Richard Land, representing a fundamentalist faction in the Southern Baptist Convention.

The Coalition to Preserve Religious Liberty, which represents 56 religious and educational organizations, including Americans for Religious Liberty, recommends that concerned citizens urge their Members of Congress (c/o U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515) to oppose the amendment, H.J. Res. 184. ■

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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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ARL Publishes Alley, Menendez, and Bellant Books

Americans for Religious Liberty has published four new books this year: president John M. Swomley's *Myths About Public School Prayer*, reviewed in our last issue; Robert S. Alley's *Public Education and the Public Good* (ARL, 102 pp., \$10.00); associate director Al Menendez's *Church and State in Canada* (Prometheus Books, 140 pp., \$22.95 hardcover); Menendez's *Home Schooling: The Facts* (ARL, 75 pp., \$10.00); Russ Bellant's *The Religious Right in Michigan Politics* (ARL, 172 pp., \$9.95); Menendez's latest, *Evangelicals at the Ballot Box* (Prometheus Books, 363 pp., \$24.95, hardcover), will be available in August. All of them may be ordered from ARL.

In *Public Education and the Public Good*, Robert Alley, professor emeritus of humanities at the University of Richmond, in Virginia, provides a needed corrective to the misinformation and disinformation campaigns by the Religious Right against church-state separation. This readable, abundantly documented book shows clearly that the American constitutional framers intended to erect Jefferson's "wall of separation" and that efforts by Pat Robertson and other Religious Right propagandists are inimical to core American democratic values.

Menendez's *Church and State in Canada* is a thoughtful examination of how the two North American democracies differ in dealing with religious liberty and church-state issues. Particularly useful is his treatment of the problems created by Canada's widespread but controversial practice of providing public support for sectarian schools, especially in view of the

campaigns in the U.S. to get similar tax aid for denominational schools.

Menendez's *Home Schooling: The Facts* provides a close look at a growing phenomenon that may involve as many as two percent of the country's children. He concludes that about 95% of home schooling is tied to religious fundamentalism. The book is the most comprehensive and concise treatment of the topic available.

Detroit researcher Russ Bellant's *The Religious Right in Michigan Politics* is a hardhitting documented survey of how the Religious Right has become prominent in Michigan politics. The book names names, records the financial contributions, and traces the interconnections between Religious Right leaders, donors, and organizations.

Menendez's *Evangelicals at the Ballot Box* takes a long, hard look at the historical role of evangelical Protestants in American political history from the days of Jefferson to the Clinton era. He uses social science data, election statistics, census data, and opinion polling to help explain why evangelicals tend to hold conservative views on economic, social, and "family values" issues and why they constitute such a bedrock Republican ally. Political demographer Menendez challenges the assumption that evangelicals and Catholics will unite politically, and also warns that religious divisions in politics could produce a discredited European-style "confessional" system which would do long range harm to American democracy. ■

Vouchers and 'White Flight'

A nationwide voucher program would further the already increasing racial separation in education, especially in the rural South. The disturbing finding is based on 1990 census data, which indicate that in dozens of Southern counties a majority, or nearly a majority, of white students attend private schools, while almost all black children attend public schools. In addition, the overwhelming majority of the public school student body is African-American. Finally, in these counties very few black children are welcome in the private academies, many of which were established since 1970 for the express purpose of avoiding racial integration in education.

In Wilkinson County, Mississippi, more than 95% of the public school students are black, while 86% of white students attend private schools. Sixteen counties in the Deep South exhibit this phenomenon. All are rural and poor. The per capita income averages less than half of the national average of \$14,000. Since private school attendance in most parts of the country is highly correlated with above average family and per capita income, the fact of high private school enrollment of many low income whites, especially in counties where an overwhelming majority of public school students are black, is highly suggestive of white flight to avoid integration.

This phenomenon also includes Orleans Parish (County), Louisiana (the city of New Orleans), where 86% of public school students are black, but where 65% of whites attend private schools. Orleans has a much higher per capita income (\$11,372.00) than the rural white flight counties, but the pattern of racial segregation in education is similar. Because of New Orleans' historic Catholic orientation and its French Creole cultural base, a considerable number of blacks are

Catholics who prefer private schools. Nearly half of the private school enrollment in Orleans Parish is black, even though 87% of black children attend public schools. New Orleans is predominantly black.

Another group of fourteen counties substantiates this pattern. In these counties between 40% and 50% of white students are enrolled in private schools. The vast majority of public school students are black. And the counties are largely rural and poor. In this second tier of counties, 44% of white children attend private schools, at least partially because 73.2% of public school students are black. One city, Richmond, Virginia, appears in this grouping. In Richmond, 49% of white children attend private schools, largely because the black percentage of the total public school population is nearly 86%.

There is a strong statistical correlation between the percentage of black students in public schools and that of white students who attend private schools in these white flight counties. For every one point increase in the black percentage of public school enrollment, there is a two point increase in the percentage of white students attending private schools.

White flight is evident in eight counties (seven of them in Mississippi) which have more than one school district. Those public school districts which are the most heavily black invariably have the highest percentage of white pupils who opt for private education. In Orangeburg County, South Carolina, for example, the 79% black district 2 has 52% of white children in private schools; the 40% black district 4 has only 9% of white children choosing private schools. In Yazoo County, Mississippi, the increase in the black percentage from 60% in one district to

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Religion Will Affect 1996 Election, Researchers Conclude

Religious belief and practice will continue to play a major role in the way Americans vote in the 1996 presidential and congressional elections, according to a study released June 25 by the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press.

