



# VOICE OF REASON

Winter 1993

The Newsletter of Americans for Religious Liberty

No. 44

## Anti-Choice Terrorism

**T**he murder of Dr. David Gunn, shot in the back by an anti-choice fanatic in Pensacola, Florida, on March 10, was the logical outcome of the accelerating war of words and escalating terrorism against the right of women to choose to terminate crisis pregnancies. Frustrated by their inability to outlaw freedom of conscience on abortion, anti-choice activists have been increasing their efforts to make a legal, constitutionally protected medical service ever more difficult to access in practice.

Since 1987 more than 32,800 arrests have been made during clinic blockades. Since 1977 over 1,150 incidents of violence have occurred at clinics, including break-ins, acts of vandalism, arson, bombings, burglaries, and death threats. Anti-choice zealots have picketed the homes of physicians and followed their children to school. At least 29 incidents of "stalking" have been recorded in early 1993.

The costs of operating women's clinics, which provide counseling, testing, family planning, and other services in addition to abortions, have risen to pay for bulletproofing windows and armed guards. This works special hardships on younger and poorer women, who make up the majority of clinic clients.

Intimidation of physicians has reached the point where there are fewer doctors performing procedures now than ten years ago. And fewer physicians are being trained to handle the whole range of gynecological-obstetrical services. Although the vast majority of Americans are pro-choice, as referenda in Maryland and Arizona confirmed last fall, five-sixths of the counties in the country have no abortion provider.

Among the steps which need to be taken to defend freedom of conscience are these:

Congress must be urged by all concerned citizens to pass Rep. Charles Schumer's Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act, which would provide federal assistance to clinics where local law enforcement is inadequate.

Congress must be urged to pass the Freedom of Choice Act, without encumbering amendments, to protect women's rights from the excesses of conservative-dominated legislatures.

(Addresses: U.S. Senate, Washington, DC 20510; U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515.)

Testing and approval of RU-486, the French-developed drug which not only permits nonsurgical early abortions but also shows promise for treating various diseases, must go forward  
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## Common Sense on Choice

**T**he distinguished Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching has just issued an important report on "School Choice," which concludes that there is little substantive proof that the much-heralded choice or voucher plans to alter the education enterprise in America will really do the job their promoters claim. Tax-subsidized vouchers, which could be used in private and parochial as well as public schools, will not improve the quality of education or the availability of options and alternatives to the disadvantaged.

The authors of this excellent report have studied existing choice plans in various states and cities and found them wanting in many respects. The Carnegie researchers surveyed all fifty state school officers to ascertain the present status of the "school choice" movement.

The researchers found that existing choice plans widened the gap between advantaged and disadvantaged school districts, often causing near bankruptcy in the poorest sectors. Transportation costs increased markedly. They also discerned that the choice movement stresses only the "private benefits" of schooling, not the "social imperatives of promoting the common good" which is essential to a just society. The report notes, "While reflecting on the current school-choice debate, we were im-

pressed by just how little attention is being given to the history of public education or to the large body of thought about the role of schooling in building a democratic nation." Furthermore they say, "It's time to reaffirm public education and commit ourselves to having a school of quality within the reach of every child. . . . Instead of bashing schools, let's celebrate success and build on the good practices now in place."

The Carnegie report also reminds us that "the crises in education relate not just to school governance but to the pathologies that surround the schools."

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### *Inside . . .*

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## Editorials

### 'Religious Freedom Restoration'

Congress is likely to pass the Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA) now that the Catholic bishops have ended their opposition and joined the broad coalition of organizations (including ARL) which supports the measure. President Clinton announced his strong support for the bill on March 11.

The RFRA was originally introduced in 1990 to overturn the Supreme Court's 5-4 ruling in 1990 in *Employment Division v. Smith*, in which Justice Scalia wrote for the majority that government need not show a "compelling state interest" to restrict the free exercise of religion. The RFRA recognizes "free exercise of religion as an unalienable right" and specifies that "Government may burden a person's exercise of religion only if it demonstrates that application of the burden to the person—(1) is in furtherance of a compelling governmental interest; and (2) is the least restrictive means of furthering that compelling governmental interest."

The RFRA is intended to restore the "compelling interest" test applied by the Supreme Court since 1963.

ARL has joined with the rest of the coalition in calling on citizens to urge their senators and representatives to support the bill. ■

### Justice White's Retirement

Supreme Court Justice Byron R. White's retirement at the end of the present term is welcome news, at least for those who value religious liberty and church-state separation. White almost invariably comes down against separation. He has supported tax aid for sectarian private schools and religious exercises in public schools. He has consistently opposed freedom of conscience on abortion and the privacy rights of homosexuals. He voted with Justice Scalia in the *Oregon v. Smith* ruling scuttling the "compelling state interest" test in free exercise cases, a 5-4 Supreme Court mistake that we hope will be remedied by quick congressional passage of the Religious Freedom Restoration Act.

President Clinton, we hope, will replace White with a justice strongly committed to civil liberties and church-state separation, someone in the tradition of Justices Harry Blackmun, Thurgood Marshall, William Brennan, and William Douglas. ■

### New Church Envoy

Boston mayor Raymond J. Flynn has been nominated by President Clinton to be the new U.S. Ambassador to the Holy See. For clarity it is important to note that neither the U.S. nor any of the other more than 100 countries that have diplomatic relations with the pope do so with the sovereign Vatican City, a 108-acre micro-state (Citta del Vaticano) created by Benito Mussolini and the Catholic Church in 1929, but, rather, with the Holy See as headquarters of the Roman Catholic Church.

U.S. diplomatic recognition of and relations with a church, any church, violates the spirit if not the letter of the First Amendment prohibition against government acts "respecting an establishment of religion." It also unconstitutionally prefers one religion over all others and over people of no affiliation, and creates an "excessive entanglement" between religion and government. The arrangement also discriminates against American Catholics, for it allows the U.S. government to bypass them and go over their heads. Further, the U.S. Catholic Bishops did not show support for the arrangement when it was made in the early 1980s.

Formal U.S. government diplomatic recognition of the Vatican was begun by President Ronald Reagan during his first term. Regrettably, a legal challenge to the arrangement (in which your editor was one of a number of plaintiffs) was not accepted by the Supreme Court on grounds of standing. However, a ruling by the U.S. Second Circuit Court of Appeals on September 26, 1991, in *Lamont v. Woods* (a joint ARL-ACLU case challenging U.S. tax aid to sectarian private schools overseas) suggests that a new challenge might be in order. In *Lamont*, Chief Judge James L. Oakes wrote that "recent history supports the view that the religion clauses [of the First Amendment] do have extraterritorial application," while Judge John M. Walker, Jr., in a concurring opinion,

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*Voice of Reason* is the quarterly newsletter of Americans for Religious Liberty, P.O. Box 6656, Silver Spring, MD 20916. (Telephone: 301/598-2447.) The newsletter is sent to all contributors to ARL.

