



VOICE OF REASON

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Congressional Religious Affiliations Reveal Greater Diversity

Two historic “outsider” religious groups, Roman Catholics and Jews, have reached their highest representation in Congressional membership after the 2008 elections. The 111th Congress will include 161 Catholics and 44 Jews. This compares to 99 Catholics and 11 Jews when John F. Kennedy was president.

On the other hand, the once-powerful “mainline” Protestants (Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, United Church of Christ) slid to their lowest membership since systematic records have been kept. Holding 273 seats (a majority) in 1962, they hold only 138 today.

These long-range trends overshadow smaller year-to-year changes. Other outsider groups are also more numerous. There are two Buddhists and two Muslims serving in Congress. Baptists and Mormons have more members than they did in the 1960s and 1970s (Chart 4).

Here are the results for the 111th Congress: 161 Roman Catholics, followed by 68 Baptists, 53 Methodists, 44 Jews, 44 Presbyterians, 36 Episcopalians, 24 nondenominational Protestants, 23 Lutherans, 16 undesignated Christians, and 13 Mormons. These are the top ten groups, in roughly the same order for the last several elections. Catholics and Lutherans gained several members since 2006, while Methodists lost the most (Chart 1).

There are also eight Eastern Orthodox members, six religiously unaffiliated and five United Church of Christ members. All other groups include: two African Methodist Episcopal, one Anglican, two Assembly of God, two Buddhist, two Christian Reformed, three Christian Scientist, three Church of Christ, one Church of God, one Community of Christ, one Congregationalist-Baptist, two Disciples of Christ, one Evangelical, one Evangelical Methodist, two Muslim, one Nazarene, one Quaker, two Seventh-day Adventist, and three Unitarian Universalist.

Geography

Religion is closely linked to geography in the United States. The same is generally true of Congress, which reflects these regional patterns.

Roman Catholics are strong in the Northeast, Midwest and Far West but have some representation just about everywhere except in such states as Utah, Arkansas, Tennessee, Alabama and South Carolina. Twenty of the 34 New Englanders are Catholic (58.8%) and 35 of 67 (52.2%) in the Middle Atlantic region. A majority of members from Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York and Pennsylvania are Catholics. Ohio, which was once seen as somewhat anti-Catholic (it voted against Smith, Kennedy and Kerry) now has 12 of its 18 House members belonging to the Catholic Church.

Baptists are strongest in the South, where two thirds of their Congressional members live, and in predominantly African American districts in the urban North. Four of the seven Alabama House members are Baptist, as are seven of 13 in Georgia, and two of the four in Missis-

issippi. (Both Mississippi Senators are Baptists, giving them four of six in the Magnolia State.)

A majority of **Methodist** members (32 of 53) represent Southern states, particularly Arkansas, where they are three of four House members, and Texas, where 11 Methodists far outnumber other religious groups. Half of the Kansas delegation (three of six) are Methodists, as are five Floridians.

Jewish members are numerous in New York (7), California (9) and Florida (4). But Jewish Democrats also represent Memphis and Louisville, and a Jewish Republican holds the seat that includes Richmond.

Presbyterians are particularly strong in the delegations from the Carolinas and West Virginia. Overall, 29 of the 44 Presbyterians represent the South or Border South.

There is no particular geographic pattern for **Episcopalians**, whose congressional representation was strongest in recent years in such coastal states as Florida. Two states with few Episcopalians, Alabama and Oregon, have two Episcopalian House members.

Lutherans are concentrated in the Midwest and this is reflected in Minnesota, where they are four of the eight House Members, and in Wisconsin (two of four). Lutherans hold the at-large seats in South Dakota and Wyoming. About 10% of the newly-elected 111th Congress members are Lutheran, well above the 4% of returnees. Lutheran House members were elected in Maine and New Mexico, where Lutherans are few and far between.

Mormons are found mainly in Utah and Idaho, where they are the largest religious group, and in Wyoming, Nevada and Arizona. All five Utah House and Senate members are Mormons, as are two of four in Idaho. Most are Republicans. Exceptions are Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid of Nevada and New Mexico Sen. Tom Udall.

Protestants without denominational commitments are scattered throughout the country, but are most numerous in the Northeast and

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Judge Rejects Inaugural Prayer Challenge

On January 15, U.S. District Judge Reggie B. Walton dismissed a suit aimed at halting religious references at the inauguration of President Obama. Judge Walton ruled that he did not have the authority to block religious references at the inauguration. While not dismissing the case, he denied the request for a preliminary injunction, saying the “ceremonial speech” at a presidential inauguration is “in substance” no different from legislative prayers that the Supreme Court has upheld.

Michael Newdow, who represented himself at the hearing, said he would appeal the ruling but added that it will likely be “futile” to do so. This was the third unsuccessful attempt by Newdow to block inaugural prayers.

The case, *Newdow v. Roberts*, was filed December 30 in U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia asking the court to forbid Chief Justice John Roberts from adding “So help me God” to the inauguration oath and to stop the two clergy invited by President-elect Obama from delivering benedictions and invocations at the ceremony. The suit charges that such actions violate the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment. “Under the Establishment Clause, Plaintiffs have a right to view their government in action without being forced to confront official endorsements of religious dogma with which they disagree. This is especially the case when that dogma stigmatizes them in the process. Being forced to confront such religious dogma as the price to pay for observing a governmental ceremony is a substantial burden upon Plaintiffs’ rights of Free Exercise as well.”

Plaintiffs included Michael Newdow, a lawyer and physician from Sacramento, California, who also called himself “Reverend of the First Atheist Church of True Science” and Ellery Schempp, who was involved in a celebrated 1963 case against mandatory Bible-reading in public schools, *Abington Township v. Schempp*. Other individuals and organizations joined the suit.

The suit mixed historical and constitutional arguments to advance its case, claiming, for example, that President George Washington did not utter the phrase at his first inaugural in New York on April 30, 1789, and that no president did so until Vice President Chester Arthur in September 1881, after the assassination of President James Garfield. The suit claims that the phrase “was apparently used only intermittently until 1933, at President Franklin Roosevelt’s first inauguration.”

The historical record is unclear, primarily because of spotty newspaper accounts in the nineteenth century, long before sound recordings, radio and television. Charlene Bickford of George Washington Univer-

sity found no definitive report of Washington’s use of the phrase. However, presidential historian Paul F. Boller, Jr. writes in *Presidential Inaugurations* (Harcourt, 2001): “George Washington said ‘So help me God,’ after taking his oath in 1789, and kissed the Bible, too, and most of his successors followed his example. In 1909, when Taft kissed the Supreme Court Bible that Chief Justice Melville Fuller brought to the ceremony and cried, ‘So help me God!,’ there were loud cheers in the audience and some looks of surprise, for Taft, a Unitarian, had been called an infidel during the presidential campaign the year before. For some reason, Franklin Roosevelt omitted the utterance at his first inauguration in 1933, perhaps because he was eager to get to the address outlining his approach to the economic crisis facing the nation, but in 1937 he did as Washington and the other presidents (except for John Quincy Adams) had done at the end of the oath.”

Using the Bible in presidential oath-taking is also a long tradition, but was not challenged in *Newdow*. John Quincy Adams, says Boller, was the only president not to use a Bible but “swore his allegiance to the Constitution with his hand on a book containing the laws of the United States.”

Boller notes that “religious elements were added to the ceremony in the last part of the twentieth century” and adds, “In 1933, Franklin Roosevelt inaugurated the custom of attending a church service in Washington before proceeding to the Capitol Hill.”

Appearances by clergy apparently began in 1937, during FDR’s second inauguration, according to an unpublished doctoral dissertation by M.J. Medhurst, “God Bless the President: The Rhetoric of Inaugural Prayer,” (Pennsylvania State University, 1980). (Another scholar, Donald R. Kennon, chief historian for the United States Capitol Historical Society, traces the beginning of clergy appearances to FDR’s first inaugural in 1933.)

Since neither “So help me God” nor appearances by clergy are prescribed by the Constitution, such actions probably fall into a gray area called “ceremonial deism” by Dean Eugene Rostow of Yale Law School in 1962. The U.S. Supreme Court invoked the phrase in several decisions involving Christmas displays on public property, including *Lynch v. Donnelly* (1984) and *County of Allegheny v. ACLU* (1989).

Justice Sandra Day O’Connor argued that the court should not have dismissed *Elk Grove Unified School District v. Newdow* (1984) for lack of jurisdiction, but should have upheld use of “under God” in the

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Religious Affiliations, *continued from p. 1*

West, particularly in California, Washington State and Pennsylvania (Chart 2).

Ethnicity

Most African Americans in Congress are Protestant. Of the Congressional Black Caucus members 33 are Protestant, compared to three Catholics, two Muslims and one Buddhist. Baptists are the largest single group in the Black Caucus, with 23 members. All 39 are Democrats.

Catholics comprise 28 of 29 Latino members while one is Protestant. Hispanic Protestants are underrepresented in Congress, since 3% of Americans are Hispanic Protestants, mostly Pentecostal. That should translate into 16 members of Congress. Of the Hispanic members, 23 are Democrats, six are Republicans. The Hispanic contingent includes two Californians who are of Portuguese ancestry (Dennis Cardoza and Jim Costa) and one of Spanish Basque heritage (Brian Bilbray).

Of the seven Asian Americans in Congress, five are Protestant, one is Buddhist and one is Catholic. The Catholic is the first Vietnamese-American member, Anh "Joseph" Cao, a Republican who upset Democratic incumbent William Jefferson of New Orleans in a December runoff election. The other six are Democrats.

Most members of Irish and Italian ancestry are Catholic but not all. Connecticut Congressman Chris Murphy is Protestant and Kevin McCarthy of California is a Baptist. One interesting anomaly is found in Wyoming, where both Republican Senators are Presbyterians of Italian ancestry.

Democrats and Republicans

Democrats gained since 2006 among all religious groups except Lutherans (Chart 3). Even among Lutherans 61% are Democrats, about double their percentage from the 1980s. Catholic Democrats outnumber Catholic Republicans 113-48. The biggest Democratic gains came among Episcopalians and Presbyterians, once the bastion of the GOP, but now containing more than 40% Democratic affiliation among their members. Democrats are about half of the Baptist and Methodist members and a majority among Eastern Orthodox and United Church of Christ. Republicans still hold a large majority among Mormons and a majority of the nondenominational Protestants and Christians and among some smaller evangelical groups (Chart 3).

Chart 1: Religious Affiliations, 111th Congress

	Senate	House	Total	Democrat	Republican
Roman Catholic	26	135	161	113	48
Baptist	8	60	68	34	34
Methodist	9	44	53	27	26
Jewish	13	31	44*	41	2
Presbyterian	12	32	44	19	25
Episcopalian	8	28	36	16	20
"Protestant"	4	20	24	9	15
Lutheran	4	19	23	14	9
"Christian"	3	13	16	7	9
Mormon	5	8	13	3	10
Eastern Orthodox	1	7	8	5	3
Unaffiliated	0	6	6	6	0
United Church of Christ	4	1	5	3	2
All others	3	28	31	16	15

* One Independent (Sanders, VT.)

Note: This compilation is based on 532 members as of February. Special elections are scheduled in California, Illinois and New York to fill vacancies caused by members who became cabinet secretaries or U.S. Senators. Detailed information will appear on our website (arline.org) when all seats are filled.

Chart 2: Regionalism and Religion (groups with 10 members or more)

Top Ten Religions	% of All Members	% of Northeast	% of South	% of Midwest	% of West
Roman Catholic	30.1	54.5	17.8	31.0	22.6
Baptist	12.7	4.0	23.9	9.7	4.8
Methodist	9.9	0	16.2	13.3	4.8
Jewish	8.2	11.9	4.1	6.2	9.7
Presbyterian	8.2	3.0	14.7	2.7	6.5
Episcopalian	6.7	5.0	9.1	3.5	7.3
"Protestant"	4.5	6.9	2.0	3.5	7.3
Lutheran	4.3	2.0	0.5	11.5	5.6
"Christian"	3.0	2.0	1.0	3.5	4.0
Mormon	2.4	0	0	0	10.5

Note: Northeast includes New England and Mid-Atlantic. South includes Deep South and Border States. Midwest includes Great Lakes and Plains States. West includes Rocky Mountain and Pacific Coast states.