In particular, white evangelical Protestants are not only the most conservative and Republican religious group, but they are the fastest growing group. White evangelicals represent 24% of registered voters, up from 19% in 1987. They are slightly ahead of mainline Protestants (22%) and white Catholics (21%). These three groups comprise two-thirds of the U.S. electorate.

Writes Pew Center director Andrew Kohut, "The conservatism of white evangelical Protestants is clearly the most powerful religious force in politics today. White evangelical Protestants are not only much more conservative on policy questions that involve moral issues, such as abortion, laws regarding homosexuality and family issues. But they are also more conservative on a range of political values including environmentalism and beliefs about international security."

Evangelicals tend to favor church involvement in politics. About 70% say churches should express political views and support the clergy's taking a stand on political issues and candidates. Among other groups, only black Christians agree with this view. Only half of Catholics and mainline Protestants and only 40% of the religiously nonaffiliated want churches to take political stands. Among evangelicals, 18% said campaign information was available at their churches and 8% said their clergy urged them to vote for a particular candidate. Black Christians reported an even higher degree of politicking in the sanctuary, but very few mainline Protestants or Catholics reported this activity.

Two-thirds of church-going white evangelicals said their minister had spoken about abortion, compared to only one-third of white mainline Protestants. About 70% of evangelical pastors addressed the issue of school prayer, compared to just half of mainline clergy.

Evangelicals have clearly become the Republican Party at prayer. Kohut says, "White evangelical Protestants are more conservative, more Republican, and more anti-Clinton than any other major religious group in America. Nearly two-thirds of committed evangelicals are highly likely to vote in the 1996 election, compared to about half of the general public. The fact that this group expresses a consistent set of conservative political attitudes and is extremely active politically makes evangelical Christians a powerful voting bloc. Self identification as an evangelical Christian is the strongest link between religion and politics. Evangelicalism when combined with race is more politically significant than affiliation, commitment, and belief; and when viewed in combination with commitment, it is an extraordinarily powerful predictor of political views."

On some issues, the differences between evangelicals and other voters is stunning. While about half of Americans believe society should accept rather than discourage homosexuality, evangelicals disagree by 3 to 1. Jews endorse acceptance of homosexuality by 79% to 18% and secular voters also do so by 66% to 30%. White Catholics, mainline Protestants, Hispanics,

and Eastern Orthodox Christians also countenance social tolerance by ten to fifteen point margins, as do blacks who are not church members. Black Christians are equally divided and Mormons are about two to one against social acceptance of gays.

On the question of "banning dangerous books from public school libraries," 60% of evangelicals endorse the idea, compared to only 25% of Jews and secular or nonreligious voters. Only 40% to 45% of other groups favor book banning, as do half of Mormons.

The Christian Coalition receives a 65% favorable rating from evangelicals compared to 45% from all Americans. Nearly 58% of evangelicals think the news media portray religious people unfairly, while only 35% of all Americans accept this view. (These poll results are based on nearly 10,000 responses conducted from the fall of 1994 through 1995.)

Half of evangelicals live in the South compared to one-third of all Americans, and nearly 70% reside in small towns, small cities, or rural areas. They are less likely to be college graduates (16% compared to 21% of all Americans and 51% of Jews). They report a much higher church attendance (61% weekly, compared to 40% of all Americans).

Evangelicals are more critical of government regulations in business and environmental matters, are less sympathetic than other Americans to helping the poor, are less inclined to support civil rights legislation, favor military over diplomatic solutions to international problems and were opposed to sending U.S. peacekeeping forces to Bosnia. They were also the least likely, along with Mormons, to endorse the concept of conscientious objection.

The Pew Survey also found that Catholics are far more liberal on all issues than evangelicals, and are generally more liberal than mainline Protestants on most issues. The researchers uncovered some strong differences however, between "progressive" and "traditional" Catholics, who divide the Catholic community almost equally.

Progressive Catholics are far more liberal, Democratic-leaning and supportive of President Clinton than are traditional Catholics, but both are more liberal than evangelicals. (Among traditional Catholics 71% support allowing public schools to distribute information about birth control, compared to 45% of evangelicals.)

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Progressive Catholics are better educated (31% are college graduates) than traditionalists (20% are college graduates). Progressive Catholics are strong in the midwest and, surprisingly, in the South, while traditionalists are strongest in the Northeast, another surprise.

Progressive Catholics are pro-choice and resolutely reject their church's anti-abortion posture. (After reviewing the survey's findings, Father Andrew Greeley, the priest-sociologist and novelist, wrote, "The current American cardinalate cannot deliver a crowd of starving vampires to a blood bank.")

Most Americans say they want a reduction in the influence of religious groups in society. This is especially true for "others," i.e., groups other than one's own. The one exception is evangelicals, who want more influence for themselves, by 63% to 18%. Interestingly, progressive Catholics, by 54% to 22%, want to see a reduction in Catholic influence on society. Also, despite similar outlooks on many issues, mainline Protestants, by a five to one margin, and nonreligious voters, by a four to one margin, want less influence for Catholics on society. Potential allies remain somewhat mistrustful of each other, according to these data. ■

Religious Parties on the Rise

Religion based political parties, which represent one segment of a nation's religious community or, as in the case of Israel and Turkey, the most conservative wing of the dominant faith, are gaining support at the polls.

In India, the Hindu National Party emerged triumphant in May's elections. This group wants to reassert Hindu culture and values in the public realm and is hostile to India's many minority religions and to its secular heritage. It failed, however, to establish a government when none of the other parties wanted anything to do with it. In a multiparty parliamentary system, the winning party must weave together a coalition with other parties.