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Americans for Religious Liberty is a nonprofit public interest educational organization dedicated to preserving the American tradition of religious, intellectual, and personal freedom in a secular democratic state. Membership is open to all who share its purposes. Annual dues are \$20 for individuals, \$25 for families, \$10 for students and limited income.

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## Holy See Envoy Costs

U.S. diplomatic relations with the Holy See not only prefers one religion over all others and entangles our government with one church, it also costs U.S. taxpayers money. The Embassy at the Holy See in Rome at 294 Via Aurelia (Phone: 639-0558), cost American taxpayers \$1,270,000 for Fiscal Year 1993, \$1,190,000 for FY 1992, and \$1,065,000 for FY 1991.

These sums cover salaries for nine U.S. personnel, five foreign nationals, office rent and building maintenance.

## New Church Envoy, *continued from page 2*

added that "the text of the First Amendment's limitation on Congress' competency to act in regard to religion bears no construction that confines its operations to the United States." Practically, though, the Supreme Court might be unwilling to accept a case that might require it to reverse its earlier decision.

As a result of Reagan's ties with the Holy See, investigative reporter Carl Bernstein spelled out in *Time* magazine more than a year ago (see ARL Newsletter No. 40) that Vatican diplomat Pio Laghi went around the State Department to deal directly with Reagan and his advisors in at least six secret meetings at the White House on matters concerning developments in Poland. Bernstein also concluded that "In response to concerns of the Vatican, the Reagan Administration agreed to alter its foreign-aid program to comply with the church's teaching on birth control." Reagan's ambassador to the Holy See, William Wilson, according to *Time*, said that the Reagan White House "consulted with the Vatican on other matters" and "adopted policies favoring the interests of the church and Maronite Christians in Lebanon."

We intend no disrespect for Catholics or the Catholic Church when we urge that formal diplomatic relations between our government and a church be discontinued.

President Clinton, though a strong supporter of church-state separation, is nonetheless in a bit of a bind. To end the arrangement mistakenly begun by Reagan and continued by Bush could be too costly politically, especially in the light of popular apathy toward church-state issues that are not perceived as directly affecting the general public, as do proposals to restrict freedom of conscience on abortion or provide tax aid to sectarian schools. It did not help that the Southern Baptist Christian Life Commission, now in the hands of ultraconservatives unsympathetic with the historic Southern Baptist support for church-state separation, urged President Clinton to end the arrangement *because he is a Southern Baptist* and not because he is the president of all the people and obligated to uphold the First Amendment.

Methodists, Jews, Quakers, Presbyterians, Bahais, Muslims, Buddhists, Humanists, and Roman Catholics can and do share commitments to peace and social justice, but this does not require formal government recognition of one, several, or all religious bodies. ■

## 'Equal Access' Problem

In 1984, in the wake of the Senate defeat of President Reagan's proposed constitutional amendment to authorize government sponsored prayer in public schools, Congress passed "equal access" legislation to require public schools to

allow "student initiated" religious groups to meet in public schools during "non-instructional" time. Americans for Religious Liberty opposed the legislation but urged, at a House hearing, that, if the bill had to be passed, at least it should contain adequate safeguards against proselytizing. Congress chose not to include them. The U.S. Supreme Court upheld the law in 1990 in *Westside Community Schools v. Mergens*.

An example of how the "equal access" law works in the real world is provided in the Agawam school district in Massachusetts. The student religious group in the high school, the "Agawam Saved Committee," consists of fewer than a dozen students, all but one members of the Bethany Assembly of God, part of a pentecostal denomination known for zealous proselytizing.

"This school is lost and its on its way to hell," says Todd Crevier, a junior who heads the group. The group, which meets weekly in the school, seeks to attract more students. This, clearly, is proselytizing, though the committee denies that the term applies.

Bethany's youth minister, Chris Davison, says that his church encouraged its young members to form the club.

Principal John Morrissey has refused the group's request to advertise their meetings in the school, but is powerless under the law to do more.

Local clergy, such as the Rev. Donald Morris, minister of the Agawam Baptist Church, and the Rev. Curt Fuller, minister at the Agawam Congregational Church, are not supportive of the program. Local Catholic clergy have declined to comment.

How many more Agawams are there among the country's more than 15,000 school districts? How many students have been drawn into proselytizing sects while attending public schools? No one knows. ■

## Common Sense on Choice

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The much-touted Milwaukee plan, a publicly-funded private school choice scheme, has not proved successful, according to Carnegie researchers. The attrition rate is high, and no discernible improvement in student test scores has been achieved. "Whatever else may be said of it, Milwaukee's plan has failed to demonstrate that vouchers can, in and of themselves, spark school improvement," the report concluded.

Ernest L. Boyer, president of the Carnegie Foundation, reminds us that "choice has moved to the top of the national agenda" and must be confronted on its merits. But the national debate must not ignore the profound impact that educational change will have on children, parents, teachers, and schools. Writes Boyer, "While some of our schools are outstanding, ranking among the best in the world, others are desperately disadvantaged. These schools are failing not from bureaucratic gridlock, but from pathologies that surround them—neglected children, troubled families, and neighborhoods in decay."

The Carnegie Foundation is right. Improving public education is a national necessity. Various schemes to divert funds to private-interest or church-based education must be resisted. Boyer has the last word: "We believe the public schools remain the best hope for strengthening our democratic action."

The report "School Choice" is available for \$8.00 from the Carnegie Foundation For the Advancement of Teaching, 5 Ivy Lane, Princeton, NJ 08540. ■

## Anti-Choice Terrorism

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without delay.

Because the opponents of choice have taken their crusade to the ballot box, citizens who value freedom of conscience must actively use the political process to ensure that legislatures respect and protect choice.

Then, too, because voucher plans for tax aid to sectarian private schools would subsidize mainly schools which indoctrinate students with views unfriendly to women's rights and freedom of conscience on reproduction, these proposals must be defeated. The new Religious Right campaigns to take over local school boards also threatens to weaken sex education programs which are aimed, in part, at reducing the number of teen pregnancies. These campaigns must be resisted.