Chart 3: Democrats Gain Among Most Groups

Religions	% Democrat 2008	% Democrat 2006	% Change
Roman Catholic	70.2	66.5	+3.7
Baptist	50.0	44.8	+5.2
Methodist	50.9	45.2	+5.7
Jewish	93.2	90.7	+2.5
Presbyterian	43.2	34.9	+8.3
Episcopalian	44.4	32.4	+12.0
"Protestant"	37.5	34.6	+2.9
Lutheran	60.9	64.7	-3.8
"Christian"	43.8	38.9	+4.9
Mormon	23.1	20.0	+3.1
Eastern Orthodox	62.5	60.0	+2.5
United Church of Christ	60.0	57.3	+2.7

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Pledge of Allegiance as a constitutionally permissible expression of ceremonial deism. The Pew Forum observed, “Although the court’s dismissal of the *Newdow* case means that Justice O’Connor’s concurrence has no direct legal effect, her opinion is still significant because some court watchers predict that if the current court were to consider ceremonial deism again, swing-voter Justice Anthony Kennedy might join the four more-liberal justices in adopting O’Connor’s proposed ceremonial deism test.”

On January 8 both Barack Obama and 50 state attorneys general urged the continued if informal use of “So help me God” and clergy prayers at presidential inaugurations. Texas Attorney General Greg Abbott filed an amicus brief in Washington, D.C., federal court representing the 50 states and the U.S. Virgin Islands. Abbott explained, “Today’s legal action reflects a concerted bipartisan, fifty-state effort to defend a constitutional acknowledgement of faith during an inaugural celebration.”

Texas Solicitor General James Ho, who filed the brief, added, “Plaintiffs are not just challenging Presidential traditions. They are effectively attacking the laws and customs of virtually every state in the Union, including oaths of office in at least 20 state constitutions.”

One interesting perspective came from staunch church-state separationist Brent Walker, executive director of the Baptist Joint Committee for Religious Liberty, who wrote in *Newsweek’s* “On Faith” blog: “It’s up to the president-elect to decide whether to have a prayer and who should pray, and whether to punctuate the oath of office with ‘so help me God.’ This long-standing tradition does not violate the First Amendment’s Establishment Clause – Michael Newdow’s lawsuit notwithstanding. Unlike teacher-led prayer in public schools, clergy-voiced prayer at graduation ceremonies, and postings of the Ten Commandments in courthouses, for example, in this instance there is insufficient government sponsorship to trigger constitutional prohibitions.

“The only thing the Constitution requires is the oath of office, calling on the president-elect to promise to ‘preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.’ The rest of the inaugural is an expression of the personal predilections of the president-elect, not official acts as President of the United States. The religious aspects of the inaugural celebration, not only do not offend the Establishment Clause, but arguably serve the President-elect’s rights under the First Amendment’s Free Exercise Clause.”

In any event, the prayers and religious services surrounding the inauguration of our 44th president, Barack Obama, were generally praised for their inclusiveness and diversity. Obama mentioned “nonreligious” along with those of a variety of religious traditions in his address. “The United States is a nation of Christians and Muslims, Jews and Hindus and nonreligious,” he said. Clergy representing 20 faiths participated in a ceremony at Washington National Cathedral the day after the inauguration. All of the events were voluntary and the overall inclusiveness received praise from historians Martin Marty, Randall Balmer and Alan Wolfe. The Center for Inquiry and the Council for Secular Humanism praised Obama’s address as “truly historic and remarkable.” ■

Women Hold Quarter of State Legislative Seats

The percentage of women in state legislatures may affect some church-state decisions since women are impacted by such issues as reproductive health care and stem-cell research that could eventually find cures for diseases that disproportionately affect women.

Women legislators now number about one in four of the total in the states as the 2009 legislative sessions begin. There are 1,785 women out of 7,382 legislators, or 24.2%. This represents less than a 4% overall increase since 1994, according to statistics compiled by the National Conference of State Legislatures.

There is a significant difference among the states, ranging from 39% in Colorado to 10% in South Carolina. Local political cultures and historical traditions undoubtedly play a role in the willingness of voters to elect women candidates but other demographic factors also come into play. The top ten states in percentage of female officeholders have much higher income and education levels and a growing Democratic presidential vote than the ten states with the lowest percentage of women in the state houses.

The ten states with the highest representation of women went for Barack Obama for President, while eight of the ten with the lowest female representation supported John McCain. (The two exceptions were Pennsylvania and Virginia). McCain’s home state of Arizona ranks 11th, with women holding 30% of state house seats. Democrats outnumber Republicans 1,262 to 509 among women legislators, an enormous percentage majority (70.7% to 28.5%), while less than 1% are nonpartisan legislators from Nebraska or represent minor parties. Since most Democratic women tend to be pro-choice, this factor could represent a vanguard against regressive legislation.

The pro-Democratic trend apparently reflects the Democratic leanings of women voters generally, who have consistently voted more Democratic for President than men since the 1980s. Before then, women were slightly more Republican than men, including 1960 when they supported Richard Nixon and men favored John F. Kennedy. White women went for Nixon by 14 percentage points while white men went for JFK narrowly. During the rest of the 1960s and 1970s, there was little gender gap. Ronald Reagan widened the gap, running much stronger among male voters. In 2008 all women supported Obama 56% to 43% while men supported Obama 49% to 48%. Interestingly, though, Obama gained more among men than among women in comparison with Kerry, Gore and Clinton.

The ability of women to win state legislative seats is much enhanced by Democratic voter preferences. Women hold 27.8% of state house seats in states carried by Obama compared to 18.9% in states backing McCain.

Regional factors are also significant. One third of New England’s state legislators are women compared to 18.3% in the South. The Pacific Coast states rank second with women holding 28.8% of legislative seats, followed by 27.4% in the Rocky Mountain States. Five of the top ten states are in the West, where women first received the right to vote. The Midwest, as usual, is in the middle, while both the Mid Atlantic and Border states are slightly below the national average.

The predominant religious culture may also affect the percentage of women in state legislatures, though the increasing religious pluralism in most of the country makes it more difficult to generalize about the states. Still, it is perhaps relevant that states with high percentages of white evangelicals remain the least likely to elect women to state legislatures. Only 18.4% of legislators in heavily evangelical states are women compared to 24.2% nationally. States with above average Catholic popu-

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lations have 27.9% women legislators. And states with larger secular populations have 31.9% women legislators. The two most Mormon states have 23% women.

Women in State Legislatures: Top Ten States

Rank	State	% Women	2008 Winner
1	Colorado	39.0	Obama
2	Vermont	37.8	Obama
3	New Hampshire	37.3	Obama
4	Minnesota	34.8	Obama
5	Hawaii	32.9	Obama
6	Washington	32.0	Obama
7	Nevada	31.7	Obama
8	Connecticut	31.6	Obama
9	Maryland	31.4	Obama
10	New Mexico	30.4	Obama

Women in State Legislatures: Bottom Ten States

Rank	State	% Women	2008 Winner
50	South Carolina	10.0	McCain
49	Oklahoma	11.4	McCain
48	Alabama	12.9	McCain
47	Mississippi	14.4	McCain
46	Kentucky	14.5	McCain
45	Louisiana	14.6	McCain
44	Pennsylvania	14.6	Obama
43	North Dakota	15.6	McCain
42	Virginia	15.7	Obama
41	West Virginia	16.4	McCain

Women Legislators by Region

Region	% Women
New England	33.2
Pacific Coast	28.8
Rocky Mountain West	27.4
Midwest	23.8
Middle Atlantic	21.2
Border South	20.2
South	18.3

Women Legislators by State "Religious Culture"

Religion	% Women in State Legislatures
Secular	31.9
Catholic	27.9
Mormon	23.0
Evangelical	18.4

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African-Americans Blend Conservative Religion and Moderate Democratic Politics

African-Americans are more likely than any other ethnic group to say that religion is very important in their lives, to attend church weekly and to identify with a religious community. Nearly 79% of African-Americans say religion is very important compared to 56% of all Americans, and 87% are affiliated with a religion compared to 83% of all Americans, according to the Pew Research Forum's Religious Landscape Survey.

Among all blacks 59% belong to historically black Protestant churches, while 16% belong to evangelical Protestant churches, 5% to the Catholic Church, 4% to mainline Protestant churches, and 5% to other religions. About 12% are unaffiliated with any religion, though 72% of the latter group say religion is somewhat important, and fewer than 1% overall call themselves atheists or agnostics. Women are more likely to belong to historically black or evangelical churches, while men are more likely to remain unaffiliated (16% compared to 9% of women). About 19% of African-Americans under age 30 are unaffiliated compared to 7% of those who are age 65 or older. Education and income are not great differentials though about twice as many college-educated African-Americans belong to mainline Protestant or Catholic churches than all African-Americans. Black college graduates are also less likely to be religiously unaffiliated, a reverse of the pattern among whites.

African-Americans in the South are the most likely to belong to historically black churches, while blacks in the West are twice as likely as all blacks to be Catholic. Weekly church attendance is 53% among African-Americans compared to 39% of all Americans.

How does this translate into political and social attitudes? Pew shows that 36% of blacks call themselves moderates, 32% conservatives, 23% liberals, and 9% are not certain. This is close to the general population, though slightly less conservative. Frequent worship attendance and high levels of religious commitment do not push African-Americans to the Right, as these factors do among white voters.

African-Americans favor church involvement in social and political issues far more than do whites, Latinos and Asians. About 61% of blacks say "churches and other houses of worship should speak out on social and political issues," compared to 45% of all Americans and only 40% of Catholics and 34% of mainline Protestants. Only white evangelicals agree with African-Americans, with 59% endorsing political involvement. African-Americans are also more likely to believe political leaders should "express religious faith." When it comes to formal endorsement of political candidates by churches, blacks are opposed 58% to 36%, compared to 66% to 29% among all voters. Nearly 70% of African-Americans favor "a bigger government that provides more services to a smaller government providing fewer services" compared to 46% of all Americans.

African-Americans are slightly less pro-choice on abortion and sympathetic to gay rights than all Americans, and religious convictions and practices are major factors in shaping attitudes. "Among both African-Americans and the general population, those who are most religiously observant are more likely to think that abortion should be illegal," according to Pew Forum's "Religious Portrait of African-Americans."

These political attitudes have not reduced African-American support for the Democratic Party, which receives 76% support compared to 10% for Republicans, and 14% for Independents among black respondents to the survey. ■



The Voucher Watch

Researchers Find Pro-Voucher Polls Distorted

A series of ten polls conducted by the pro-voucher Friedman Foundation for Educational Choice are flawed by biased questions, sampling errors, and erroneous conclusions. This is the judgment reached by two University of Houston professors, Jon Lorence and A. Gary Dworkin.

The Friedman-sponsored opinion polls began in Arizona in March 2005 and later involved Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Nevada, Tennessee, Idaho, Oklahoma, and Maryland. The last poll was conducted in Montana in October 2008.

According to Lorence and Dworkin, the Friedman reports drew five conclusions:

- Only a minority of potential voters view public schools as performing satisfactorily.
- Respondents prefer private schools over public schools.
- Potential voters want more educational choices than just public schools.
- Public money in the form of school vouchers should be available to parents so that they can send their children to private schools.
- Potential voters are more likely to support candidates who back school choice legislation.

The trouble is that all five findings are incorrect, because of sampling and wording flaws and a failure to consult other research literature that challenges these interpretations. In particular, the Friedman reports ignore the annual Phi Delta Kappa surveys conducted by Gallup, which consistently show opposition to vouchers and tax credits as well as satisfaction with local public schools. Lorence and Dworkin write, “The authors do not cite any research literature pertaining to opinions of public schools, private schools, charter schools, or the use of public funds to support private schooling. One item that would have been very useful for readers would have been a comparison between the results of the Friedman survey and the annual survey conducted by the Gallup organization for Phi Delta Kappa and published in the *Kappan* magazine.”

Religious Affiliations, *continued from page 4*

Chart 4: Religious Affiliations 1960-2008: Highs and Lows

Religion	Highest	Year	Lowest	Year
Roman Catholic	161	2008	99	1962
Baptist	72	2000, 2004	46	1982
Methodist	102	1962	53	2008
Presbyterian	83	1970	43	2006
Episcopalian	72	1980	36	2008
Jewish	44	2008	11	1962
Lutheran	25	1982	13	1966
“Protestant”	34	1998	11	1966
Mormon	16	1998	7	1960
United Church of Christ	29	1966, 1968	5	2008
Unitarian Universalist	14	1964	2	2006
“Mainline” Churches	273	1962	138	2008

Lorence and Dworkin note that Friedman researchers tend to ignore the population base and rely on low response rates, which distort the statistical validity of the data. “A second conclusion is that surveys about vouchers must be sensitive to whether the respondents are parents of public school children or are not. Few of the Friedman reports broke down responses by the presence of children in the family. Aggregate results that do not differentiate subgroups may miss important distinctions. Finally, whether vouchers for private schools are paid completely by the government, or only partly, significantly affects the level of public endorsement.”