In Israel's hotly contested and down-to-the-wire election for prime minister, the religious parties emerged as the power brokers. The three parties representing Orthodox or ultra Orthodox religious interests now hold about 20% of the seats in the Knesset. Since they supported the victorious Likud Party candidate for prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, they are expected to hold a number of cabinet positions in his government. Their demands are clear: more public funds for religious schools, restrictions on shopping, recreation and public transportation on the Sabbath, opposition to civil marriage or divorce procedures, and an expansion of Jewish settlements in the Territories. About 95% of residents in the Territories and 91% of the Orthodox voted for Netanyahu. They are expected to be influential in his coalition, though non-Orthodox Jews, secular Jews, Muslims and Christians oppose the religious agenda. ■

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Religious Right Tightens Grip on GOP Delegates

Despite Bob Dole's easy sweep through the primaries, conservative Republican delegates now being chosen are frequently from the party's far right. Even Republican elected officials and leaders are being rebuffed by anti-abortion and Religious Right activists.

In conservative South Carolina, insurgent Christian Coalition members turned down Governor David Beasley's slate, which included popular former Governor Carroll Campbell, Representative Mark Sanford, and other prominent Republicans, for a slate of unknown extremists. In Washington State, national committee leaders, the party chairman and state senate leaders were either rejected by the resurgents or withdrew rather than face humiliation from a so-called "pro-family" slate. Dole carried both states decisively.

In Texas, the state GOP convention was dominated by supporters of Pat Buchanan and Alan Keyes, despite Dole's easy victory in the primary. Activists demanded that all delegates support the readoption of the anti-abortion plank in the Republican Platform and to support only vice-presidential candidates who support a hard-line anti-abortion position. A Christian Coalition-dominated Alabama delegation has promised to defy Dole if his running mate does not support an absolutist position on abortion rights.

Ralph Reed, the Christian Coalition's executive director, continues to talk out of both sides of his mouth. While signaling that his organization favored some modification of the platform language, Reed has demanded that Christian Coalition delegates, who may control 30% of the delegates, pledge to oppose Dole's nominee for vice-president if that person is insufficiently anti-abortion. This would surely provoke a divisive and potentially party disrupting convention that would only weaken Dole's candidacy in the general election. For his part, Dole urged a "declaration of tolerance" to those Republicans who disagree with the party's posture on abortion. Dole criticized Gary Bauer, the leader of the Family Research Council, who has repeatedly attacked Dole's waffling on social issues. Reed, who will be a delegate from Virginia, warned, "The Christian Coalition will have a substantial percentage at the convention. The Dole campaign is going to be very aware of the large number of religious conservatives on the floor who will not only seek to protect the anti-abortion plank, but expect to be taken into account in the making of the vice-presidential selection." ■

Abortion Battle Looms at GOP Convention

The Republican Party's platform hearings and convention in August will occasion a major showdown on abortion rights. At issue is whether a strict anti-abortion plank, adopted in 1980, 1984, 1988, and 1992, will again appear in the party's platform.

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CAMPAIGN '96

GOP Convention, continued from page 5

The GOP governors of California, New York and New Jersey have called on their party to scrap the call for a ban on all abortions that the party adopted in 1992. Ralph Reed, executive director of Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition, thought this could be done in a subtle way without damaging the party's moral authority, but an anonymous Christian Coalition official told the *Washington Times* that, "We will change it in the platform committee so it just says there is a diversity of viewpoints within the GOP on a wide range of issues, rather than give examples like abortion and capital punishment." Pat Buchanan and others have promised a punishing floor fight at the convention.

However it turns out, Republican primary voters, perhaps the most conservative voters in the nation, are less supportive of an anti-abortion plank than was previously supposed. Of the 27 primary states for which there are comparative exit polling data, in only three (Mississippi, Louisiana, and Tennessee) did a majority of Republican voters want to retain a call for constitutional amendment to outlaw abortion. Conservative Mississippians were most supportive (56%). But majorities opposed this even in South Carolina, Georgia, Texas, and Oklahoma. Only about half were favorable in Iowa and Wisconsin. Fewer than one-third of Republicans supported an anti-abortion plank in the party platform in New Hampshire, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Vermont, New York and California.

An even lower percentage of GOP primary voters said they considered themselves "part of the Christian political movement known as the Religious Right." Again, only in Mississippi did a majority respond favorably, and only in Tennessee, Oklahoma, and Louisiana did 40% or more voters so describe themselves. Fewer than 25% of Republicans accepted this designation in New Hampshire, North Dakota, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Vermont or New York.

This suggests more and more that the Religious Right is a kind of elite group with disproportionate power over the GOP that most party voters themselves really do not support. Like some other special interest groups, the Religious Right claims more grassroots support than it actually has. ■

New Hampshire Conservative Blasts Religious Right

Warren Rudman, an authentic conservative Republican senator from the Granite State from 1980 to 1992, has some choice words for the Religious Right in the just published memoir of his senatorial years, *Combat* (Random House, \$27.50):

"The Christian Right is neither Christian nor right. For one highly conservative group to proclaim itself the Christian Coalition strikes me as decidedly un-Christian arrogance.

"The New Testament speaks eloquently of love and compas-

sion and forgiveness but one looks in vain for those qualities in the political agenda of the Christian Right, which allies itself with the rich and comfortable in our society, not with the needy and afflicted.

"In my experience, religious zeal and politics don't mix . . . Politically speaking, the Republican Party is making a terrible mistake if it appears to ally itself with the Christian Right. There are some fine, sincere people in its ranks, but there are also enough anti-abortion zealots, would be censors, homophobes, bigots and latter-day Elmer Gantrys to discredit any party that is unwise enough to embrace such a group.