It is gratifying that President Clinton is strongly pro-choice, but we must not rely on any one person to defend choice. All concerned citizens must continue to support and work for freedom of conscience and church-state separation.

Finally, it must be made clear that the religious community is not predominantly anti-choice. Most religious Americans are pro-choice. Representing the pro-choice mainstream are the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights (on whose board ARL's executive director has served for many years) and Catholics for a Free Choice. Although the Vatican is anti-choice, most Catholics are pro-choice, and polls show that even substantial numbers of Protestant fundamentalists are pro-choice.

The bottom line is that we must never allow freedom of conscience and church-state separation to be eroded away by fanatics or armed vigilantes. ■

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The definitive, eye-opening study of the schools tax dollars would pay for under a voucher plan. \$14.95

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# Maryland's Abortion Rights Referendum

**A**fter a hotly-contested and costly referendum campaign last fall, Maryland voters, by 61.7% to 38.3%, approved revisions to the state's abortion law which strengthened and made permanent the right to choose abortion in the Free State.

The state's political culture made a favorable result on abortion likely, though the anti-abortion lobby mounted an effective and highly emotional campaign that made some observers anticipate a close result.

Certain demographic realities make Maryland a relatively pro-choice state. Its makeup also gives it the character of an "America in miniature," a microcosm of the nation. For one thing, its population is more prosperous and well educated than the norm. In per capita income, family income and educational attainment, the state is in the top ten, perhaps in the top five states, depending on the data. Education and income are important determinants in opinion formation on the abortion issue. The state is one-quarter African-American (the sixth most black state), and black Americans, especially women, are generally pro-choice in most surveys. The state has a suburban character, despite one large city and diverse rural areas. Support for abortion rights is stronger in metropolitan than in rural areas.

Religion is perhaps the most significant variable in opinion on abortion, though purely denominational explanations are no longer as valid as they once were. Jews, mainline Protestants and the religious unaffiliated are most supportive of abortion rights, but Catholics are very close behind, according to a considerable body of survey opinion. In the nation's two heaviest Roman Catholic states, Rhode Island and Massachusetts, voters approved 1986 referenda on abortion rights by wide margins (67% in Rhode Island, 58% in Massachusetts) despite appeals from bishops and clergy. Catholic opinion does vary from region to region somewhat, with Catholics in the Northeast and Pacific Coast areas the most liberal on abortion. In Pennsylvania and Maryland, though, Catholic opinion is somewhat more conservative.

Maryland Catholics are diverse, and generalizations are difficult, but some previous elections indicate that they are at least slightly more conservative than their counterparts in the Northeast. Exit polls showed a small Bush majority in 1988 among Maryland Catholics compared to a Dukakis majority nationally. On issues like civil rights in the 1960s, parochial school aid in the 1970s, and gun control in 1988, Maryland Catholics leaned to the conservative side, particularly in Baltimore and Southern Maryland. On the abortion referendum, church leaders worked closely with anti-choice activists and raised the lion's share of the \$1.5 million campaign treasury. Still, many if not most Catholic politicians in the state, including its immensely popular Sen. Barbara Mikulski, were firmly pro-choice. The Catholic vote was up for grabs.

The results showed a sweeping margin in liberal, high-income, high-education Montgomery County (70%) and Howard County (65%), and solid 66% margins in predominantly black Baltimore City and Prince George's County. Abortion rights won 61% in substantially Catholic Baltimore County and 60% in exurban Anne Arundel County.

In conservative exurban areas like Frederick and Carroll counties, the race was close. Frederick was 53% supportive while Carroll was 51% in favor. Frederick and Carroll are German-oriented, Republican areas with substantial numbers of Meth-

odist, Lutheran and Catholic voters. Exurban Harford County went 53% for Question 6.

In general, urban and suburban areas were the most favorable to abortion rights. Exurbs were also in favor. But rural and small town areas were least supportive, though the pattern varied widely.

The Washington, D.C., suburbs gave almost 69% support, while Baltimore and its suburbs were 63.4% in favor of the proposal. The fast-growing, prosperous and Republican-leaning exurbs were 58% in favor, which was a major factor in the solid statewide approval. The rural areas were closely divided. The Eastern Shore gave a 54% yes vote, Catholic-flavored Southern Maryland 51% support, but Western Marylanders mustered only 42% support. Taken as a whole, rural and small-town Maryland split 50-50 on the abortion question.

The most anti-abortion county was Garrett, a bailiwick of socially conservative Mountain Republicans in the most isolated, westernmost county, where only 30% of voters favored Question 6. Religiously, Garrett is Methodist, Mennonite and Brethren, and has never supported a Democratic presidential candidate. Neighboring Allegany County, historically Scotch-Irish but with pockets of Irish Catholics, was the second most anti-abortion county, with 61% voting no. Washington County in the same area also voted no.

Southern Maryland is historically Catholic, English, and Old South in flavor. But St. Mary's County was only 53% to 47% negative while Charles County split evenly and more Protestant Calvert County voted yes by a modest margin of 57%.

The Eastern Shore is a historic Methodist area and politically moderate to conservative. There was no real pattern here. Slightly more urban and resort-oriented Wicomico and Worcester counties voted yes narrowly. Kent and Queen Anne's counties were strongly in favor of Question 6. Talbot County, the highest income area with substantial numbers of Episcopalians, voted 64% yes. (Kent County was 65% favorable.) The Deep South oriented counties were close, with a narrow yes margin in Dorchester County, and defeats in Caroline and Somerset counties. These are the most rural and least populated counties. Upper Shore Cecil County also voted no, 51% to 49%. In general, though, abortion rights did better on the Eastern Shore than in Southern or Western Maryland.

The abortion vote resembled the presidential vote in some respects. Cinton carried five of the six large population counties, piling up huge majorities. But every rural county from the mountains to the Atlantic Ocean favored Bush. ■

— Albert J. Menendez

## Where There's a Will . . .

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Please contact us if you would like further information.

Americans for Religious Liberty, P.O. Box 6656  
Silver Spring, MD 20916, Telephone: 301-598-2447

## ***ARL in Action***

ARL president John M. Swomley met in Madison, WI, in early March with educational and religious leaders concerned about a new campaign to get the legislature to approve tax aid for religious private schools. His appearances in Madison included lectures, a debate with the head of the Wisconsin Catholic Conference, a TV interview, and a syndicated radio talk show with *Progressive* magazine editor Erwin Knoll.