The response rate raises methodological questions about the surveys’ integrity. “Response rates, on the other hand, appear to be a more recalcitrant problem. Findings from studies with high participation rates can be viewed as more valid than results derived from surveys with low levels of participation. For most of the state reports, however, it is hard to tell if the interviewees are representative of potential state voters because of a basic lack of information about such response rates.”

The wording of the Friedman surveys is also suspect. “A major concern about the Friedman studies is that some of the more important questions are worded in such a manner as to elicit a pro-voucher response from those surveyed.”

The Friedman interpretation of data is questionable. “The conclusion proposed by the authors of the Friedman reports is that state residents are enthusiastic towards vouchers. This view is based on combining responses from the ‘strongly favorable’ and ‘somewhat favorable’ response categories.”

The overall flaw in the Friedman-sponsored polls is their attempt to influence state legislators to support vouchers. Lorence and Dworkin conclude, “The 10 papers reviewed appear to be an attempt to persuade state legislators to support school-choice policies, with an emphasis on business tax-credits, individual tax-credits, school vouchers, and charter schools. The thrust of these reports is that voters prefer private schools and the state should provide the funds for parents to send their children to better schools. The major weaknesses concern the wording of key questions and possible bias resulting from sampling design and low response rate. Moreover, while the responses of those surveyed in the 10 states may reflect their beliefs endorsing alternatives to public schools, their views should not be construed—as they often are in these reports—to mean that adopting vouchers and other pro-choice school policies will in fact improve the quality of education.

“Accordingly, while the reports are intended to *influence* policy, they do little to actually *guide* policy. Rather than rely on public opinion surveys that present beliefs as fact, legislators and school officials would most benefit from examining research investigating whether charter schools and vouchers actually increase student achievement and other important outcomes.”

The full report is available from the Great Lakes Center for Education Research and Practice, at www.greatlakescenter.org.

Scholars Critique “Blaine” Amendment Repeal Campaign

Two legal scholars independently concluded that attempts by pro-voucher advocates to label historic opposition to church-school funding as an example of anti-Catholic bigotry are historically untenable.

Steven K. Green, director of the Willamette University Center for the Study of Religion, Law and Democracy, writes that there is little justification for the charge that the 38 states maintaining no-funding provisions in their constitutions did so for reasons of anti-Catholic animus. He writes in *Brigham Young University Law Review* (2008, Issue

Evangelical Christianity's reach will be limited if the tradition is seen as little more than an extension of the politics of George Bush, Karl Rove and Sarah Palin.

E.J.Dionne, Jr., *Washington Post*, December 23, 2008

Number 2), "It is irresponsible to assign anti-Catholicism as the sole or chief motive behind each of these measures. Too many other factors were in play."

There were, Green argues, legitimate reasons for seeking to remove religious controversies from public school classrooms and for confining public funding to public schools. "Included in the mix was a sincere effort to make public education available for children of all faiths and races, while respecting Jeffersonian notions of church-state separation."

Two principles or ideals, that of nonsectarian education and no public funding for religious education, were more important contextually than anti-Catholicism. "Nonsectarian education arose out of a general movement to establish a system of publicly-operated schools universally accessible to all children." Nonsectarianism, though not always achieved in practice, was a legitimate principle. So was the no-funding premise. "The no-funding principle also developed prior to, and relatively independent of, Catholic immigration and the resulting Protestant reaction. Once the decision was made to embrace universal common schooling, it was a logical step to grant public schools exclusive control over the public school funds." Furthermore, "Funding of religious education violated nonestablishment in three ways, according to contemporaries: it violated rights of conscience to force one person to pay for another's religious instruction; it would bring about religious dissension over the competition for funds; and it would result in ecclesiastical control over public monies."

The national "Blaine Amendment" controversy of 1875, Green argues, had little to do with state constitutions and does not deserve the attention it has been given recently. "The Blaine Amendment was a significant historical event from a social and political standpoint. It is worthy of study and critique for what it tells us about nineteenth-century attitudes toward religious pluralism, cultural assimilation, and education as the engine of democratic self-governance. But as a constitutional event, the Blaine Amendment is insignificant. The inordinate attention it has received by justices and advocates with their focus on its attendant anti-Catholicism obscures the complex issues that were at stake in the nineteenth-century controversy over the role and content of public education. The Blaine Amendment, it seems, has become its own 'bloody shirt,' used to discredit a constitutional principle that stands on its own merit."

Another scholar, Aaron E. Schwartz, writing in the Winter 2008 issue of the *Missouri Law Review*, focused on Missouri's strict no-funding constitutional principle and concluded that it was not based on anti-Catholic prejudice. Schwartz writes, "The 1875 Blaine Amendment [in Missouri] was not a product of anti-Catholic bigotry." Even if some religious animosity had been present, it was certainly not a product of the 1945 constitutional revision. "Any taint of anti-Catholic sentiment that may have been present in the 1875 Blaine Amendment was purged by the 1945 constitution. By 1945, any anti-Catholic hysteria existing both in the state and elsewhere in the country had largely dissipated, and the amendment was passed for entirely benevolent reasons, without a shred of historical evidence of illicit anti-Catholic motive."

Schwartz concludes that Missouri's "strong interest in absolute separation of church and state in educational settings" is "well-secured" by

its constitution. This is likely to invalidate tax deductions or tax credits that directly benefit faith-based schools. "The benefit of the tax deduction or credit flows to the parochial school. Thus, both credits and deductions for donations or tuition rebates to private religious schools are likely to violate Missouri's strict separation of church and state."

Vouchers Denounced

Invoking Roger Williams and Thomas Jefferson, Professor Paul Finkelman of Albany Law School, writes in *Brigham Young University Law Review* (Volume 2008, Issue Number 2) that vouchers fail all of the tests of sound educational policy and constitutionality. He concludes, "... The history of religious freedom in the colonies underscore[s] the dangers of school vouchers for people of faith. Once the money flows to religious schools they will be forced to compromise their faith and their autonomy. Meanwhile, public schools will be starved for assets, non-religious people will resent their tax dollars supporting religious institutions, and it is unlikely that most poor children will get a better education. The cost of vouchers will be too high for everyone."

Vouchers: A Failed Experiment

Vouchers have become "a failed experiment," writes Century Foundation vice president Greg Anrig in the January 27 *Christian Century*. Anrig writes that many voucher enthusiasts have begun to change their minds in light of recent research. "But in recent months, almost unnoticed by the mainstream media, the school voucher movement has abruptly stalled. Some stalwart advocates of vouchers have either repudiated the idea entirely or considerably tempered their enthusiasm for it."

Anrig continued: "What about the effect of vouchers upon public schools that were forced to compete for students with private ones? Voucher supporters believed that public schools would improve for two reasons. First, school administrators, faced with diminishing funds for every child who used a voucher to transfer to a private school, would be impelled to improve their schools. And second, because parents would be encouraged to shop for the best place for their children, they would become more involved in the school they chose and hold it to higher standards."

"Neither of these pressures has had a discernible impact on public school performance. In Wisconsin, the 2007 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP)—the federally sponsored gold standard of assessments—reading scores for black fourth- and eighth-grade students were the lowest of any state, and the reading achievement gap between black and white students remains the worst in the nation. Since about 70% of Wisconsin's black students attend Milwaukee public schools, any competition-induced improvements evidently haven't amounted to much."

Recent studies by educational researchers confirm that private schools themselves often do no better than their public counterparts. "Recently, national studies of NAEP tests have confirmed that private and charter schools on average perform little or no better than traditional public schools (and in some cases worse), after the socioeconomic background of the students is taken into account. ... Another study released this year, led by Stanford University's Sean F. Reardon, found that children in Catholic schools make no more progress in reading from kindergarten through fifth grade than public school students, and they make less progress in math."

Anrig concludes that many public school districts are experimenting with "choice programs that actually work," such as "magnet and charter schools with policies that integrate poor and middle-class students." ■



Church and State in the Courts

A federal judge ruled on December 13 that South Carolina may not constitutionally issue a special license plate featuring a cross, a stained-glass window and the motto "I Believe." U.S. District Judge Cameron McGowan Currie issued a preliminary injunction forbidding the state from manufacturing the plates. The legal challenge in *Summers v. Adams* was brought earlier this year by Americans United on behalf of four Protestant and Jewish clergy, as well as the Hindu-American Foundation and the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee.

The decision angered the state's Religious Right. A rally at People's Baptist Church in Greenville on January 6 drew a large crowd that was addressed by South Carolina's Lieutenant Governor Andre Bauer and Attorney General Henry McMaster. Bauer told the crowd that Christians are "under attack" and vowed to fight the ruling. Supporters of the "I Believe" tags have devised a strategy to create a 501(c)(3) corporation called "I Believe" and then to apply for a license plate at the Department of Motor Vehicles.



A newly expanded federal lawsuit charges that the U.S. Armed Forces are promoting evangelical Christianity in numerous programs and even encourage conversions to Christianity among Muslims in Iraq and Afghanistan. The amended lawsuit was filed December 29 in U.S. District Court in Kansas City, Kansas, by the Military Religious Freedom Foundation. The group's president, Mikey Weinstein, told the Associated Press, "Our amended complaint is specifically designed to further stab at the throbbing unconstitutional heart of darkness that comprises the systemic fundamentalist Christianity so pervasive and pernicious in today's American armed forces." The group filed its original suit in the same court in September and says it represents 11,000 military personnel. The suit also charges that evangelical Christianity pervades a 2008 Army manual on suicide prevention and that the Air Force has sponsored several evangelical ministries.



On January 15 seven states (California, Connecticut, Illinois, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Oregon and Rhode Island) filed suit in federal court in Connecticut to block new federal regulations that allow health care workers to refuse to provide care they find morally or religiously objectionable (see "Midnight Judges Ride Again," p. 14). The suit, joined by Planned Parenthood Federation of America and ACLU, sought an immediate injunction to prevent the rules from going into effect on January 20 and a permanent injunction voiding the rules.

Plaintiffs charge that the last-minute Bush-era regulations will create many obstacles to emergency contraception for rape victims, family planning services, and infertility treatment as well as abortion. Legislation has been introduced in Congress to repeal the rule, but Connecticut Attorney General Richard Blumenthal said the suit was necessary in order "to prevent confusion and chaos."



The California Supreme Court ruled unanimously on January 5 that three parishes that seceded from the Episcopal Church cannot

keep their property. Unlike a Virginia court, the California court held that church property in a hierarchical denomination belongs to the national group, not the local congregation. Writing for the seven-member court, Justice Ming Chin concluded, "When it disaffiliated from the general church, the local church did not have the right to take the church property with it."

Cases relating to church property distribution among dissident congregations are expected in a number of states in the coming year. Already, loyal Episcopal parishes in the Diocese of Pittsburgh filed suit in the Court of Common Pleas on January 8, seeking to recover \$20 million in assets taken away when the diocese voted to break with the Episcopal Church in the United States (ECUS) and unite with the Anglican Province of the Southern Cone, based in Argentina. Assets include endowments, bank accounts, insurance, mailing lists and databases, but do not include buildings. Twenty parishes voted to remain with the U.S. Church while 54 joined the secession.



A lawsuit filed in Boston federal court on January 12 charges that Roman Catholic bishops are "wrongly imposing their religious beliefs on victims of human trafficking by prohibiting grant money to be used for emergency contraception, condoms and abortion care," according to the Associated Press. The ACLU filed the complaint against the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS), which distributes federal funds to help trafficking victims.



A mother of a student at Horace Mann Elementary School in Huntington, Indiana, filed suit in December, with ACLU backing, against a released time religious education program. The school offers a program for third and fourth graders called "By the Book Weekday Religious Instruction" through the Associated Churches of Huntington. Classes meet weekly in mobile trailers in the school's parking lot and use school-supplied electricity. The students are escorted to the program by teachers. The suit alleges that non-participating students receive no instruction during the religious education time.

According to AP, "The suit alleges the school district violated the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment by allowing religious instruction to occur on school property during instructional time, by allowing the use of school utilities by a religious organization conducting religious instruction, and by supervising and promoting the 'By the Book' program."

The school district denies all charges. Released time programs were upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1952 if they are held off school property and receive no sponsorship or encouragement by school authorities.