"Tolerance is not the way of the Christian Right. Its leaders want to impose their one-size-fits-all morality on everyone. It won't work. When any group tries to impose its values on everyone else, the result will inevitably be resentment, hatred and violence.

"The Founding Fathers knew what evils a state imposed religion had caused in England, and they intended to prevent one from being established in this country." ■

Republicans Not Conservative Enough? Try the US Taxpayers Party

For American voters who think the GOP is not conservative enough, they will have at least one alternative on the far right. The United States Taxpayers Party (USTP), headquartered in Vienna, Virginia, will hold its presidential nominating convention in San Diego August 15 to 19.

The party promises "to restore American jurisprudence to its Biblical premises," "to appoint only judges who acknowledge the legal personhood of the unborn child," and "to terminate federal funding for Planned Parenthood, AIDS education, the National Endowment for the Arts, and the Legal Services Corporation." The group also promises to abolish the US Department of Education, restore "State's Rights," withdraw the US from international organizations, repudiate "New World Order treaties," and restore US control over the Panama Canal.

Its presidential candidate in 1992 (and 1996, unless the USTP can induce Pat Buchanan to head the ticket) is Howard Phillips, a theoretician of the defunct Moral Majority and a convert from Judaism to fundamentalist Protestantism.

Among the USTP's leaders are Randall Terry, the once imprisoned anti-abortion zealot who formerly headed Operation Rescue; Rousas Rushdoony, a Calvinist theologian of the Reconstructionist movement who advocates imposition of Old Testament morality on U.S. civil law, including execution of adulterers and homosexuals; fundamentalist George Grant, a Tennessee based extremist who has written books attacking the ACLU, Planned Parenthood, and Ross Perot. Other leaders include: Rus Walton of the Plymouth Rock Foundation, a Religious Right theoretician; Larry Pratt of the Gun Owners of America, whose ties to militia groups caused him to be removed from a leadership role in Pat Buchanan's presidential campaign; Judie Brown of the National Right to Life Committee; Peg Luksik,

who received 13% of the votes cast for governor of Pennsylvania in 1994; Evan Mecham, the discredited former governor of Arizona; Sam Blumenfeld, who has made a career attacking the National Education Association; John Stormer, an old Goldwater and fundamentalist activist in Missouri, author of the 1964 book, *None Dare Call It Treason*, which accused the Democrats of betraying America; and Herb Titus, a law school dean associated with Oral Roberts and Pat Robertson.

The USTP hopes to be on the ballot in most states. Its 1992 candidate (Howard Phillips) received 43,434 votes nationwide, the largest number in Greene County, Mississippi, where 91% of voters supported George Wallace in 1968.

The USTP is typical of the populist, theocratic, neo-fascist strain of thought on America's growing far right. ■

Warner Victory in Virginia is Another Blow to Religious Right

Three-term Republican Senator John Warner won renomination by a 2-1 margin in June, over former Reagan administration official James Miller. Warner crushed Miller, who won the endorsement of Oliver North, Michael Farris, Christian Coalition activists, and the National Rifle Association, in almost all regions of the state.

University of Virginia political scientist Larry Sabato said the Warner victory, the third straight defeat for the Religious Right in Virginia, proved that religious and social conservatives represented a minority of the state's electorate and could not hope to dominate the Old Dominion's political life. Other observers agree and added that Oliver North's influence in Virginia politics has been exaggerated. Right-wing forces had targeted Warner for defeat because he opposed Robert Bork's nomination to the Supreme Court in 1987 and refused to support home schooling advocate Michael Farris in the 1993 race for lieutenant governor and Oliver North's campaign for the U.S. Senate in 1994.

As expected, Warner rolled up huge 3-1 or 4-1 margins in the Northern Virginia suburbs of Washington, DC, where many moderate Republicans and political independents reside, and in the military-oriented Norfolk and Newport News area. In the college town of Williamsburg, Warner defeated Miller 811-165.

But Warner also triumphed in the very conservative Richmond suburbs, in conservative small towns like Colonial Heights, Danville, Staunton, Waynesboro, Winchester and Harrisonburg. In Jerry Falwell's hometown of Lynchburg, Warner won 68% of the votes. In Robertson's home base of Virginia Beach, Warner's support topped 70%. In Chesapeake, where the Christian Coalition is located, Warner received 65%. In Mathews County, where Ross Perot did well, Warner won with 72% of the ballots cast.

Miller's only victory came in rural areas of the Shenandoah Valley and in the Southwest mountains, where social conservatism, religious fundamentalism and gun ownership are widespread. Miller won over 60% in Scotch-Irish Augusta County and in the Mennonite-Brethren areas of Rockingham County,

though the Lutheran stronghold of Shenandoah County, in the same area, voted for Warner. ■

The Buchanan Campaign

While syndicated columnist and television personality Patrick Buchanan did not come close to capturing the GOP presidential nomination, he received more than one out of five votes cast in the Republican primaries and enlivened the debate with his hard-line rhetoric. Buchanan's long range impact may be felt at the platform hearings and at the party's convention this summer.

His vote, and the enthusiasm of his supporters, represent an angry backlash of religious conservatives and of disgruntled blue-collar workers legitimately concerned about job security. Joined by America Firsters, neo-confederates, isolationists and voters opposed to immigration, Buchanan's candidacy became a touchstone for dissent.