Swomley then went to Toledo, OH, for a series of meetings and lectures, sponsored in part by the ACLU. The veteran church-state expert criticized the new arrangement under which the public University of Toledo has entered into an agreement with donors of \$250,000 to set up a "Professorship in Catholic Thought." Swomley, a political scientist and professor emeritus of ethics at the St. Paul School of Theology in Kansas City, explained that while a public university may properly have an academic religious studies department, as many do, it is improper to have a sectarian chair or department. He said that the arrangement appears to conflict

with the section of the Ohio constitution which stipulates that "no preference shall ever be given by law to any religious establishment."

The next issue of this newsletter will contain a full discussion of the problem at the University of Toledo.

ARL executive director Edd Doerr has lectured recently in St. Petersburg and Clearwater, FL, San Diego and Highland Springs, CA, and Hagerstown, Frederick, and Reisterstown, MD. He also appeared on radio talk shows in Tampa, FL, Dallas, TX, Little Axe, MI, and Washington, D.C.

ARL research director Albert J. Menendez discussed religion and politics with Catholic ethicist the Rev. Charles Curran on "Prose and Cons," on the Vision Cable Television network in January. He also addressed the Federal Seminar of the National Association of Evangelicals in Washington, D.C., on January 23, and represented ARL at anti-voucher coalition strategy sessions in Annapolis, MD during January and February.

## **Update**

### **Maryland Vouchers Defeated**

In March the Maryland General Assembly rejected Gov. William Donald Schaefer's proposed \$581,000 voucher pilot program. Schaefer, responding to pleas from the Maryland Catholic Conference, included the plan in the budget he submitted to the legislature, a procedure that bypassed the normal one of having a bill filed. The program would have provided \$2900 vouchers to 200 Baltimore elementary students to pay tuition at any private or public school in the state. As other public school districts would have to charge well over \$2900 per year, the program seemed tailored for Baltimore Catholic schools, which charge an average tuition of \$2908.

Americans for Religious Liberty, the Maryland State Teachers Association, and other organizations opposed the measure. Copies of ARL's books, *Visions of Reality: What Fundamentalists Schools Teach* and *Church Schools and Public Money: The Politics of Parochialism*, were made available to key legislators. ARL's Edd Doerr testified against the measure at both House and Senate hearings.

### **Minnesota Parochial Challenge**

A lawsuit backed by Americans for Religious Liberty and the Minnesota Civil Liberties Union was filed in a state court in March (*Matthew Stark et al. v. St. Paul Public Schools*) to challenge an arrangement under which the St. Paul Public Schools have agreed to pay public funds to St. Bernard's Parish to educate several students in its high school. The city schools would pay 88% of the costs for "nonsectarian" education. The suit charges that the arrangement violates the U.S. First and Fourteenth Amendments and sections of the Minnesota constitution.

### **Reproductive Rights**

Two days after taking office in January, President Bill Clinton

acted to undo some of the anti-choice excesses of the Reagan and Bush administrations. He issued executive orders lifting the "gag rule" on Title X federally supported family planning clinics forbidding discussion of abortion, ending the ban on privately funded abortions in overseas military hospitals, ending the ban on funding for fetal tissue research, and overturning the Reagan-Bush "Mexico City Policy" of denying U.S. funding for international family planning programs. Clinton also asked that the ban on importation of RU-486, the French-developed abortifacient pill, be lifted.

On March 8 the Supreme Court refused to hear an appeal in *Edwards v. Jojoturner T.*, a challenge to Louisiana's 1991 ban on nearly all abortions and certain birth control methods. Last September 22 a unanimous Fifth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals ruled the state law unconstitutional under the "undue burden" test adopted by the Supreme Court last summer in *Casey*.

RU-486, the abortifacient pill developed by the French company Roussel-Uclaf, should begin clinical trials in the U.S. by mid-summer. According to Dr. Andre Ulmann, director of endocrinology for the company, the Clinton administration has officially asked for a response to requests from U.S. medical organizations to test the drug here.

Reps. Charles Schumer (D-NY) and Constance Morella (R-MD) are cosponsors of the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act (H.R. 796) in Congress. The bill would make it a federal crime to block the entrance to a medical facility offering reproductive health care services, birth control counseling, pap smears and other gynecological procedures, as well as abortions. The bill would not prevent peaceful picketing or demonstrating.

On March 10 the Eighth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals issued a temporary stay against enforcement of North Dakota's law requiring a 24-hour waiting period and provision of state-scripted information designed to discourage abortion.

In early March the Center for Reproductive Law and Policy

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## Update, continued

filed suits in Florida, Minnesota, and Texas challenging state provisions denying Medicaid funding for abortions for poor women. In February Planned Parenthood and the ACLU filed suit in Alaska to block restrictions ending the state's 22-year policy of funding abortions for indigent women.

On Feb. 22 the Supreme Court denied a hearing in *Stowe v. Davis*, a case involving a dispute between a divorced couple over disposition of seven frozen embryos cryogenically preserved products of *in vitro* fertilization. Left standing is a June 1992 Tennessee Supreme Court ruling that the "pre-embryos" are not "persons" under state law. ARL had joined an *amicus curiae* brief on the winning side.

Congress has begun action on the Freedom of Choice Act (H.R. 25), designed to protect the right to choose from state anti-choice actions. Efforts are being made to attach waiting periods and parental notification amendments to the bill.

On January 13 the Supreme Court ruled 5-4 in *Bray v. Alexandria Women's Health Clinic* that an 1871 federal anti-discrimination law may not be used to stop Operation Rescue from blockading abortion clinics. The ruling was written by Justice Antonin Scalia and also represented Chief Justice William Rehnquist and Justices Byron White, Anthony Kennedy, and Clarence Thomas.

The Appellate Division of the New York State Supreme Court ruled on March 23 that the right to abortion is protected by the state constitution's due process clause as "an integral part of the right to privacy and bodily integrity." On this basis the court held unconstitutional a state program to provide prenatal care for the working poor because it does not also pay for abortions.

Sen. Tom Harkin and 16 other senators have asked the FBI to investigate a "pattern of harassment" against abortion clinics around the country.

Fundamentalist anti-choice leader Randall Terry is conducting a 12-week "boot camp" in Melbourne, FL, to train clinic harassers. Since the murder of Dr. David Gunn in Pensacola, death threats have forced two physicians at a Melbourne clinic to resign their posts.

Randall Terry has been found guilty of violating a court order by "aiding and abetting" anti-choice activist Harley Belew, who tried to hand Bill Clinton a human fetus last summer during the Democratic Convention. Sentencing has been scheduled for May 21. Terry could get six months in jail.

Two Catholic priests in Boston have been sentenced to prison for blockading abortion clinics in violation of a 1991 court order.