The Atlanta-based 11th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals heard testimony December 10 in a case involving a Christian fraternity at the University of Florida. The student group, Beta Upsilon Chi, told a three-judge panel that the university's rule barring religious discrimina-

tion threatens their core beliefs. The university has refused to recognize the group as a permanent part of campus life. In July 2008 the court ordered the university to recognize the group until a decision is rendered. Supporters say the group will be “disadvantaged in significant ways” if they cannot recruit, advertise or meet on campus. University attorneys said student groups are extensions of the educational process and should be open to all. Beta Upsilon Chi, also known as Brothers Under Christ, was founded in 1985 and has chapters on 20 campuses.



The courtroom of Fairfax County Circuit Court Judge Randy Bellows more and more resembles the film “Groundhog Day.” In one ruling after another (April 3, June 27, August 22), Bellows held that breakaway congregations from the Episcopal Diocese of Virginia could legally retain their property and assets under the Virginia Division Statute. This law, holding that a majority of a congregation could vote to disaffiliate from a national denomination regardless of history, structure or church law, is considered unconstitutional by the Episcopal Church. On December 19, Bellows again ruled that four parcels of property owned by the dissidents, now calling themselves the Anglican District of Virginia, were legally their property. One of those properties has belonged to The Falls Church for over two centuries. Anglican Bishop Martyn Minns accused Episcopalian leaders of “forging a prodigal path and reinventing Christianity.” The Episcopal Diocese of Virginia has filed an appeal with the Supreme Court of Virginia.



American Atheists, based in Parsippany, New Jersey, filed suit on December 2 in Franklin County Circuit Court challenging a reference to God in Kentucky’s Homeland Security Office. The Kentucky legislature, led by Rep. Tom Riner, a Southern Baptist pastor, enacted legislation requiring the Kentucky Office of Homeland Security to emphasize “dependence on Almighty God as being vital to the security of the Commonwealth.” A plaque containing that message is to be placed at the Emergency Operations Center in the state capital in Frankfort.

Edwin Kagin, a Boone County, Kentucky, lawyer and national legal director for American Atheists, said the law was “breathtakingly unconstitutional.” The ten plaintiffs ask that the law be stripped of its religious references.



A former library employee filed suit in U.S. District Court in Roanoke, Virginia, in December, charging the Montgomery County, Virginia, School Board with condoning religious harassment. Judith Scott, a media aid assistant at Blacksburg Middle School, complained after a supervisor conducted Pentecostal-style prayer meetings during school hours. After Scott complained, she was terminated after 14 years of employment.



Illinois’s silent prayer law was ruled unconstitutional by a federal judge on January 21. “The statute is a subtle effort to force students at impressionable ages to contemplate religion,” said Judge Robert Gettleman. The Illinois Silent Reflection and Student Prayer Act was challenged by talk show host Rob Sherman and his daughter Dawn, a

Sample Copy

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student at Buffalo Grove High School in suburban Chicago.

Judge Gettleman’s ruling suggested that legislators were trying to encourage prayer obliquely. “The teacher is required to instruct her pupils, especially in the lower grades, about prayer and its meaning as well as the limitations on their ‘reflection.’ The plain language of the statute, therefore, suggests an intent to force the introduction of the concept of prayer into the schools.”

The law’s sponsor, State Senator Kimberly Lightford, a Democrat from Chicago, urged state attorney general Lisa Madigan to appeal the decision.



A Lutheran high school’s expulsion of alleged lesbian students was upheld by a California appeals court on January 26. The 4th District Court of Appeal in Riverside ruled that California Lutheran High School had a right, as a private, religious organization, to exclude students based on their sexual orientation. The court held that the school is not bound by California’s strict anti-discrimination laws. Two students expelled by the school in 2005 because of an alleged lesbian relationship filed suit against the school, claiming it violated state statutes prohibiting discrimination based on sexual orientation.



ACLU of Minnesota charged that taxpayer money is being used to promote the Muslim religion. In a January suit filed in federal court in Minneapolis, ACLU said that a Minnesota charter school designed for a predominantly Muslim student body includes Friday prayer services and has turned a voluntary after-school religious education program into a compulsory one. The Minnesota Department of Education and the Tarek ibn Ziyad Academy are named in the suit. The Education Department has been monitoring the school’s religious activities for a year.



A three-judge panel from the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals heard arguments on February 3 in a case involving a moment of silence in Texas public schools. U.S. District Judge Barbara Lynn upheld the constitutionality of the Texas statute last year. Plaintiffs David and Shannon Croft appealed the ruling. In 2003 the Texas legislature amended an existing silence law to specify that students could use the time to “reflect, pray, meditate, or engage in any other silent activity that is not likely to interfere with or distract another student.” Attorneys for the Crofts told the appeals court that the revision constitutes an “endorsement of prayer” similar to an Alabama law that the U.S. Supreme Court found unconstitutional two decades ago. Twenty-six states have a moment of silence law, though the Illinois law may also reach an appellate court soon. ■

Editorial

Darwin at 200

Two centuries after Charles Darwin's birth and 150 years since the publication of his landmark work, *The Origin of Species*, we are now witnesses to a social paradox: after a century and a half of energetic research in all aspects of evolution, virtually all scientists, as well as most well educated people, understand that Darwin gave us the key to understanding our real origins and development. And yet about half of Americans tell pollsters that they don't "believe in" evolution.

Anyone concerned with having an informed citizenry—teachers, journalists, politicians, pundits, even many clergy—must be embarrassed at that bizarre contradiction. And anyone wishing to improve our public understanding would do well to keep in mind, and to express in whatever way they have available to them, the broad reach of Darwinian explanations, which have come to us from studies in biology, chemistry, biochemistry, physics, paleontology, geology, genetics, ecology, anthropology, geochemistry, geophysics, and other disciplines. In all of these fields, work that Darwin's discoveries made possible is now advancing knowledge and understanding, as the following examples illustrate.

1) Paleontologists are revealing countless new facts about the human genealogy, about our evolutionary origins in Africa, and about our prehistoric incursions into Asia, Europe, and the rest of the world.

2) At the announcement of the sequencing of the human genome, geneticist Jon Seger pointed out that the genome is "evolution laid out for all to see."

3) Molecular biologists continue to inform us authoritatively about the close relationship of humans with other animals, especially, of course, with the other primates—for instance, our more than 98 percent genetic identity with chimpanzees.

4) Collaterally, primatologists are generating voluminous new information about the intelligence of the great apes, and even their culture, leading us to rethink our obligations to our close biological cousins.

5) Taxonomists are now working with the relatively new method of biological classification called cladistics, which has helped sort out our own recent biological forebears.

6) Naturalists in the Galapagos have established the fact of natural selection operating in real time, one of many recent studies in which natural selection has been subject to human observation.

As these examples demonstrate, Darwinian natural selection remains fundamental to all fields of biological research. But Darwin's influence doesn't end with the sciences; it also shapes much current thinking on broader issues such as gender, psychology, language, and medicine.

Darwinian epistemology and the origins and premises of ethical thinking are the absorbing interests of contemporary scholars.

Darwinian evolution has become an accepted premise of mainstream religions, even as it is being assaulted by religious fundamentalists. And Darwin is an absorbing focus of much literary thought and literary production in all genres.

In short, the industrious Charles Darwin was our inspired teacher, and we owe it to his triumphant lifelong work to pay appropriate homage to him at his bicentennial, and to do whatever possible to help others understand his message of enlightenment.

—Philip Appleman

Philip Appleman, a member of ARL's National Advisory Board and Distinguished Professor Emeritus at Indiana University, is editor of Darwin (2001) in the Norton Critical Edition series and the author of more than a dozen works of fiction, nonfiction, and poetry.

Updates

Obama Expands, Diversifies Faith-Based Office

President Obama created the Council for Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships, which will advise the administration on government spending for faith-based service groups. On February 5 the president chose the first 15 members of its advisory council, including two staunch church-state separationists: Melissa Rogers, director of the Center for Religion and Public Affairs at Wake Forest University's School of Divinity, and Rabbi David Saperstein, director of the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism. Others include liberal evangelical Jim Wallis, several Baptist, Catholic and evangelical leaders, and Richard Stearns, president of World Vision.

Speaking at the annual National Prayer Breakfast on February 5, Obama said the office's goal "will not be to favor one religious group over another—or even religious groups over secular groups. It will simply be to work on behalf of those organizations that want to work on behalf of our communities, and to do so without blurring the line our Founders wisely drew between church and state."

The revamped office will be headed by Joshua DuBois, an African-American Pentecostal who advised Obama on religious issues during the campaign. During the Bush administration, faith-based nonprofits received \$10.6 billion in federal grants. Obama has promised that the new office will enforce civil rights protections on a case-by-case basis. White House aides told *Washington Post* staff writers Michelle Boorstein and Kimberly Kindy that "the top priorities for the office will be interfaith relations, strengthening the role of fathers in society and reducing poverty."

DuBois also told *Post* reporters that Obama will sign an executive order requiring the office to seek guidance from the Justice Department on such constitutional issues as using religious affiliation as criteria in hiring. DuBois said, "We're creating a process to look at this in a way that can withstand legal scrutiny and takes into account views on all sides."

Obama Reverses Bush Policies on Family Planning

On January 23 President Obama lifted the ban on U.S. funding for international health groups that provide abortion services and counseling. The on-again, off-again policy was first imposed by President Ronald Reagan in 1984, reversed by President Bill Clinton in 1993 and reinstated by President George W. Bush in 2001. Known as the "global gag rule," the policy had restricted American aid to any family planning programs that included abortion.

Obama's memorandum said the Republican-imposed bans "have undermined efforts to promote safe and effective voluntary family programs in foreign nations." He also indicated that his administration would work with Congress to restore American support for the United Nations Population Fund. "to reduce poverty, improve the health of women and children, prevent HIV/AIDS and provide family planning assistance to women in 154 countries."

The decision had been expected and was praised by pro-choice groups and denounced by the Religious Right. The progressive evangelical group Sojourners praised Obama for "calling for a new conversation and a new common ground," in promising to find solutions that would reduce the necessity for abortion.

On the homefront the President intervened with House Democrats to remove a provision from the House stimulus package that would

expand contraceptives for Medicaid patients. Republican objections apparently influenced the President's decision. Press Secretary Robert Gibbs said Obama supports increased funding for family planning but "did not believe this bill was the vehicle to make that happen." It will be reintroduced later in measures dealing with health care.

Obama Reaffirms Support for Choice

President Obama issued a statement on January 22, the 36th anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*, that said, in part, "*Roe v. Wade* not only protects women's health and reproductive freedom, but stands for a broader principle: that government should not intrude on our most private family matters."

Political analysts say there are 15 more pro-choice members in the new Congress. Observers also expect new judicial appointments will be likely to uphold the basic provisions of the 1973 decision.

Several Democratic-aligned think tanks, including Third Way and Faith in Public Life, have released a "Governing Agenda" encouraging programs that emphasize better prenatal and postnatal health care and counseling for poor women, and comprehensive sexuality education that might reduce the need for abortions. Rev. Carlton Veazey, president of the Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice, wrote recently, "The reality is that the cycle of poverty often revolves around unintended and unwanted pregnancy. A woman living in poverty is four times as likely to have an unintended pregnancy and five times as likely to have an unintended birth as her higher-income counterpart. This link between family planning and overcoming poverty is well established." Veazey also urged Americans "to protect the lives of women and children by fighting to ensure that reproductive health care is accessible and that abortion services are safe, legal, and available."

Homeschooling Advances; Religion the Main Factor

There were 1,508,000 students homeschooled in the United States in the spring of 2007, according to a December 2008 report by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). This represents a 37% increase in just four years from the 1,100,000 students homeschooled in the spring of 2003. The percentage of all students studying at home increased from 2.2% to 2.9%.

Religion remains a major factor in the decision by parents to homeschool their children. The NCES survey of parents found that 83% of them chose homeschooling to "provide religious or moral instruction" to students, up from 72% in 2003. Religious instruction ranked first when parents were also asked which was the single major reason for homeschooling. Other issues cited were "concern about the school environment" and "dissatisfaction with the academic instruction available at other schools."

Government researchers plan to use the new data to examine student, family and household characteristics of homeschoolers.

Religious Groups Are Still Polarized, Say Experts

Most religious groups still lean strongly Democratic (African American Protestants, Jews, other religions) or Republican (white evangelicals), with their support solidifying in the 2008 presidential election. These were some of the conclusions reached by pollsters and analysts at the Faith Angle Conference in Key West in December.

John C. Green, senior fellow at the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, said, "Religious groups are strongly partisan these days, and deeply embedded into the party coalitions. In the short run, there is only a limited capacity for religious groups to move."