Exit polls and county election returns suggest that Buchanan's greatest level of support was from those who support the Religious Right, favor bans on abortion, and yearn for a kind of moral cleansing of society. Fundamentalists and pentecostals were especially drawn to Buchanan's campaign.

Buchanan's 1996 presidential campaign revealed some of this voter movement. He received a much higher level of support among evangelical and fundamentalist Protestants than among Catholics or mainline Protestants. National exit polls by CBS, NBC, ABC, CNN, and AP included a new and somewhat vague religious category called "other Christian" in addition to Protestant and Catholic. (Jews, other religions, and no religion were the other choices offered.) This makes direct comparisons with 1992 and earlier data more difficult, but it does pinpoint some recent voting trends.

In every state Buchanan's greatest support came from those who called themselves "other Christians."

His voter appeal to religious conservatives is evident from the pivotal South Carolina primary on April 2, which probably saved Bob Dole's political life. Despite Dole's easy victory, by 45% to 30% for Buchanan, 13% for Forbes and 11% for Alexander, Buchanan showed impressive strength in the Baptist and evangelical counties. He carried Cherokee County, the most heavily Southern Baptist county in the state. In the ten strongest Baptist counties, he narrowly lost to Dole by four points.

Buchanan won convincingly, 42% to 36% for Dole, in Anderson County, where religious fundamentalism has transformed a Democratic stronghold into a Republican redoubt. As *The Washington Post's* William Booth wrote, "Much of the politics of Anderson County begins in the big churches. The minister of Siloam Baptist, for example, with 2,000 congregants, has been arrested for marching against abortion. The candidates all work the churches and the Christian Coalition distributed more than 50,000 voting cards during the 1994 election." Anderson County's Democratic state legislator, C.D. Chamblee, switched to the Republicans after the 1994 election, helping to give the GOP control of the South Carolina State House for the first time since Reconstruction.

(continued on page 8)

CAMPAIGN '96

Buchanan, *continued from page 7*

Buchanan also came within 200 votes of defeating Dole in nearby Spartanburg County, which shares a similar religious configuration. William Booth attributed the Republicanization of South Carolina to the "awesome power of the Christian Right in a deeply religious region."

Buchanan did not do nearly so well in the metropolitan, high income or highly educated counties in South Carolina—or elsewhere. In South Carolina Perot strongholds, Forbes did unusually well, as he did in New York and Colorado. And, despite Buchanan's support for the flying of the Confederate flag at the South Carolina State House, white voters in rural black majority counties gave Dole his strongest statewide margin, 51% to Buchanan's 29%.

Conservative Roman Catholic Buchanan defeated Dole 2-1 in Dutch Reformed Sioux County, Iowa, and won convincingly in Berlin, New Hampshire, a French Catholic blue-collar town that has experienced economic difficulties in recent years. Throughout the short lived primary season of 1996, Buchanan's candidacy was disproportionately welcomed by conservative Christians of many backgrounds.

Buchanan also carried Bay County, Michigan, and came close to Dole in Macomb County, both substantially Catholic blue-collar areas. He came within two points of carrying Genessee County, the Flint area, a gritty blue-collar town populated largely by white migrants from Tennessee and Kentucky who are traditionally anti-Catholic fundamentalists. In 1960, normally Democratic Flint went for Nixon over Kennedy because of anti-Catholic voting. But Buchanan's ability to appeal to those supporting blue-collar values and to social and religious conservatives made him at least a temporary burr on Bob Dole's saddle. In Wisconsin, the Buchanan vote was highest in Kenosha, Superior and the working class suburbs of Milwaukee, where voters, mostly Catholics or Lutherans, have experienced economic hard times for decades.

While nearly final returns from all the primaries gave him only 22% to Dole's 56% (with 12% for Forbes and 10% for others), the feisty and outspoken Buchanan still promises to wage a floor fight at the GOP's San Diego Convention to ensure that the party commits itself to a religiously conservative platform. ■

Vouchers and 'White Flight'

continued from page 3

91% in the other results in a corresponding increase in white flight to private schools from 39% of whites to 77% of whites.

There are also 31 additional Southern counties where between 20% and 40% of white children attend private schools. In all of these counties, a majority of public school students are African-American. These counties include such cities as Macon, Savannah, Baton Rouge, and Charleston (SC).

It should be stressed that in all 61 of these Southern white flight counties, a much higher percentage of the student population in public schools is African-American than is the percentage of black students in private schools. In all 61 counties, the majority of the public school population is African-American; in not one county is the majority of the private school

ARL in Action

Americans for Religious Liberty has joined with other organizations in the National Committee for Public Education and Religious Liberty in an *amicus curiae* brief to the Sixth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals in the case of *Chaudhuri v. State of Tennessee*. The appeal seeks to overturn a district court ruling in April dismissing Prof. Dilip Chaudhuri's challenge to formal prayers at functions he is required to attend at Tennessee State University. Chaudhuri's attorney in the case is Joseph Johnston, who is also handling a challenge to the use of municipal bonds to aid the pervasively sectarian David Lipscomb University, a suit supported by ARL.

Since our last report, ARL president John Swomley has addressed Methodist, Presbyterian, Lutheran, Unitarian Universalist, and other groups in the St. Louis and Kansas City areas. A major article by Swomley on church-state separation, "A Church Free to Serve," appeared in the June 1996 issue of *Christian Social Action*, a publication of the General Board of Church and Society of the United Methodist Church. Reprints of the article are available from ARL for \$1.00.