Louisiana state court judge Frank H. Thaxton on March 18 ordered Caddo Parish (county) to stop using two "abstinence-only" sex education curricula published by Project Respect, a right-wing group in Illinois. Judge Thaxton found that the materials contained inaccuracies, opinions presented as facts, anti-choice misinformation, and religious teachings.

## Supreme Court Hearings

The U.S. Supreme Court heard two church-state cases in March. The question in *Zobrest v. Calatna Hills School District* concerns whether or not the First Amendment permits a publicly paid interpreter for a deaf student to work in a parochial school. ARL and other organizations in the National Coalition for Public Education and Religious Liberty filed an *amicus curiae* taking the position that providing the interpreter in a church school violates the First Amendment.

The question in the other case, *Lamb's Chapel v. Center Moriches School District*, is whether a school district may refuse to allow school facility use after hours on the basis of religious consent of the program.

Rulings in the two cases are expected by July.

## Federal Parochial Rebounds

Federal aid to sectarian schools dropped 34% after the Supreme Court ruled in 1985 in *Aguilar v. Felton* that sending public school teachers to work in them violates the First Amendment. Chapter I programs had provided the aid since passage of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

After church school officials complained that they did not want to send eligible students to remedial programs in public schools, and thus have to mix in classrooms with public school students, Congress in 1988 authorized extra federal fundings to pay for special vans and mobile classrooms, to offer the segregated instruction on public property adjacent to the church schools, and for special computer systems that do not require public school staff. Since the 1989-90 school year, about \$82 million in additional federal funds has gone to the church schools. Federal parochial aid has now rebounded to 91% of the pre-*Aguilar* level, according to a new report by the General Accounting Office.

According to the G.A.O., 41% of eligible church school students are receiving Chapter I educational services in vans, 19% in mobile classrooms, and 19% by computer.

## Radical Right Successes

People For the American Way, a nonpartisan constitutional liberties organization, reported in January that the "Radical Right had a surprisingly successful election year." Even though their candidate for President, George Bush, was defeated, they scored a significant number of victories at the state and local levels.

According to PFAW's post-election analysis, just over 50% of 550 candidates endorsed by the extreme Right in 33 states were elected. Nearly half of Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition's endorsed candidates won their races. Even in relatively liberal California 31% of their endorsed school board candidates were successful.

The Radical Right played a pivotal role in overturning gay rights laws in Colorado and in Tampa, Florida, though they were unsuccessful in Portland, Maine, and in Oregon. Even in Oregon where an extreme anti-gay measure was defeated statewide, the proposal carried in 20 of the state's 36 counties. Even in "secular" Oregon the rural areas, where many religious conservatives reside, are extremely conservative. The Religious Right also played a major role in the defeat of an Equal Rights Amendment initiative in Iowa, as they had in 1980.

PFAW president Arthur J. Kropp warned that Radical Right groups were likely to emphasize gay rights laws, which exist in 19 states and more than 100 cities and counties, because this is the kind of emotional issue they can exploit. Their strategy of "stealth," of limiting the public visibility of their candidates and concentrating on voter drives among sympathetic religious groups must be exposed, said Kropp, who added, "Their efforts to conceal their affiliations and their broader agenda are fundamentally undemocratic." Kropp also warned that the Radical Right is "now uniquely positioned to fill the leadership vacuum in the Republican Party" and "will have no trouble filling their fundraising coffers."

At least a dozen states may face anti-gay referenda based on the

language of the 1992 Colorado initiative. Spearheading these drives will be the Christian Coalition, the vastly expanded and constantly growing movement established by televangelist Pat Robertson in 1989.

Robertson's apocalyptic rhetoric continues unabated. As he rallied his troops in a recent foray, Robertson said, "By the end of this decade control of the major institutions of society will be firmly in the hands of those who share a pro-family, religious traditional value perspective." This is the Christian Coalition game plan. They are convinced of their ultimate success and see no grounds for comparison with those who see things differently. Robertson describes himself and his followers as "God's representatives destined to rule and reign." He told a conference of supporters that their political opponents are "Satanic forces, not just human beings to beat in elections."

### Private School Enrollment Drops

Despite widespread propaganda to the contrary, there has been a decline in enrollment in America's nonpublic schools from 10.7% of the student population two years ago to 10.0% today. The data, covering the 1991-92 school year, have just been released by Quality Education Data, a Denver-based database marketing service.

In round numbers nonpublic school enrollment has declined by 116,223 pupils in just two years, from 4,847,006 to 4,730,783. Public schools, in contrast, have gained 895,895 students during the past two years, with California, Texas and Florida being responsible for more than half of the public enrollment increase.

Nonpublic enrollment declined as a percentage of all students in 43 states. It increased slightly in South Dakota, Tennessee, Vermont, West Virginia, Oklahoma, Arkansas, and New Jersey.

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### Percentage of Students Attending Private Schools By State

State	Percentage	State	Percentage
DE	18.45	KS	7.44
PA	17.42	SD	7.21
HI	17.22	SC	7.12
NY	16.22	TN	7.10
NJ	15.44	VT	7.10
WI	14.91	GA	7.06
LA	14.79	ME	6.89
IL	14.49	AZ	6.71
RI	14.49	AL	6.65
MA	14.27	WA	6.63
MD	13.73	OR	6.09
CT	13.47	CO	6.05
MO	12.55	ND	6.01
NE	11.82	NM	5.32
OH	11.46	TX	4.95
NH	11.21	MT	4.57
FL	10.18	AR	4.56
MI	10.02	NC	4.53
MN	9.60	AK	4.25
IA	9.48	NV	4.02
IN	9.11	WV	3.85
CA	9.09	OK	3.27
MS	8.35	ID	3.04
KY	7.70	WY	2.22
VA	7.67	UT	1.55

The historic geographic patterns remain, with Delaware, Pennsylvania and Hawaii the three states where private school enrollment percentage is the highest.

One distinct pattern emerging from the data is that private school attendance is far more likely in the elementary grades than in secondary schools. While 14.8% of elementary students attend nonpublic schools, only 4.0% of secondary school students do so.

### N.H. Parochial Quashed

On Dec. 23 the New Hampshire Supreme Court ruled unanimously (*Barksdale v. Town of Epsom*) that a \$1,000 real estate tax abatement for sectarian school expenses is unconstitutional. The plan, cooked up by officials in the town of Epsom, violates the section of the state constitution that states, "No person shall ever be compelled to pay towards the support of the schools of any sect or denomination."