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Some groups shifted just enough to affect the outcome in several key states. Obama made his biggest gains among Hispanic Protestants and Hispanic Catholics. Green also found that among Catholics, weekly churchgoers shifted more to the right while less frequent attenders shifted further to the left. Young white evangelicals shifted toward Obama and held increasingly liberal views on all issues except abortion, while older evangelicals remained firmly conservative and Republican, especially in the South and Far West.

Anna Greenberg, vice president of Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research, said that Jewish voters overcame initially lukewarm attitudes toward Obama and ended up giving him nearly 80%, a landslide similar to that achieved by Clinton, Gore, Kennedy and Humphrey among the Jewish community.

Weekly Churchgoers Favored McCain, Others for Obama

The church attendance gap remained in the 2008 vote. John McCain received 55% of weekly churchgoers to Barack Obama's 43%. Obama defeated McCain 53% to 46% among voters who went to worship services a few times a month and 59% to 39% among those who attend only a few times a year. Those who told exit pollsters that they never attend religious services favored Obama 67% to 30%. The 24-point gap between frequent and absent churchgoers was lower than the 27-point gap in 2004. Obama's biggest gain over Kerry's vote, however, came from those who attend church more than once a week, which may reflect his near-unanimous support among church-going African-Americans.

Catholic Voters Snub Bishops

Barack Obama's 54% to 45% win over John McCain among Catholic voters constituted a rebuke to many bishops, according to post-election commentaries by several Catholic writers. Rocco Palmo, writing in the London *Tablet*, said the Catholic vote was a "rejection of a last-minute push by a vocal minority of the nation's bishops" and "signaled a bitter repudiation to the one-third of the U.S. bishops who forcefully drew attention to Mr. Obama's support for abortion rights in the election's closing weeks in implicit contrast to Mr. McCain's anti-abortion stance."

continued on page 12

Palmo also noted, "In another historic development for the American Church, Mr. Obama brings a Catholic running mate to the White House. The first Catholic to win election as vice president, Joe Biden's pro-choice stance has annoyed the hierarchy."

Michael Sean Winters, a journalist who specializes in the political dimensions of religion, told *Tablet* readers that "abortion-only bishops are living in a parallel universe." He added, "The 'abortion-only' approach also disparages the moral seriousness of many Catholics. A woman married to an undocumented immigrant might view humane immigration reform as the most important issue. A family that can't afford health insurance for their children might be concerned about that issue as well as abortion." Winters argued that Catholics of Hispanic ancestry voted Democratic in overwhelming numbers in crucial states. "Latino Catholics represent the demographic future of both the Church and the country and they broke for Obama in even greater numbers. In Florida, Nevada and Colorado, Latino Catholics were crucial to Obama's turning those states from red to blue, so this demographic is the future not only of the Catholic Church but of Obama's governing coalition."

Nativity Scenes Provoke Usual Controversies

In at least two state capitals, Olympia, Washington, and Springfield, Illinois, the erection of Nativity scenes on state property led to controversies when groups unfavorable to religion insisted that their messages had an equal right to appear. An atheist group erected a strongly anti-religious message next to a crèche scene in the Washington state capitol. Gov. Christine Gregoire, under fire from conservative commentators and bloggers, told the *Olympian* newspaper, "I happen to be a Christian, and I don't agree with the display that is up there. But that doesn't mean that as governor, I have the right to deny their ability to express their free speech."

In Springfield, the state of Illinois allowed private citizens to place a Nativity scene inside the capitol. After the scene went on display December 2, Chabad of Chicago said it would erect a Menorah in recognition of Hanukkah. All was well until the feisty Freedom From Religion Foundation announced plans to erect a Winter Solstice display that included the sentence, "Religion is but myth and superstition that hardens hearts and enslaves minds."

In response, an interesting view appeared in the December 5 *Biblical Recorder*, a North Carolina Baptist publication. Columnist Norman Jameson wrote, "If, as the English proverb says, familiarity breeds contempt, it is logical that Christmas symbols floating in the marketplace unattached to their religious meaning will themselves become meaningless. Can it be that when Christians advocate for symbols of faith in public venues that we contribute to the emasculation of their meaning?"

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Pentagon Limits Religious Proselytizing

A new Pentagon regulation distributed in December requires that commanders at military centers crack down on "religious favoritism." The action is aimed at curbing religious proselytizing at 65 centers run by the Military Entrance Processing Command, which is the last stop for recruits on their way to basic training in the armed services.

The main complaints centered on Bible distribution by The Gideons International, a group known for placing Bibles in hotels around the nation. Religious tracts were often part of the religious outreach efforts mounted by evangelical groups. The new regulations ban publications that "create the reasonable impression that the government is sponsoring, endorsing or inhibiting religion generally." In addition, no religious groups will "be permitted to proselytize, preach or provide spiritual counseling" to new recruits or staff members at the centers.

Hampton Roads.com reported that the Gideons were not the only group operating at these locations. "Other religious groups have been active at processing centers. Until last spring, when he got word that the military was reviewing the policies on activity by outsiders, Army veteran and former police officer Tim Sherman was making weekly trips from his Minnesota home to the center in Fargo, N.D., to speak and distribute religious literature to new recruits."

Antievolution Bill Introduced in Oklahoma

Oklahoma, not coincidentally the state which gave John McCain his strongest level of support in 2008, became the first state in 2009 to see the introduction of an antievolution bill in the state legislature. SB 320, called the "Scientific Education and Academic Freedom Act," would require local and state education leaders to "assist teachers to find more effective ways" to "address scientific controversies." Issues singled out are "biological evolution, the chemical origins of life, global warming, and human cloning."

The bill, sponsored by Republican Sen. Randy Brogdon, claims to be supportive of academic freedom when its purpose is just the opposite, an attempt to undermine science teaching and encourage doubt about well established scientific knowledge. The National Center for Science Education's Glenn Branch and Eugenie Scott analyze the new antievolution strategy in "The Latest Face of Creationism," published in the January 2009 issue of *Scientific American*. They write, "Academic freedom was the creationist catchphrase of choice in 2008: the Louisiana Science Education Act was in fact born as the Louisiana Academic Freedom Act, and bills invoking the idea were introduced in Alabama, Florida, Michigan, Missouri and South Carolina..." Only Louisiana enacted the legislation.

Opponents of SB 320 are working closely with Oklahomans for Excellence in Science Education, a nonprofit educational organization.

Texas Battles Science Standards

The state of Texas, whose textbook purchasing power overshadows other states, is the scene of a major tug-of-war over how to teach evolution in school science classes. It is also a battleground since many biologists and teachers fear the powerful State Board of Education will force textbook publishers to include material raising doubts about evolution.

Writing in *The New York Times*, James McKinley summed up the stakes: "On the surface, the debate centers on a passage in the state's curriculum that requires students to critique all scientific theories, exploring 'the strengths and weaknesses' of each. Texas has stuck to that same standard for 20 years, having originally passed it to please religious conservatives. In practice, teachers rarely pay attention to it. This year,

however, a panel of teachers assigned to revise the curriculum proposed dropping those words, urging students instead to ‘analyze and evaluate scientific explanations using empirical evidence’.”

Religious conservatives and creationists have urged the State Board to retain the skeptical language and to strengthen dissenting views about evolution. In testimony Dr. Eugenie C. Scott, executive director of the National Center for Science Education (NCSE), warned that social conservatives are using academic freedom slogans “to bring creationism in through the back door,” while David Hillis, a professor of biology at the University of Texas, warned that “people with religious and political agendas” are engaging in “a misrepresentation of science.”

Social conservatives hold seven of 15 seats on the Texas Board of Education, including the chairman, Dr. Don McLeroy, a dentist who has said he rejects Darwin’s findings and believes the earth is only a few thousand years old. Gov. Rick Perry also backs the conservatives.

The final vote is scheduled for March 26 but votes taken on January 22 and 23 represented a tentative victory for upholders of modern science standards. On the 22nd the board did not restore the “strengths and weaknesses” language. NCSE’s Scott explained: “The misleading language [in the original science standards] has been a creationist loophole in the science TEKS [Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills] for decades. Its removal is a huge step forward.” Texas Freedom Network president Kathy Miller also commented. “This is a very important victory for sound science education. A board majority stood firmly behind 21st-century science and should be applauded.”

The victory was not complete because some ambiguous amendments were adopted that could compromise the treatment of evolution in the biology standards. On January 23 the board voted unanimously to adopt the revised science standards without further hearings. NCSE’s Glenn Branch called the outcome “a qualified victory for science.”

The New York Times spoke for many in a January 26 editorial that concluded: “The lesson we draw from these shenanigans is that scientifically illiterate boards of education should leave the curriculum to educators and scientists who know what constitutes a sound education.”

Evolution Foes Still Active

Louisiana’s state board of education approved guidelines in January for use of supplementary classroom materials that shed doubt on evolution and global warming. Critics of the action suggest that the guidelines would encourage the teaching of creationism or its variants. Similar proposals are pending in the Oklahoma and Mississippi legislatures.

Writing in usnews.com, Glenn Branch, deputy director of the National Center for Science Education, observed: “Defeated in court and unable to make their mark in science, creationists have increasingly turned to the fallback strategy of attacking evolution without mentioning any specific creationist alternative. The bills in Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Mississippi are examples, as are struggles over the treatment of evolution in state science standards in Kansas, Ohio, and Texas. Creationism is not just a legal failure. It is a scientific failure as well. Scan the scientific research literature: There are no signs that anyone is using creationism, whether as creation science or its newfangled form of intelligent design, to explain the natural world. In contrast, not a year passes without the appearance of thousands of scientific publications that apply, define, and extend evolution.”

Religious Bias Charges Upheld

The U.S. Department of Justice settled a religious discrimination lawsuit with a female employee of the Washington, D.C., Metro transit

Visit ARL’s Web Site

You can now visit Americans for Religious Liberty’s internet website: arline.org. The site contains information about the organization, books available on church-state issues, reprints of important articles, and back issues of our journal.

system. The February decision was reached before a federal court heard the case of Gloria Jones, a member of the Apostolic Pentecostal faith who said Metro refused to hire her because her religion forbids wearing pants by women. Justice required Metro to pay \$47,000 to the Baltimore woman and to develop a uniform policy accommodating religious requirements of employees.

Survey Shows Dissenting Catholics Both Critical and Loyal

While conservative “orthodox” Catholics constantly claim that progressive or liberal Catholics are disloyal to the institution and seek to harm it, a new survey of Voice of the Faithful (VOTF), a group working for more accountability and democracy in the church, shows that criticism to be untrue. They are “loyal and critical,” say Anthony Pogorelc and William D’Antonio, researchers at The Catholic University of America, who write in *National Catholic Reporter*, January 9, “Their ability to influence outcomes in other forums such as the academy, corporations or government has shaped the way they function as Catholics. Instead of giving up, they have put their resources at the service of reform.” VOTF members are twice as likely as all Catholics to attend church weekly (65% to 34%) and are far more likely to have attended Catholic schools, especially at the university level.

Legislature Sets Prayer Standards

The Republican-dominated Virginia House of Delegates voted on February 4 to allow state police chaplains to use the names “Jesus” and “Christ” in their public prayers. State police superintendent Steven Flaherty had prohibited these references in public ceremonies last year, prompting six chaplains to resign. The bill must also pass the state senate and faces a possible veto by Gov. Timothy Kaine.

Grand Jury Investigates Archdiocese

A federal grand jury is investigating whether the large Los Angeles Roman Catholic archdiocese and its leader, Cardinal Roger Mahony, mishandled the assignment of priests who had sexually abused children. The archdiocese has already paid out vast sums to settle 508 lawsuits. The Los Angeles County district attorney’s office has investigated the archdiocese for years but has never brought charges. Mahony told KNX radio news that he would testify before a grand jury but he also called on the government to investigate who leaked confidential grand jury information. The Survivors Network endorsed the investigation. There is some question over which federal statutes could be applied in the potential case. One is the “honest services mail fraud statute,” which is often used in corruption cases against government officials. Some critics charge that church-state separation could be compromised by the investigation. Nicholas Cafardi, dean emeritus of Duquesne University School of Law, told *New York Times* reporter Laurie
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Goodstein, “This appears to be a real stretch” because “it involves the government in determining what services a bishop should provide.”

Births Up Despite Abstinence Programs

Teenage births increased in the United States for the first time in 14 years, according to a January 7 report by the National Center for Health Statistics. Rates for the year 2006, the most recent available, increased in 47 states (all except New York, North Dakota and Rhode Island). Public health costs for teen mothers, most of whom are unmarried, total \$9 billion annually. “Teenage pregnancy and childbearing are ongoing public concerns and the focus of considerable public policy debate. Babies born to teenage mothers are at elevated risk of poor birth outcomes, including higher rates of low birth weight, preterm birth, and death in infancy,” the study said.