ARL executive director Edd Doerr addressed audiences in Indianapolis, Charlottesville, Va., and Baltimore and Silver Spring, MD, and presented a workshop at the Unitarian Universalist Association General Assembly in June. Doerr was also a guest on radio talk shows in Washington, D.C., and Charlottesville, VA. On July 17 his commentary on school vouchers (see p. 1) was broadcast on National Public Radio immediately after candidate Bob Dole's speech on the subject in Minneapolis. Doerr's article "Pat Robertson's Agenda for America: A Marriage of Religion and Politics" appeared in the July issue of *USA Today* magazine. Reprints are available from ARL for \$1.00.

Associate director Al Menendez has been a guest on radio talk shows recently in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Denver, Eugene, OR, Chicago, Monroe, LA, Montgomery, AL, St. Louis, Sioux Falls, SD, and Hartford, CT. His major article on "The World of James Dobson" appeared in the August issue of *Freedom Writer Magazine*, published by the Institute for First Amendment Studies. Reprints are available from ARL for \$1.00.

population African-American. In only 18 counties are more than 10% of private school students black. In Baker County, Georgia, Sharkey County, Mississippi, and Wilkinson County, Mississippi, there are no blacks attending private schools. In Perry County, Alabama, less than 1% of the private school enrollment is black. In 31 of these 61 counties (about half), less than 5% of the private school enrollment is black.

This situation has gone on right under our noses for two decades. It represents one aspect of the resegregation of American education, a return to the separate but unequal educational opportunities so long a part of the US educational scene.

Advocates of vouchers, who claim that such schemes will only permit parents to choose better or more diverse educational opportunities for their children, should realize that this kind of "choice" may only lead to sharper racial divisions in American education. ■

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Update

Washington State to Vote on Two Voucher Bills

Washington state voters will have to decide whether to approve not just one, but two separate initiatives that would authorize tax support for nonpublic schools.

Initiative 173, sponsored and promoted almost entirely by multimillionaire Ron Taber (who is also running for the nonpartisan political post of State Superintendent of Public Instruction), would create a voucher system for nearly complete tax support of nonpublic schools, which now enroll about 7.4% of the students in the state. The plan would allow for full support of private schools, but would apparently permit add-on tuition for students in grades seven through twelve.

Initiative 177 is a much more complex plan that could permit private schools to become tax-supported "independent public schools" and/or for public schools to be converted into "independent public schools" that would function very much like private schools.

Initiative 177 is promoted by wealthy Jim and Fawn Brady. Funding for their political campaign has been promised by a California billionaire voucher supporter. Named as "advisers" to the I-177 campaign are former U.S. Education Secretary Lamar Alexander and long time voucher promoters John Coons, Terry Moe, Denis P. Doyle, and Chester E. Finn.

Both plans would severely disrupt public education and would greatly weaken public control over public education spending. Both plans would allow tax-supported schools to provide sectarian and ideological indoctrination, and would allow discrimination along religious and gender lines. Both would very largely exempt tax-funded private schools from reasonable regulations applicable to normal public schools.

In 1975, Washington state voters defeated, 60.5% to 39.5%, a proposed state constitutional amendment that would have allowed unlimited tax aid to private and denominational schools at all levels from kindergarten through college.

Opposition to the two initiatives is being coordinated by the No on 173 and 177 Committee, 1530 Eastlake Ave E., Suite 100, Seattle, WA 98102 (phone: 206/720-6216). The Committee is seeking donations and volunteers around the state.

Florida Prayer Bill Vetoed

On May 21 Florida Gov. Lawton Chiles vetoed a school prayer bill passed by the state legislature. Said Chiles in his veto message: "I do not believe that the right to petition the divine should be granted or withheld by majority vote. . . . Our founding fathers engrafted onto the Bill of Rights the doctrine of separation of church and state, forbidding any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. By so writing, our forefathers bound us to a twofold principle: that in the United States we shall have freedom of religion, as well as freedom from religion. By allowing us freedom from religion, the concept of freedom of religion is strengthened and purified. Our wise forebears conceived of a democracy strong enough to tolerate a broad array of personal beliefs, knowing that by our diversity, our democracy is further strengthened. What our founders knew is that the decision as to whether to pray, when to pray, and to whom to pray, is an intensely personal decision. It cannot be decided by majority vote . . . Clearly, students who wish to engage in silent prayer are allowed to do so in our schools. There is nothing in the court cases, the statutes, or the rules which govern our educational system that prohibit students from exercising their

religious freedoms in this way. There is likewise nothing in the action that I take today that will remove prayer from the public schools . . .

"Prayer itself, personally and spiritually woven as it is into the strong fabric of our society, would not be well-served by allowing this bill to become law. The school prayer provision, as it is contained within this bill, would reduce this profound and spiritual devotion to school board and classroom debate."

Religious Freedom Advances in Mississippi

A federal judge in Mississippi ruled June 3 that the public schools of Pontotoc County cannot broadcast prayers over the school intercom system, nor can teachers conduct Bible classes during school hours. For years these unconstitutional practices had been allowed, even encouraged, by school authorities in the mostly white, Southern Baptist county in northeastern Mississippi.

Despite the fact that the practices were widely popular and that a furor of prejudice and ostracism has been unleashed against the plaintiff in the case, Lisa Herdahl, a mother of six children, Judge Neal Biggers, Jr. wrote: "The Bill of Rights was created to protect the minority from tyranny by the majority."

In addition to the above mentioned activities, school officials had allowed classroom prayer before lunch, Bible classes taught by instructors chosen by local churches, and a voluntary prayer session for elementary school students before school in a group session. This last practice was deemed permissible by the judge.