The previous month the same court held in an advisory opinion that a proposed school choice plan that would include private religious schools would be unconstitutional.

### School Choir Religious

Philadelphia's Central High School Gospel Choir is a religious group. Therefore, the Philadelphia School District acted properly when it directed the choir to broaden its repertoire to include non-religious music, meet without the direction of a school employee, or move off campus. So ruled federal district judge Clifford Scott Green in a ruling dated Dec. 30 but filed Jan. 4.

The choir had been meeting and practicing at Central for five years under the direction of a school secretary, who received no pay.

Judge Green ruled under the 1984 federal Equal Access Act, which permits religious groups to meet in public secondary schools but does not allow direction by school employees.

School officials said they did not want to oppose the choir, but only to require conformity with federal law.

Judge Green noted in his ruling that the choir's music was all religious, was not merely a cultural activity devoted to songs dated from the days of slavery, and that choir performances invariably involved praying, even when they took place in the public school.

### Hasidic School District Nixed

On Dec. 31 the Appellate Division of the New York State Supreme Court ruled 4-1 that a special school district, the Kiryas Joel Village School District, set up exclusively to serve the ultra-orthodox Satmar Hasidic sect, violates the church-state separation principle. However, the one-building school district will remain open pending an appeal to the state's highest court.

### N.J. Con-Con Resolution

The New Jersey legislature is considering a resolution requesting Congress to call a constitutional convention, the first since 1787, to consider adopting an amendment to require a balanced federal budget. Thirty-two states have already passed such resolutions in the last 20 years. New Jersey would make it 33, one short of the number required to force a convention. Religious liberty experts fear that a convention could lead to radical revision and weakening of the Bill of Rights.



## Update, *continued*

### Portrait Ordered Removed

U.S. Federal District judge Benjamin Gibson has ruled the Bloomingdale (MI) High School must remove a portrait of Jesus from a hallway. A senior at the school filed suit last fall charging that the portrait implies school endorsement of Christianity and thus violates the establishment clause. School officials had argued, unsuccessfully, that the picture is secular because it informs students about Jesus as a historical figure. The school board plans to appeal the ruling.

### Robertson Owes U.S.

The Federal Election Commission (FEC) has recommended that televangelist-politician Pat Robertson repay \$388,500 to taxpayers for exceeding campaign spending limits during his 1988 presidential campaign. Federal auditors had sought Robertson's campaign records for over three years. Robertson received \$10.4 million in federal matching funds during his unsuccessful 1988 run for the Republican nomination.

### Scout Discrimination Ok'd

Illinois U.S. District Court judge James B. ruled in March that a public school district may allow a Cub Scout pack to meet in its facilities even though the Scouts practice religious discrimination in admissions. Plaintiff's attorney Richard B. Grossman said the ruling will be appealed.

### Who Reigns in Zion?

The town of Zion, IL, has spent seven years trying unsuccessfully to defend the motto on its town seal, "God Reigns," even being rebuffed twice by the U.S. Supreme Court. Now Zion is trying a new tack, putting on its seal the "In God We Trust" motto which was added to U.S. coins in the 19th century and to currency in 1954, and which has been upheld by the courts as more a historical than a religious reference.

The new development is too much even for the *Chicago Tribune*, which editorialized in December, "Win or lose, Zion is pressing a point of dubious value. While the courts have held that 'In God We Trust' carries no particular religious implication on money, Zion clearly is trying to use protected words in quite a different way—to get around the constitutional ban on religious expression by government.

"In this, the city seems to be saying that it doesn't abide the idea of a secular state and its proper separation from religious belief and practice, and will indulge in mischief to circumvent it. And Zion misses entirely the point that upholding this separation is not indecent or sacrilegious, but the best way to honor both."

The town seems intent on subjecting its taxpayers to more years of expensive litigation.

### Gideon Bibles Shelved

It is unconstitutional for the Gideons to give Bibles to public school children in Rensselaer, Indiana, the U.S. 7th Circuit Court of Appeals ruled in January. The unanimous decision overruled a district court's approval. The appellate panel criticized the lower court for being "insensitive to the special concern about coercive influences on impressionable public school children."

This is only the most recent of a long string of legal setbacks for the Gideons, a fundamentalist men's group which distributes only the King James Version of the Bible to hotels, schools, and other public places. In 1951 the New Jersey Supreme Court ruled against their Bible giveaway campaigns in that state's public schools.

### Falwell Follies

Although Jerry Falwell's Liberty University was found by the Virginia Supreme Court to be too sectarian to be the beneficiary of tax-exempt municipal bonds, the institution is now seeking public funds through the state's tuition assistance grants program. The State Council of Higher Education, however, has declined the request unless LU drops the requirement for mandatory chapel for students and faculty, mandatory church attendance for students, and mandatory signing of statements by students and faculty that they agree to respect, support, and abide by the school's fundamentalist doctrinal position.

Actually, the Council should also insist that LU eliminate mandatory religion classes and all religious requirements for faculty. Even then LU would probably remain substantially sectarian.

State tuition assistance grants are available only to students who attend secular schools or church-related schools that are not pervasively sectarian.

### Church not a Landmark

It's a church, not a landmark. The Washington State Supreme Court ruled 5-3 in December that the city of Seattle violated First Covenant Church's religious freedom by designating it a historic landmark. The state's high court, to which the U.S. Supreme Court remanded the case in 1991, held that Seattle's preservation interests in the 82-year-old building were "not compelling," and did not justify the infringement of the state constitutional guarantee of "absolute freedom of conscience in all matters of religious sentiment, belief, and worship." Seattle nominated First Covenant for preservation status in 1980. Despite church disapproval, the building was named a historic landmark in 1985. The preservation ordinances mandate city cooperation in or approval of any changes made to the building's exterior. First Covenant officials said Pastor James Anderson and the church's attorneys maintained that government control of church property amounted to government control of the church's finances. The court agreed. (NIRR)

### The Return of MM

Televangelist Jerry Falwell, in a new fundraising letter for his "Liberty Alliance," is asking for money and support for "re-activation" of his Moral Majority organization. The letter names "homosexuals, abortionists, feminists, New Agers, and humanists" as targets of a new crusade. "Jerry Falwell is back," the letter says, "and ready to do battle! I am ready to be your voice in the nation."

In a strange slap at other televangelists, Falwell claims that "Very few media ministries take a bold and public stand against the forces of evil which are destroying our nation."