Mississippi ranked first in teen birth rates, followed by New Mexico and Texas. Other states on the top ten include Arkansas, Arizona, Oklahoma, Nevada, Tennessee, Kentucky and Georgia. (Eight of these ten states went for McCain in November). The lowest teen birth rate was in New Hampshire. The new data suggest that the hundreds of millions of dollars spent on abstinence-only health education (\$176 million last year alone) have not been effective. This conclusion is reinforced by a new analysis of data from a federal survey released in January by Johns Hopkins University’s Bloomberg School of Public Health.

Bush Defends Faith-Based Programs

In a final act of self-congratulation, the Bush White House issued a report on January 12 claiming that the “Faith-Based” programs had fulfilled their promises by reducing homelessness and drug addiction, increasing tutors to underprivileged students and matching 107,000 children of prisoners with mentors. Critics right and left scoffed at the claims. Two former White House officials, John DiIulio and David Kuo, who worked directly with the Faith-Based office, wrote in *The New York Times* that only 33,000 children had been matched with mentors. They also reiterated their criticism that the program had been more political than charitable. President Obama is planning to revamp and reform the office, now called the Council for Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships.

The Midnight Judges Ride Again

President George W. Bush seemed intent on reviving an 1801 decision by outgoing President John Adams to saddle the incoming president, his long-time foe Thomas Jefferson, with judges hostile to the stated objectives of the new administration. Adams apparently stayed up late at night during his government’s closing days to appoint these judges.

President Bush and his administration engaged in last-minute regulations that affect a wide range of government policies, designed to frustrate some of the aims of President Obama

Some of the most crucial regulations affect health care, particularly reproductive health of women.

According to Anne Farris, correspondent for The Roundtable on Religion and Social Welfare Policy, these new guidelines “would help religious organizations that hire only employees of their own faith to

bypass prohibitions on public funding.” The guidelines assume good faith on the part of faith-based organizations. “The exemption could be applied on a case-by-case basis to any religious organization seeking a grant that believes its religious character would be compromised if it doesn’t hire people of similar faiths. The guidance would require religious organizations seeking the exemption to sign an affidavit verifying that they need their hiring rights protected in order to retain their religious character. The signing organization would also agree to serve clients of all or no faiths and to refrain from using government money for any religious activity.”

Critics are livid. George Washington University Law Professor Ira Lupu told a Roundtable event December 2 that hiring restrictions based on religion do not limit free exercise of religion. “I don’t think religious organizations are substantially burdened by grant conditions, especially those that relate to hiring freedom,” he said.

Obama Election Will Change Federal Courts

According to a major study of the federal judiciary by the *Washington Post*, the election of Barack Obama, himself a former law professor, will significantly reshape the direction of the courts. Obama is likely to appoint moderates and liberals who will redress the balance after eight years of conservative appointees from George W. Bush.

Control of the appellate courts (179 judges at present) has reflected White House changes. Republican appointees constituted 64% of judgeships when George H. W. Bush left office, fell to 42% when Bill Clinton’s two terms ended, and rose again to 56% at the end of George W. Bush’s term. These appointments shape judicial outcomes.

Writes *Washington Post* reporter Jerry Markon, “The new judges might gradually reshape what many see as a conservative drift in the courts under the Bush administration and issue more moderate-to-liberal rulings in the ideologically charged cases that have fueled the struggle for control of the judiciary. Many judges are independent, and party affiliation is not a perfect predictor of their behavior. Still, studies have shown that Democratic and Republican nominees vote differently on such cultural issues as abortion and gay rights, along with civil rights, environmental law and capital punishment.” In his December 8 article, Markon added, “The Senate confirms presidential nominees to the 179-judge federal circuit courts and the 678-judge U.S. District Courts. The circuit courts of appeals, which cover the nation’s 13 federal judicial circuits, decide more than 30,000 cases a year. The Supreme Court takes fewer than 100 new cases each year.”

Numerous vacancies still exist in both appellate and district courts, and Congress is expected to consider the creation of 14 new appellate judgeships.

Creation Museum Rebuffed

A planned partnership between the Cincinnati Zoo and the Creation Museum, which promotes young-earth creationism, was nixed in early December. The two groups had originally planned to co-sponsor a reduced ticket deal to the zoo’s Festival of Lights and the museum’s Bethlehem’s Blessing exhibits. But numerous complaints to the publicly-supported zoo resulted in the cancellation. The museum, located in the nearby suburb of Petersburg, Kentucky, opened in 2007 as a project of Answers in Genesis, a fundamentalist religious group which promotes a particularly conservative brand of creationism. It was criticized by a thousand scientists for displaying “scientifically inaccurate materials.”

International Updates

Bucharest: The downgrading of evolution in biology classes now seems complete, according to a report from Romania's capital by Macedoniaonline.eu, a blog reporting news from Eastern Europe. "Information on natural selection is now optional" in Romanian schools, says the December 12 report. Education minister Cristian Adomnitei denies the claim, asserting that evolution "can be found implicitly from middle school to high school." Remus Cernea, president of a human rights group, Solidarity for Freedom of Conscience, challenges the government's view. "How can the evolution theory be implicit? The evolution theory is either present in the curriculum and in the text books and is studied by everybody, or not present in the curriculum and nobody studies it. The Romanian state, whether it intends or not, offers pupils a unique perspective on the world, the religious one, without any critical scientific or philosophical offset," argues Cernea.

Cernea notes that biology instruction has been reduced from two hours to one hour during the final two years of high school. Cernea added that religious classes from an Orthodox Church curriculum are taught from ages seven to 18, and that it is difficult for dissenting students to request exemption. The philosophy curriculum also removed references to Voltaire, Camus and Nietzsche in 2006, possibly because they are seen as anti-religious.

Dublin: On January 7 the Irish government ordered a new investigation into the mishandling of clergy sexual abuse in the diocese of Cloyne. Bishop John Magee is under pressure to resign, and he has vowed to cooperate with the probe, the third to involve his diocese in southwestern Ireland. The decision was made by Children's Minister Barry Andrews.

Islamabad: Taliban extremists banned school attendance by girls in the Swat Valley after January 15. In a radio address, Taliban leader Mullah Shah Doran said the education of girls in "un-Islamic." Female enrollment in the region has dropped from 120,000 to 40,000 since 2006. Militants have destroyed 134 schools and colleges in the past year. The Swat Valley was once known as the Switzerland of Asia and attracted tourists from throughout South Asia. The town of Saidu Sharif maintains a medical college and several other schools, including a 3,500-student college for girls. Islamic militants control 80% of the province and authorities seem unable to assure school authorities that they will be able to remain open. Since November 2007 fighting in the region has claimed 1,200 civilian lives, 400 security officers and 700 Islamic militants.

London: Religious schools, which educate a considerable portion of British students, are not doing enough to educate poor children and have become too selective, according to the findings of a two-year study conducted by the Runnymede Trust. The charitable group, founded to promote social justice, sharply criticized most faith-based schools: "Currently the intake of faith schools is wealthier and higher achieving on entry to secondary school than average. If faith schools become a means of preserving privilege rather than challenging injustice, then this undermines their espoused vision of 'lived faith'."

Wrote Anthea Lipsett in *The Guardian* December 5, "Religious schools should be stripped of their right to select pupils according to faith or lose their state funding, according to a two-year study into church and other faith-based state schools. The Runnymede Trust charity concludes that many faith schools' admission procedures are too selective."

This controversial proposal was also followed by a call for including all religions in the curriculum, something likely to be resisted by church-

Selections from the New Bolivian Constitution

Article 7: "The State respects and guarantees the freedom of religion and of spiritual beliefs, in accordance with their worldviews [cosmovisiones]. The State is independent of religion."

Article 14: "The State prohibits and sanctions every form of discrimination," including that of "religious creed."

Article 21: "Bolivians have the following rights: (1) "To cultural self-identification. (3) "To freedom of thought, spirituality, religion or worship, expression whether individual or collective, in public as in private, within licit limits." and (7) "To the protection of their sacred places."

Article 238: Barred from public office – "Clergy of whatever religion who shall not have given up their position [in their religion] at least three months before election day."

Translated from the Spanish by Edd Doerr

school leaders. Bob Berkeley, the trust's deputy director and author of the report, said, "It's time for a shift so that schools that are funded by taxpayers are responsive and reflect the needs of all pupils and parents, not just those of a particular religion."

Such proposals would have to be approved by Parliament.

Madrid: A November court ruling that ordered the removal of crucifixes from Spanish public school classrooms highlights the growing gap between church and state in this historically Catholic but increasingly secular nation. The suit was brought by the Association of Secular Schools, and the chief judge for the Valladolid district ruled that religious symbols in schools violated the "nonconfessional nature" of the Spanish state. Though the Roman Catholic Church was not a party to the suit, its leaders criticized the ruling as an "unjust" attack on a hallowed cultural symbol. Practicing Catholics, a minority even in Spain, have become increasingly political, fearing that Spanish culture is veering far from traditional church-inspired mores concerning divorce, abortion, gay marriage and euthanasia. Writing in *The New York Times* January 6, reporter Rachel Donadio observed, "The church and religious Catholics have been pushing back, seeking a greater voice in public life. The result is that the church is in a full-throated war with the government. As such, Spain represents not only the Catholic Church's past in Europe, but perhaps also its future: an increasingly secular country with a muscular Catholic opposition."

Santa Cruz, Bolivia: A clash between the Catholic Church and President Evo Morales has intensified. "Bolivia is becoming a country without God or law," thundered Cardinal Julio Terrazas in a Christmas homily. Church leaders accuse the president, elected in 2005, of concentrating power in the state in an effort to create a socialist Bolivia. Morales told supporters, "The Catholic Church has become a syndicate of opposition to the government." Rural Development Minister Carlos Romero said the government is trying to separate church and state. "In all modern countries, the separation between church and state is delineated. This is what we are trying to materialize in Bolivia, where there is no adequate separation of functions," he said.

Church leaders have allied themselves with separatist leaders in Santa Cruz and other provinces in the eastern part of the country, which voted for autonomy in referenda last May and June. Eastern Bolivia is more "European"-oriented, while Morales wants to re-distribute wealth to the more impoverished Indians in the Andean highlands. ■



Books and Culture

Book Talk

Former *New York Times Book Review* editor Charles McGrath tackles the evolution controversy in a scintillating article, “Four Stakes in the Heart of Intelligent Design,” appearing in the venerable old paper on January 4. Timed to observe the 200th anniversary of Charles Darwin’s birth and the 150th anniversary of the publication of his seminal work, *The Origin of Species*, McGrath wryly observed, “Polls repeatedly suggest that at least half of all Americans regard as fundamentally erroneous Darwin’s conclusion that human beings are descended from earlier species, and Kenneth R. Miller in his new book *Only a Theory: Evolution and the Battle for America’s Soul* points out that among industrialized nations we rank next to last, above only Turkey, in our acceptance of evolution and its principles.”

Praising Jerry A. Coyne’s *Why Evolution Is True*, McGrath notes, “Like most evolutionary scientists, he contends that there is no controversy to teach, because intelligent design, which is really creationism in a new garment, is simply not a legitimate scientific theory. But if there is no controversy there is certainly an issue—one that might profitably be studied not in biology class but in history or civics. It reveals a lot about the great American tradition of anti-intellectualism, which seems to be getting stronger, not weaker, even as the country supposedly becomes better educated, and about the strange way we’re turning the court system, of all places, into a referee on scientific principles.”

McGrath suggests that the controversy is likely to intensify. “The reason the anti-Darwinians are willing to go so far is that they see themselves in a life-and-death struggle to keep society from being secularized and traditional values from being undermined. In fact, evolutionary theory contains no moral component whatsoever, but the gap between religious fundamentalists and those who want to preserve the principle of free scientific inquiry may be unbridgeable.”

Finally, praising Peter Bowler’s *Monkey Trials and Gorilla Sermons: Evolution and Christianity From Darwin to Intelligent Design*, McGrath concludes, “There was a great 19th-century tradition of clergymen scientists who studied the natural world and especially the fossil record for evidence of the divine plan, and many of them embraced Darwin’s discoveries or at least the possibility that the biblical account might be metaphorical. Only in the 1950s, Mr. Bowler says, did strict biblical literalism become the foundation for mainstream creationism. His book also documents a long history of liberal compromise in which theologians tried to reconcile evolution with Christian belief.”