The school district may appeal the ruling. Public opinion in this heavily Protestant state favored the school district's religious regimen. Rallies in support of the school were held in the County seat, and the district's Republican Congressman, Roger Wicker, as well as Republican Governor Kirk Fordice and GOP Senators Thad Cochran and Trent Lott (now Senate Majority Leader) supported the school-religion connection.

Trial testimony in the case earlier this year revealed that for 50 years a committee composed of local Protestant churches selected and paid the salaries of public school Bible class teachers, all of whom had to meet certain doctrinal requirements, i.e. had to be born again Christians.

Pontotoc County has 53 Baptist churches, 17 Methodist churches, 11 other Protestant churches, and one tiny Catholic church with 54 members. About 66% of the population are members of Baptist churches.

Reproductive Rights

Catholic Church leaders have mounted a major political campaign to get Congress to overturn President Clinton's April 10 veto of a bill banning a rare, late-term abortion method known as dilation and extraction (D & X). Church leaders distributed 27 million postcards at churches nationwide in early July aimed at mobilizing parishioners to bombard Congress with demands to override the veto. The Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice called the Catholic bishops' campaign "an affront to decency," noting that the postcards were distributed with accompanying materials "riddled with half-truths, misinformation and lies." Coalition president the Rev. Katherine Hancock Ragsdale, an Episcopal priest, said that the procedure is rare, used only about 600 times per year, and is used only in cases of medical necessity.

The U.S. Supreme Court in its October term will consider a challenge to "bubble zones" designed to protect from harassment patients entering or leaving abortion clinics. Pat Robert-

son's legal foundation is supporting the challenge, which is opposed by the Clinton administration, the ACLU, Planned Parenthood, and other groups.

Advisers to the U.S. Food and Drug Administration in July recommended that the agency approve the marketing of the abortion-inducing drug RU-486, also known as mifepristone. The drug is already available in Britain, France, and Sweden. The Vatican immediately denounced the recommendation.

The U.S. House of Representatives voted 238 to 184 on July 17 to retain a federal law that forbids Federal employer health plans to pay for abortion services except when a woman's life is at risk or in cases of rape or incest.

On July 1, Michigan Gov. John Engler (R) signed an appropriation bill that provides funds for "pregnancy services of Michigan" but bans any facility receiving funds from providing abortion counseling, referrals, or services.

On June 21 Missouri federal judge Fernando J. Gaitan, Jr., blocked the exclusion of Planned Parenthood of Mid-Missouri and Eastern Kansas from receipt of family planning funds.

AA 'Religious': NY Court

New York State's highest court ruled 5-2 on June 11 that Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) "engages in religious activity and religious proselytization," and therefore state prison officials may not penalize inmates who decline to attend AA meetings for reasons of conscience.

"A fair reading of the fundamental AA doctrinal writings discloses that their dominant theme is unequivocally religious," the Court of Appeals held. "Adherence to the AA fellowship entails engagement in religious activity and religious proselytization." AA officials declined to comment on the ruling.

Norman Siegel, executive director of the New York Civil Liberties Union, called the ruling "constitutionally correct." He added, "It's important that the court is recognizing the fundamental principle that Government cannot force people to participate in religious activities that violate their own tenets." And, "Also, there's a sense more and more that whoever goes to jail forfeits all constitutional rights. The court is saying you don't."

The court said it did not mean to denigrate AA's approach to fighting addiction, but noted that AA meetings are "heavily laced with at least general religious content."

Because of objections to the religious orientation of many or most (though not all) AA groups, recent years have seen the development of secular or non-religious substance abuse programs such as Rational Recovery (RR) and Secular Organizations for Sobriety (SOS).

Supreme Court Nixes City Seal

On June 13, the U.S. Supreme Court reaffirmed church-state separation when, by a 6 to 3 vote, it declined to review a 10th Circuit Court of Appeals ruling that Edmond, Oklahoma, must remove a Christian cross from its official seal.

The High Court decision ended a controversy that began in 1992 when Dr. Wayne Robinson, then minister of the local Unitarian Universalist Church, urged the city council to remove the cross on the ground that it promoted a particular religion in an official symbol. A similar case in Zion, Illinois, had required that city to remove a sectarian symbol from its town seal.

When the Edmond authorities refused, Robinson, joined by three Unitarians and one Jewish plaintiff, filed suit in January 1993. The U.S. District Court ruled against the plaintiffs, claiming

that inclusion of a cross, along with a covered wagon, a train, an oil well, and the Old North Tower of the University of Central Oklahoma, did not constitute an endorsement of Christianity.

In 1995 the 10th Circuit disagreed, holding that the cross violated the First Amendment. "The city may not retain a blatantly sectarian symbol because these symbols transcend mere commemoration and effectively endorse or promote the Christian faith," said the Appeals Court in *Robinson v. Edmond*. (The Seventh Circuit reached an identical conclusion in another case affecting a different state.)

The 10th Circuit said the relevant question was whether the average observer would perceive a religious endorsement when viewing the seal. The decision sends the case back to the Federal District Court in Oklahoma City to determine how quickly the seal must be redone. (It was established in 1965.) The lower court must also assess attorney fees and court costs. The city spent \$88,000 on the case, and the cost of changing the seal will be at least \$30,000, according to the city manager's office.

Plaintiffs' attorney Michael Salem was elated. "This is not an anti-Christian decision. The issue is neutrality toward religion. All we're asking is for the city of Edmond to comply with the requirements of neutrality," he said. The city seal appears on city flags, vehicles, uniforms, police cars and garbage trucks.

Robinson, who is now interim minister of the First Unitarian Church in Minneapolis, said, "This is a great victory for anyone who cherishes religious freedom and for those who truly understand the importance of the First Amendment. The reason Christianity and other religions have prospered so much in America is because we have the First Amendment. We have only to look at other countries to appreciate this fact," he told ARL.