### Maharishi Schools

Among nonpublic schools which could benefit from a voucher  
*(continued on page 10)*

## Update, *continued*

parochial plan is the Maharishi School of the Age of Enlightenment, located near our ARL offices in Wheaton, MD, and one of several in the country dedicated to the teachings of Transcendental Meditation (TM) founder Mahesh Yogi. Students in the Wheaton school participate in two daily periods of TM meditation and study the "science of creative intelligence," TM-speak for the theory behind TM.

Although the TM movement claims not to be religious, a federal appeals court ruled in 1979 (*Malnak v. Yogi*) that the movement was substantially religious and could therefore not be taught or promoted in public schools. ARL's Al Menendez and Edd Doerr were involving in setting up the lawsuit.

## International

**Bonn:** More Germans are getting out of the generally applicable church tax, which provides annually an estimated \$4.8 billion each to the Roman Catholic and Evangelical Lutheran churches. A church surtax of 8% to 9% is added to regular income taxes. It is collected by the government and turned over to the church in which the taxpayer was baptized. Germany's income tax ranges from 25% to over 50% for the wealthy. German personal income is similar to that of Americans.

When East Germany was integrated with West Germany, a one-year 7.5% surtax was added to help pay the costs of reunification. The increased tax burden led many German Catholics and Protestants to formally sever their church ties, the only way to get out of the church tax. The Catholic Church had a net loss of 143,530 members in 1990, while the Evangelical Lutheran Church lost about 200,000. The estimated revenue loss to the churches was about \$130 million.

**Warsaw:** Although the majority of Poles are pro-choice, Poland's parliament, responding to intense pressure by the Catholic Church, including a visit by the pope, has enacted Eastern Europe's most stringent anti-abortion law. President Lech Walesa signed the law on February 15. Parliament refused to put the law to a popular referendum, even though 1.3 million people signed petitions demanding one.

The new law permits abortions only when the pregnancy "seriously threatens" a woman's life, when there is "serious and irreversible malformation of the fetus," or when the pregnancy results from rape or incest. Approval by three physicians is required. Even prenatal testing for abnormalities is banned unless there are medical grounds to suspect problems, as in a family with a history of genetic illnesses. Physicians who perform illegal abortions may be imprisoned for two years.

Bishop Tadeusz Pieronek, head of the Polish Bishops Conference, has criticized the new law as too liberal.

Ten years ago between 300,000 and 500,000 abortions were performed annually, a figure which dropped to an estimated 100,000 in 1992.

Private travel agencies are reportedly gearing up to arrange for women to travel to Ukraine or the Czech Republic for abortions. While it is now illegal in Poland to help a woman leave the country to have the procedure, the agencies can probably avoid prosecution by never mentioning the word abortion.

**Port-au-Prince:** The Holy See (the headquarters of the Roman Catholic Church, located in Vatican City) is the only "state" that recognizes the military dictatorship of Haiti. The Holy

See has long enjoyed close relations with Haiti's dictators, even allowing former "president for life" Francois "Papa Doc" Duvalier to select Catholic bishops in the island country.

Elected president Jean-Bertrand Aristide, who was ousted by a military coup in 1991, was never recognized by the Holy See. Aristide is a Catholic priest who has criticized his church for ignoring the poor in the hemisphere's poorest country.

Two U.S. liberal Catholic bishops, the Quixote Center and the Catholics Speak Out coalition, have launched a campaign to urge the Holy See to withdraw recognition from the dictatorship.

**Budapest:** Hungary's parliament voted on Dec. 17 to codify the country's abortion practices. Under the new law, women may have abortions only if they or the fetus face life-threatening health problems, if they are victims of rape, or if they state that the pregnancy has caused a serious crisis for them. Women would have to consult a committee, its nature not yet made clear, before having an abortion.

The Hungarian Women's Association fears that the new law could be "a tool of pressure" on women. A recent poll published in the daily Magyar Hirlap showed that 63% of respondents favor abortion on request.

In 1991, 89,931 abortions were performed in Hungary, compared to 127,202 live births.

**Warsaw:** Polish Protestants and Orthodox Christians are up in arms over a proposal to build a Roman Catholic chapel inside the nation's Parliament building. The Polish Ecumenical Council, representing 30 minority faiths in the heavily Catholic country, objected that it was inappropriate for one religious group to have such special treatment. Meanwhile, a new survey of Polish public opinion found that while 90% of Poles consider themselves Catholics, majorities disagreed with Church teachings on abortion, contraception, divorce, and celibacy for the clergy.

*(continued on page 11)*

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## Update, *continued*

**Teheran:** Although the clerical-fascist dictatorship in Iran has persecuted members of the Bahai faith since its revolution in 1979, it has just been learned that in February 1991 the Supreme Revolutionary Cultural Council adopted a "confidential" code that denies employment and school enrollment to any Iranians who identify themselves as Bahais. Of Iran's 300,000 Bahais, about 200 have been executed and thousands imprisoned since 1979.

Bahai is an offshoot of Islam that incorporates elements of Christianity and Judaism, founded in Iran in the 19th century. There are five million Bahais around the world, including 110,000 in the U.S.

The *New York Times* compares the Iranian anti-Bahai code to the Nuremberg laws adopted by the Nazis in 1935 to "shred" the rights of Jews.

**Riyadh:** The Saudi Arabian government has been expanding the power of its religious police, the Mutawin, in an effort to preempt even more extreme Islamic fundamentalism. The Mutawin, often accompanied by regular police, patrol Saudi cities, shopping malls, restaurants, and even private homes to enforce restrictions on theaters, foreign publications, TV satellite dishes, alcohol, pornography, drugs, gambling, public contact between unmarried men and women (married couples dining out need to carry a marriage certificate), women's garb (head to toe covering), and, of course, heresy, for which the penalty is death. More well educated and liberal Saudis regard the trend as inimical to democratic reforms.

## Books

***Roman Catholic-Anglican Ecumenical Union: A Cause I Can No Longer Support***, by John M. Spong, ARL, 16 pp., \$1.25.

Newark's outspoken and courageous Episcopal bishop tackles some difficult subjects which he feels separate Roman Catholics from Anglicans (and, by extension, many other Christians who dissent from Rome on fundamental issues), targeting the role of women in the churches, homosexuality, and Rome's "unwillingness to allow dissent about great theological issues."

Spong's disillusion with the thrust of the current ecumenical movement is noteworthy and demands attention, which is why *The New York Times* gave this critique front page coverage last year after it appeared in a scholarly journal, *The Virginia Quarterly Review*.

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We at ARL thought it deserved wider circulation, so this pamphlet, with an introduction by ARL President John Swomley, who affirms that the ecumenical movement is plagued by the Vatican's "arrogance" and is and its refusal to accept "meaningful theological and ethical criticism from scholars in other churches."