How Barack Obama Won: A State-by-State Guide to the Historic 2008 Presidential Election, by Chuck Todd and Sheldon Gawiser. Vintage Books, 2009, 258 pp., \$12.95 paper.

Anyone who is interested in the nuts and bolts of Barack Obama’s victory will find this little gem absorbing and informative. Prepared by NBC’s crack election unit and written largely by Chuck Todd, now the network’s chief White House correspondent, this volume gives a state-by-state summary of election results, including detailed exit polling data.

Perusing this handy volume, you will know in which states less than 15% of white voters supported Obama (Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi), the state with the most liberals (Vermont), conservatives (Mississippi) and moderates (Maryland). New Hampshire has the highest

percentage of Independents, Wyoming the most Republicans, and Maryland the most Democrats. (Maryland must have a lot of moderate Democrats.) Obama carried eleven of the twelve most Catholic states, excepting Louisiana while McCain carried 10 of the 12 most evangelical states, narrowly losing Indiana and North Carolina.

In New Mexico, 10% of voters are Hispanic Protestants, who gave Obama 49% support compared to 27% for Kerry. Hispanic Catholics went for Obama 76% to 23%. But white evangelicals in New Mexico preferred McCain 81% to 17%. The authors concluded, among other things, that “Latino turnout turns swing states blue,” at least in the Rocky Mountain West.

This is a winner.

—Al Menendez

Parallel Empires: The Vatican and the United States – Two Centuries of Alliance and Conflict, by Massimo Franco. Translated from the Italian by Roland Flamini. Doubleday, 2008, 223 pp., \$26.00.

While it may come as a surprise to many, contacts between the Vatican (more properly, the Holy See, in international law) and the U.S. began in 1788 when Pope Pius VI sent an emissary to Benjamin Franklin in Paris, inquiring whether the U.S. government would object to the appointment of a bishop. The reply was positive, and John Carroll of Maryland was elected by U.S. priests, a decision accepted by the Pope.

By 1797 President John Adams, a long-time critic of Catholicism, appointed Giovanni Sartori the first of eleven consular officers representing the new nation in Rome. The Vatican coveted higher-level diplomatic relations, and President James Polk raised the office to a *chargé d’affaires* in 1848.

After tensions surfaced during and after the U.S. Civil War, and rumors spread that an American Protestant church was forced to close in Rome, the U.S. Congress abruptly cut off funding on February 28, 1867, without a formal breaking of diplomatic contacts. Writes Franco, “But the rumor about the barring of Protestant worship in Rome, however untrue, was eagerly seized upon by the Vatican’s enemies with disastrous results for the shaky structure of bilateral relations.” As a matter of fact, it was a Scottish Presbyterian church that ran afoul of papal authorities. No American congregation was involved. The American Episcopal Church in Rome was located outside of the city, which is why it was called, and still is, St. Paul’s Outside the Walls. U.S. minister Rufus King telegraphed Washington that the rumors were false, but it was too late. Congress, under pressure from anti-Catholic zealots, ended the 70-year experiment. “Following the break, relations became formal, intermittent, and on occasion far from cordial.”

Franco argues, “Anti-Catholicism was the fundamental reason for the United States’ refusal to establish full diplomatic relations with the Vatican.” But he admits that Vatican prelates failed to appreciate how important the concept of separation of church and state was to the American polity. “To the prelates in Rome the division seemed excessive, even impractical. They failed to see this U.S. doctrine as a reason for taking a different approach to American Catholics than they would with Europeans. Yet the difference was fundamental, and as a result of not appreciating that difference the Vatican took a series of false steps, with results for the Vatican ranging from damaging to merely embarrassing.” This benign indifference remained the norm for three quarters of a century.

The reason Franklin D. Roosevelt decided to send a “personal representative” to Pope Pius XII during World War II was based on pure *realpolitik*. “With the advent of the U.S. involvement in the war, the Vatican became a center of strategic importance for the United States. With U.S. diplomatic missions in Rome and Berlin closed, Washington’s small outpost inside the Vatican walls in the heart of the Italian capital became a valuable source of information on both regimes. Washington was convinced that the Vatican’s diplomatic service was the best in the

world.”

The entente was not entirely successful. “The image of the Vatican as being solidly behind the Western democracies and anxious for the United States to join in the fight against the evil of Fascism was misleading. It was soon driven home to Washington that influential Vatican prelates were divided on how to approach the conflict, as were the episcopates of Europe, not to mention those in the United States.”

After the war, Harry Truman’s attempt to formalize diplomatic contacts was shot down by intense Protestant opposition. The Vatican persisted in pressing for recognition but was unsuccessful. John F. Kennedy’s election was a further setback. Kennedy’s opposition to formal relations shocked the Vatican. “Rome was stunned, realizing that a Catholic in the White House would not advance the cause.”

It remained for President Ronald Reagan to make the dramatic move in the last year of his first term. Franco writes that Reagan wanted “to ‘reward’ Pope John Paul II for Rome’s support in the fight against what Reagan called ‘the evil empire.’”

Franco gets some things wrong. He says that groups, including ARL, that challenged the legality of U.S.-Vatican diplomatic relations in court in 1984 were “a group of conservative religious organizations” whose *raison d’être* was “their long-held suspicion that the Vatican planned to control the United States.” That was not the reason at all. Rather, the challenge was posited on the premise that the No-Establishment Clause should apply to foreign policy decisions as well as to domestic ones and that favoritism toward one religion violated the religious neutrality on the part of government that the Constitution mandates. The coalition effort included a variety of civil liberties and religious organizations, not just, or even primarily, conservative ones.

The author mixes some interesting revelations with sheer gossip. He says that Kennedy scrupulously wanted to avoid attending Pope Paul VI’s installation in 1963, so he delayed his visit to Rome, opting for a short visit the day after. Kennedy insisted on shaking the Pope’s hand, rather than genuflecting or kissing the papal ring. But Franco jokes that Kennedy refused to do so because he had a bad back, which is downright silly and does not comport with accounts by Arthur Schlesinger, Ted Sorensen or Robert Dallek. Franco also stresses that JFK’s cordial but cool relationship with the Vatican was premised on his desire to avoid awakening anti-Catholic outbursts at home, which had nearly cost him the presidency.

The book was completed just before Barack Obama’s election, which will undoubtedly usher in a new set of relationships and circumstances. The bulk of Franco’s analysis is the paradoxical nature of George W. Bush’s Vatican connections. He says frankly, “Today, more than two centuries of Vatican-U.S. coexistence are threatened by American behavior, and senior members of the Catholic hierarchy are concerned that Washington’s actions can only lead to an increase in the Christianophobia that is one of the unintended consequences of the Iraq War.”

Despite Bush’s convergence with the Holy See on “family values” issues like abortion, same-sex marriage and stem cell research and his attendance at the funeral of John Paul II, serious foreign policy differences remain. “George W. Bush was the champion of a religious, aggressive majority determined to impose its principles on the federal government, and if necessary the entire world.” Bush’s pro-Vatican policy was clearly political and “reflected a continuing investment by Bush’s America in an alliance with the Holy See, a quality leap in political and diplomatic relations.”

Franco claims, without any documentation whatsoever, that Bush’s meeting with eleven U.S. cardinals just after the Pope’s funeral was an attempt to influence the papal election and to block any Latin American from becoming pope. This seems far-fetched if not absurd. And, anyway, the claims were ridiculed by numerous insiders.

The Vatican is particularly disturbed by the destruction of Christian

communities throughout the Middle East and the destabilization affecting religious life, which top Vatican officials blame on Bush’s invasion of Iraq. In the minds of some, this overshadows Bush’s cultural conservatism.

Franco concludes: “The paradox in the Vatican’s relations with the United States is that the ‘parallel empires’ can best coexist by emphasizing their differences rather than their similarities – by remaining individually distinct, keeping their distance from each other, and in some instances being in competition and even adversarial. What remains to be seen is whether they have the will and the ability to follow a course that requires patience, time, and action that is not driven by fear but by long-term expectation.”

The book has a gossipy tone about it, which is not surprising since the references include only 29 books in the bibliography and eight pages of endnotes. This is clearly inadequate in a book covering more than two centuries of history. The author did research at the Vatican Archives, which is certainly useful, but some time at U.S. presidential libraries might have added perspective and depth.

Franco is a political analyst for *Corriere della Sera*, of Milan, often called the Italian equivalent of *The New York Times*. That is both a strength and a weakness, since journalists often write colorful books but at the same time frequently lack the scholarly tools and critical demeanor of historians.

As a result, this book is a mixed bag. It certainly fills a void on the subject. The author has generally succeeded in attempting “to trace the course of the historic relationship between two Western parallel empires in times of cooperation and of dissent.” He has explained the “complex and sometimes contradictory relationship” and “the circumstances behind its extraordinary dynamic.”

—Al Menendez

Hot, Flat, and Crowded, by Thomas L. Friedman. Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 2008, 438 pp., \$27.95.

Eminently readable and reasonably non-technical, Friedman’s best-selling book leaves no doubt whatever that a comprehensive, integrated, systematic solution to this inextricably interrelated set of problems—beginning right now—is essential to the very survival of our civilization and, indeed, our species. Based on his worldwide travels and broad-ranging research, Friedman shows how we can and must “manage the unavoidable and avoid the unmanageable.”

As Friedman puts it, “The world has a problem: It is getting *hot, flat, and crowded*. That is, global warming, the stunning rise of middle classes all over the world, and rapid population growth have converged in a way that could make our planet dangerously unstable. In particular, the convergence of hot, flat, and crowded is tightening energy supplies, intensifying the extinction of plants and animals, deepening energy poverty, strengthening petrodicatorships, and accelerating climate change. How we address these interwoven global trends will determine a lot about the quality of life on earth in the twenty-first century.”

Standing on Al Gore’s shoulders, Friedman, a *New York Times* columnist, sounds a loud, clear tocsin regarding our nation’s and our planet’s pressing energy, resource, biodiversity, environmental, and worsening political crises, a wake-up call that we ignore at our peril

While Friedman explores the “hot, flat” part of the problem, duly scoring the politicians, petrodictators, and business leaders responsible for the morass in which we find ourselves, he ignores the political and religious factors that are largely to blame for impeding corrective action on the population problem. Among them are the following: Vatican leadership and its powerful political influence that opposes not only abortion but also all forms of contraception, despite the fact that the Vatican’s own advisory commission and most Catholics disagree with it; the aggressive U.S.-based Protestant fundamentalist movement’s anti-

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choice efforts, Muslim fundamentalism, and last but not least, political enablers like Bush *père et fils* who did all possible to block U.S. efforts to help manage the overpopulation problem. This includes whoever mysteriously caused the Nixon-Ford administration's 1975 National Security Study Memorandum 200 report, *Implications of Worldwide Population Growth for U.S. Security and Overseas Interests*, to be "classified" and suppressed until almost the eve of the 1994 Cairo population conference.

Despite its failure to show why action on the overpopulation problem has been impeded, Friedman's book is an indispensable resource for dealing with the most important crisis of this new century.

—Edd Doerr

Society Without God: What the Least Religious Nations Can Tell Us About Contentment, by Phil Zuckerman. New York University Press, 2008, 227 pp., \$35.00.

Sociologist Phil Zuckerman's major thesis, based on his residence in Denmark and extensive interviews with nearly 150 Danes and Swedes, is that "society without God is not only possible, but can be quite civil and pleasant." And, contrary to "the claims of certain outspoken, conservative Christians who regularly argue that a society without God would be hell on earth: rampant with immorality, full of evil, and teeming with depravity," in reality "Denmark and Sweden are remarkably strong, safe, healthy, moral and prosperous societies."

"It is crucial," Zuckerman adds, "for people to know that it is actually quite possible for a society to lose its religious beliefs and still be well-functioning, successful, and fully capable of constructing and obeying sound laws and establishing and following rational systems of morality and ethics. Worship of God can wane, prayer can be given up, and the Bible can go unstudied, yet people can treat one another decently, schools and hospitals can still run smoothly, crime can remain minimal, babies and old people can receive all the care and attention they need, economies can flourish, pollution can be kept to a minimum, . . . and children can be loved in warm, secure homes—all without God being a central component of everyday life."

Zuckerman acknowledges that a much attenuated cultural Lutheranism continues in Denmark and Sweden. Most Danes and Swedes still pay the church tax (though they can easily opt out), have church weddings, and baptize their children, even though they rarely darken the door of a church. Most Danes and Swedes regard themselves as Christians, though, like Thomas Jefferson, they regard this simply as being a good and moral person and pay little attention to traditional creeds. "Benign indifference" is the term Zuckerman uses for the Scandinavian approach to religion.