Public opinion in Edmond, a sprawling suburb of Oklahoma City with a population of 65,000, is divided. Many conservative Christians in the town, which has large Baptist and Church of Christ constituencies, were appalled. But the Jewish Federation of Oklahoma City was supportive, as was the Interfaith Alliance of Oklahoma. The ruling made the headlines in the *Daily Oklahoman*, and its impact may be felt on two other communities, Del City and The Village, which also retain religious symbols on their seals.

Edmond has long been considered unfriendly to religious minorities. In the 1980s, zoning authorities refused to allow construction of a Muslim mosque for worshippers, many of whom are medical personnel. Even today, only an unobtrusive and unmarked prayer house has been approved.

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Legal observers wonder why the High Court chose not to resolve the issue formally. They also wonder why Chief Justice Rehnquist and Justices Scalia and Thomas issued an unusual written dissent in a denial of cert. Still others question Rehnquist's raising of the standing issue, which had been agreed to by both previous courts.

Confessional Seal Returns

The ancient legal principle that protects priest-penitent, doctor-patient, and lawyer-client relationships came in for a challenge in Oregon in May. The district attorney for Lane County, Doug Harclerod, ordered the secret jailhouse taping of a confession between a man suspected of murder and a priest, hoping to gain evidence for his case. Later he publicly apologized for his unauthorized operation and asked that the tape be sealed.

Civil libertarians and Roman Catholic authorities denounced the action, saying that it breaks confidentiality. All states except West Virginia have laws protecting confidentiality, though apparently not all of them specifically protect clergy-pertinent conversations. Both the Catholic archdiocese of Portland and the Vatican asked that the tape be destroyed but, ironically, the defendant's attorney wants it preserved.

Meanwhile, Representative Peter King, a Republican from New York, has announced plans to introduce federal legislation protecting clergy-penitent relationships.

Cases involving the "seal of the confessional" go back to early 19th century New York.

Religions Reap Bonanza

America's religious bodies will now be able to obtain loans from the Small Business Administration (SBA), even if they are for-profit businesses run by religious groups. Under pressure from the right-wing Rutherford Institute, the SBA began in March to accept loan applications from qualified businesses with religious components. In theory, the SBA is still supposed to reject businesses that "primarily engage" in religious indoctrination.

The Rutherford Institute and Pat Robertson's American Center for Law and Justice successfully argued that profit making businesses that sell or manufacture religious or inspirational goods should be able to obtain government guaranteed loans. "We're on cloud nine," said Rutherford Institute attorney Brad Dacus.

International

Dublin. The Irish Supreme court ruled unanimously on June 12 that the November 1995 referendum ending the country's Catholic Church-inspired constitutional ban on divorce was valid. Minister for Equality and Law Mervyn Taylor said he hoped that legislation to allow divorce would advance quickly to Parliament.

Books

Active Faith: How Christians Are Changing The Soul Of American Politics, by Ralph Reed, The Free Press, 1996, 311 pages, \$25.00.

Ralph Reed, the Christian Coalition's youthful executive director, is at it again, trying to "prove" how reasonable his (actually, televangelist Pat Robertson's; Reed is just the hired CEO) movement is and how it is merely carrying on the grand old

tradition of progressive Christian activism. He claims, for example, that "religious people are not motivated by partisan ideology but rather by a transcendent ethic of moral concerns that are grounded in faith." Well, so are "non-religious" people. And many so-called religious activists are, and have always been, mean-spirited partisans who lack respect for those of other viewpoints.

Reed shows himself to be a highly partisan Republican who claims that "the majority of the House Republican freshmen are committed evangelicals or devout Roman Catholics" and that the GOP "stands on the brink of long term majority status" because of evangelical support at the polls.

His heroes remain "professing Christians" like Governors David Beasley of South Carolina and Kirk Fordice of Mississippi. He writes that anti-choice, pro-voucher Representative Henry Hyde (R-IL) is "a man so sweet, so gentle, and so genuine in his faith that I have sometimes wondered if he was not an angel in a blue suit roaming the halls of Congress."

He expresses admiration for Pat Buchanan. "For us, Buchanan's candidacy represented an altogether fortuitous opportunity for religious conservatives by virtually ensuring that the ultimate presidential nominee would keep the pro-life plank in the party platform."

To his credit, Reed denounces coercive school prayer and Reconstructionist theology as "religious tyranny" and threatening to civil liberties. He claims that his movement is slowly evolving from "lily white" to "multiracial." But much of this may be strategic rather than fundamental, an attempt to soften Religious Right ideology to make it more compatible to moderate voters. He says there has been in his movement "a shift from a clergy-based leadership class to lay men and women, which has tended to shift the rhetoric of both leaders and their supporters from the evangelical idiom to the less apocalyptic vernacular of the legislative arena."

Reed admits that "politics is not the sole or even the primary answer to our nation's moral decay" and claims, without any proof, that "involvement in politics has corrupted the religious faith of liberals." Is there any reason to think that this, if it is true, would not happen to religious conservatives also?

Behind what Reed intends to be a facade of benign reasonableness lurk agendas, neither spelled out nor justified in the book, that would seriously undermine religious liberty, weaken or wreck public education, reduce women to the status of second class citizens or worse, fragment our society along religious and other lines, and stir up ancient antagonisms.

Finally, Reed's writing exhibits a colossal, unwarranted egotism rather inappropriate in one of such tender years.

— Al Menendez and Edd Doerr

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