Bishop Spong is particularly eloquent in his defense of abortion rights. Spong's analysis is available from ARL for \$1.25 for single copies, or \$1.00 each for 5 or more copies.

— Al Menendez

***The American Hour***, by Os Guinness, Free Press, 1993, 458 pp., \$24.95.

Os Guinness, an English expatriate living in the U.S. since 1984, is the main architect of the so-called "Williamsburg Charter" in 1988 and the "Living With Our Deepest Differences" curriculum on religious liberty for public school use published in 1990, both of which this newsletter has analyzed and criticized as seriously flawed and deficient. (Copies of our critiques are available for \$1.00 from ARL, P.O. Box 6656, Silver Spring, MD 20916.)

In *The American Hour* Guinness wrings his hands about an alleged "current crisis of cultural authority" in the U.S. and discusses the role of religion in American culture. He writes glowingly about the importance of religious liberty but then spends a great many pages attacking implementation of the church-state separation principle. Through most of the book the author remains floating in the stratosphere of high level abstractions, borne aloft on a seemingly inexhaustible stream of hot air. On the rare occasions when he descends to somewhere near the real world he carefully avoids discussing any of the real church-state conflicts which the country has faced and makes it clear, to those readers who have the stamina to wade through this opus, that he really does not like church-state separation or its defenders (as this reviewer learned in five years of interactions with the author), thinks ill of religiously neutral American public schools, and disapproves of the right of women to freedom of conscience on abortion.

Among the book's many absurdities: repeated assertions about the "decline of the Christian Right" (the author must have slept through 1992); criticism of Jewish "overreactions" to proselytism "especially when the Jewish community enjoys so much growth through mixed marriage" (which actually results in a net membership loss to the Jewish community); an absurd attack on humanism for lacking "supernaturalism"; a claim that Mormons are not Christian; confusion of "libertarianism" with "civil liberties."

The book should be mentioned in the Guinness Book of Records (published, I believe, by some of the author's relatives) for having the highest content of clinches and non-sequiturs per page. Its pompous pretensions toward profundity take shallowness to record depths.

(continued on page 12)

## Books, continued

The author winds up offering "faith" as the solution to the "crisis of cultural authority" without specifying or describing what faith he has in mind. When he writes (p. 299) that "Power is only for those who can exercise it effectively and well" and scorns leaders who resort to "constant consultation with the governed," we might be able to detect more than a faint odor of some sort of tory authoritarianism.

— Edd Doerr

***Toward Benevolent Neutrality: Church, State and the Supreme Court***, by Robert T. Miller and Ronald B. Flowers. Markham Press Fund of Baylor University Press, 777 pp., \$44.95, copyright 1992.

Robert Miller and Ronald Flowers have done it again. They have produced an indispensable reference work for specialists in the church-state field. This fourth revised edition reprints the major United States Supreme Court decisions affecting religious liberty from 1872 to 1992. This work is essential for attorneys litigating in this area, and should also be a required purchase for major libraries. The cases included represent, as the authors say, "a body of fascinating literature."

Several tools aid the student, including alphabetical listings of the subjects addressed by the Court, a glossary of legal terms, a bibliography of significant articles, and a table listing each justice's opinions.

— Al Menendez

***Scholarships for Children***, by John E. Coons and Stephen D. Sugarman, Institute of Governmental Studies Press, University of California, Berkeley, 85 pp., \$8.00.

For two decades the authors have been trying to sell their voucher plan for tax support of nonpublic schools, continually tinkering with and modifying their unwieldy contraption in a vain effort to make it less objectionable. Their latest plan for vouchers, rechristened "scholarships for children," suffers from the usual defects. It would specifically allow tax support for pervasively sectarian schools. It would permit religious and ideological selection of teachers, turning them into lowly paid flunkies subject to religious inquisitions and wrecking their unions. It would not allow meaningful control of nonpublic schools by the taxpayers forced to support them. It would permit nonpublic schools to hike tuition to soak up public funds. It would even, the authors acknowledge, encourage and pay for the balkanization of children along religious, ideological, and gender lines.

Coons and Sugarman ignore the critical literature about vouchers, repeatedly display their profound hostility toward public education, and carefully conceal the price tag which the public will have to pay for their goofy proposal, at least \$25 billion per year.

Finally, it is particularly bothersome that this pathetic tract is published by a state university press. The EPA should get after the university for allowing this toxic waste to be released into the environment.

— Edd Doerr

***God's Politician: John Paul at the Vatican***, by David Willey, St. Martins, \$18.95.

BBC Rome correspondent Willey argues convincingly that the Vatican has regained international stature and influence in international politics. He also avers that Pope John Paul II seeks to advance the ethical dimensions of public policy in his numerous travels and political intrigues.

Willey believes that the pope's first objective has been more readily achieved than his second one, since Willey is particularly critical of papal policy on population growth and the AIDS problem.

Willey says, "It is already possible to assess the main successes and failures of the pontificate, its innovations and its persistent areas of weakness." His assessments of "the world's longest surviving international organization" have the ring of truth. On the positive side are his travels, his support for political changes in Eastern Europe, and "his championship of human rights in many parts of the world."

On the negative side are "his implacable opposition to theological innovation and the inquisitorial and totalitarian methods he employed to stifle dissent among theologians and bishops" and "his total disregard for the galloping increase in the numbers of people inhabiting our planet," says Willey.

Among the author's observations: The fastest growing Catholic community in this world is in Africa, where the Catholic population has grown from 50 million to 90 million since 1978; Many dioceses spend months and even years paying off the debts incurred in the wake of a papal visit, while the pope's 50 international trips have cost over \$500 million; Opus Dei conspires to take over Vatican Radio from the Jesuits.

In his chapter on Vatican finances, Willey writes, "Whether John Paul's reign is going to mark the start of a new era of openness and public accountability remains questionable. Old Vatican habits of official secrecy die hard."

This balance sheet on the papacy today is essential reading for Vatican-watchers.

— Al Menendez

***False Choices: Why School Vouchers Threaten Our Children's Future***, edited by Robert Lowe and Barbara Miner, Rethinking Schools (1001 E. Keefe Ave., Milwaukee, WI 53212), 32 pp., \$3.00 plus \$2.00 shipping and handling.

In this short but punchy publication, Jonathan Kozol and other education experts explore school voucher and "choice" plans and show why they would be devastatingly bad public policy. A useful resource in any state in which sectarian special interests are pushing for voucher plans.

— Edd Doerr

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