Finally, a low degree of security typifies societies that tend to be more religious. A high degree of security, "taking into account such factors as homicide rates, levels of violent crime, levels of disrespect for human rights, . . . political instability, levels of distrust among citizens, etc.," leads to "benign indifference." Norway ranks first, Denmark third and Sweden seventh on the 2007 Global Peace Index, while the United States comes in 96th. An obvious conclusion to be drawn from Zuckerman's important book is that traditional religion fades in a society not as a result of aggressive anti-religious activity but due to a society's achieving a high level of personal security.

—Edd Doerr

Our Lincoln: New Perspectives on Lincoln and His World, edited by Eric FONER. W.W. Norton & Company, 2008, 336 pp., \$27.95.

Eleven essays by eminent historians explore various facets of Lincoln's career—as commander in chief of the Union Army, President, politician, emancipator, orator and literary stylist. Students of religion and

politics will welcome Oxford historian Richard Carwardine's analysis of the role of religion in Lincoln's life and religious influences on his presidency.

Carwardine rejects the simplistic claims that Lincoln was an atheist or that he was an evangelical Christian. "Lincoln's own faith—to the extent that it is possible to discern it—was cut from a different cloth from that of mainstream Protestants. He was certainly no evangelical. But his religious unorthodoxy did not make him any less attentive to mobilizing the progressive elements of contemporary Protestantism, first on behalf of the prewar Republican Party and then of the wartime unionist coalition."

Lincoln's reticence in religious matters makes it difficult for historians to draw definitive conclusions. "More often than not, the reflective Lincoln, capable of serious thought about ultimate concerns, has remained hidden in the biographical shadows." His early beliefs included both knowledge of and interest in the Bible in addition to skepticism. "Deep familiarity with the Bible is not of course evidence of a religious faith, but Lincoln's immersion in the scriptures . . . points to a man for whom profound private reflection on ethical matters was an essential part of his being. Continuous religious inquiry was a natural ingredient of his broader intellectual quest. The weight of evidence points to an evolution in his views as an adult." Carwardine adds, "The claim that the Lincoln of New Salem was an atheist is as implausible as it is beyond proof. Rather he was drawn to Tom Paine's *Age of Reason* and other deist works . . . But Lincoln's skepticism easily embraced belief in a Creator."

The death of two sons and the agonies of the Civil War substantially changed his views. "Whatever Lincoln's religious views on the eve of his presidency, there is little doubt that his wartime experience encouraged an increasing profundity of faith and a new religious understanding, which pulled him somewhat closer to the historic Calvinism that had profoundly shaped most of northern Protestantism."

More importantly, however, was Lincoln's appreciation of the role religion played in the political order. "Lincoln's prewar political experience in Illinois left him in no doubt of the significance of religion in electoral politics and the capacity of churches to mobilize opinion beyond their walls. . . . Lincoln's personal experience testified to the politician's need to respect the religious sensibilities of voters and to the role of religious identity in shaping political discussion and electoral configurations." Lincoln understood that religion could rally patriotism in the North and could sustain public willingness to fight on despite military setbacks.

Using religion to win support was a primary Lincoln policy. "This broad congruence between Lincoln's public theology and that of religious loyalists had rich meaning for the wartime politics of the Union. . . . Lincoln thus strove to maintain good relations with church leaders of every major faith, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish. He aimed at broad religious representation in the appointment of hospital and army chaplains. He met a full gamut of religious visitors who came to lecture him, offer opinions, seek appointments, or merely pay their respects."

This was especially true during the last year of the war. "Together, Lincoln's cultivation of loyalist religious constituencies and their reciprocal confidence in him contributed signally to the larger mobilization of nationalist sentiment. . . . Union evangelicals engaged in urgent drum-beating on behalf of the Lincoln administration." It was a clear factor in his reelection. "The 1864 campaign arguably witnessed the most complete fusing of religious crusade and political mobilization in America's electoral experience. Ministers engaged in a fervent round of ward meetings, election speeches, sermons, addresses to troops, and editorializing. Religious tract society agents distributed campaign literature. Churches became Union-Republican clubs. The president's reelection was due in large part to the extraordinary mobilization of support by those who saw themselves as agents of God and of Lincoln, the leaders of the Protestant churches."

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Some might infer that Lincoln used religion to win elections. Commenting on the 1860 election, Carwardine writes, "Lincoln himself never sought openly or directly to exploit religious sectarianism for electoral gain, but these scruples did not afflict Republican campaigners, who readily played on popular anti-Catholicism and branded Stephen Douglas, married to a Catholic wife, with the mark of the Beast." Lincoln's fundamental honesty and integrity were subliminal factors appealing to religious voters. "Lincoln's candidacy, far from being at odds with the party's Protestant morality, served its purposes well. ... Combining constitutional conservatism and ethical earnestness, Lincoln gave the Republicans a standard-bearer who admirably met the needs of a party that embraced both political pragmatists and high-minded crusaders."

Lincoln's use of religious imagery in his speeches as President is striking. His second inaugural had "the character of a sermon," and "he issued nine separate proclamations appointing days of national fasting, humiliation, prayer and thanksgiving between the summer of 1861 and the autumn of 1864."

This is a welcome addition to the growing shelf of Lincoln books in this bicentennial year of his birth.

—Al Menendez

Catholics and Politics: The Dynamic Tension Between Faith and Power, edited by Kristin E. Heyer, Mark J. Rozell, and Michael A. Genovese. Georgetown University Press, 2008, 239 pp., \$44.95 hardcover, \$29.95 paperback.

This outstanding anthology of a dozen essays on Catholics in U.S. politics by political scientists fills a void in political science literature. One essay by Mark Gray and Mary Bendyna explores "the potential interconnections between Catholic partisanship, issue stances, and the influence of Church teachings."

Most of the other essays flesh out these interconnections. The abortion rights issue in congressional voting, the tentative and weakening Catholic-evangelical alliance on selected issues, the politics of the clergy, a tradition of social justice, and the role of religion among Latino Catholics are among these topics.

A truly seminal chapter is devoted to a history of Catholic Supreme Court justices. Only 12 Catholics have served on the High Court since the country's founding and five of them have been appointed during the past 20 years. About this phenomenon Barbara Perry writes, "In presidential politics, the move from a 'Catholic seat' to a 'Catholic Court' exemplifies a shift from electoral considerations (attracting Catholic votes through mere symbolism) to ideological ones (establishing a con-

servative Court majority). This shift's impact on church-state decisions is clear in the Court's trend away from separationism and toward accommodationism. Prior to the 1980s, liberal Catholics in public life inevitably turned to the Jeffersonian wall between church and state as a bulwark against anti-Catholicism. In the wake of the Reagan Revolution, however, conservative Catholics joined forces with Christian fundamentalists to implement their common social agenda that is explicitly based on religious dogma."

Kristin Heyer and Mark Rozell place these issues in context: "In the post-Vatican II era, public engagement of questions of Catholic identity, orthodoxy, and hierarchy of values indicates that Catholicism constitutes an evolving political force on the international scene. The ways in which Catholic organizations and members intersect with political life are shaped significantly by the fact that theirs is a global institution with a tightly organized hierarchy and clearly defined official Church teachings. Catholic political engagement benefits from institutional strength and the Catholic tradition's rich history of intellectually and socially engaging political issues. That said, there persists a significant degree of political and even moral pluralism amid believers, particularly in the U.S. context. Furthermore, the Catholic Church has a long and controversial history of political activity in the world. Some perceive that today the Church has lost some of its direction by involving itself so deeply in matters of state and politics, whereas others see such activity as a natural extension of the effort to propagate Church teachings."

Most of these scholars agree that a "distinct Catholic vote is a myth," since the community is too diverse to be thought of as monolithic. This is even true on the abortion rights issues. A study of the voting of Catholics in Congress from 1971 to 2006 makes this clear. "The largest change occurred among Catholic Democrats, as pro-choice voting grew from 32 percent to 67 percent."

—Al Menendez

World of Faith and Freedom: Why International Religious Liberty Is Vital to American National Security, by Thomas F. Farr. Oxford University Press, 2008, 367 pp., \$29.95.

Farr, a veteran State Department officer, urges government officials to make the expansion of religious liberty and the encouragement of religious pluralism central elements in American foreign policy. "This is how American foreign policy should understand the twin goals of advancing religious freedom and, at the same time, engaging a world of public religion by enticing religious communities to the advantages of liberal governance."

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Books and Culture, *continued from page 19*

The American experience is useful. “The history of religion and democracy, not least in the United States, suggests that the two can flourish together and strengthen each other, provided they arrive at a covenant that regulates their respective, overlapping authorities. A democratic government constituted by citizens with strong religious beliefs cannot bypass this step if their society is to be truly liberal, stable, and free.”

This new emphasis could be beneficial in the Muslim world. “Religious pluralism—the free and peaceful contention of differing religious traditions within the democratic system—and religious competition both work to the benefit of religion and of democracy. As such, they can benefit Muslims religiously, economically, socially, and politically.”

In the contemporary world, writes Farr, religion is “normative in human affairs and has inevitable consequences.” Therefore, “For most people and most faith traditions, religious belief has natural and powerful implications for society and politics. Virtually all religious traditions have a political theology, or a set of doctrines that influence political views. . . . Where religion is embedded in culture it will influence political life in one way or another.”

Criticizing “America’s official religious myopia,” resulting in part from a “secularist diplomatic culture,” may be too sweeping a generalization, since a more “religious” foreign policy is also fraught with dangers. Which religious traditions, for example, can be engaged successfully without compromising our nation’s religious neutrality?

Farr sees religious freedom as part of a more comprehensive strategy. “Making religious freedom properly understood [as] the centerpiece of U.S. policy does not mean abandoning the humanitarian goal of reducing persecution and the suffering of victims.”

Farr’s book is a good starting point for an intelligent dialogue about religion and foreign policy.

—Al Menendez

Quiverfull: Inside the Christian Patriarchy Movement, by Kathryn Joyce. Beacon Press, 2009, 272 pp., \$25.95.

Last October more than 6,000 women in the fundamentalist Christian patriarchy movement met in Chicago to promote a “True Woman Manifesto,” an “anti-feminist” document that stresses total submission to males, homeschooling, staying home, having as many children as possible, opposing contraception and abortion, and training their daughters to follow suit.

This fundamentalist “Stepford Wives” movement (after the book and films of the same name) is explored in depth in Kathryn Joyce’s

excellent, frightening new book. The guys behind the movement are a rogues’ gallery of the religious right and televangelism. Joyce spells out the who, how, and why of a movement that seeks control of society by “outbreeding” everyone else, to heck with global warming, overpopulation, and resource depletion.

Central to this largely “under the radar” movement is homeschooling. Elsewhere in this issue Al Menendez notes that about 1.5 million kids in 2007 were being homeschooled, about 3 % of all U.S. kids and more than a third more than in 2003. The federal government report also showed that 83% of homeschooling is for religious instruction, very largely fundamentalist. A goal of at least some homeschooling advocates is destruction of our religiously neutral public schools, “Pharaoh’s school system.”

Six thousand “submissive” women may not sound like much, but they are only the tip of the rapidly growing iceberg.

Quiverfull merits wide readership for many reasons.

—Edd Doerr

Darwin’s Ark, by Philip Appleman, Illustrated by Rudy Pozzatti, Indiana University Press, 2009, 87 pp., 19.95.

Celebrating the bicentennial of Charles Darwin’s birth (the same day as Lincoln’s) and the sesquicentennial of publication of *The Origin of Species*, Indiana University Press has reissued a paperback edition of Appleman’s 1984 book of poems inspired by Darwin’s seminal work. Appleman is editor of the excellent 2001 Norton Critical Edition about Darwin and author of several books of poetry and fiction in addition to books on Malthus and population.

The poems in *Darwin’s Ark* were inspired by and grow naturally out of Darwin’s work. Whether funny or serious, Appleman’s poems are accessible and moving. Appleman, a member of ARL’s National Advisory Board, is a former merchant seaman and Distinguished Professor of English Emeritus at Indiana University.

—Edd Doerr

Whose Church? A Concise Guide to Progressive Catholicism, by Daniel C. Maguire, The New Press, 2008, 178 pp., \$23.95.

Catholic ethicist and theologian Dan Maguire, a former priest and brilliant speaker and writer, paints here an at once serious and frequently witty picture of a Catholicism far more liberal and complex than that presented by recent bishops and popes. With a healthy scorn for clerical “pelvic politics,” he speaks for non-patriarchal Catholics while advancing arguments for gender equality, affirmative action, peace, economic equality, and reproductive choice.

—Edd Doerr