

*file Religious
tolerance*

**EXCERPTS FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF
THE LEADERS OF THE DIFFERENT FAITHS REPRESENTED
IN TURKEY CONVENED AT IRCICA ON THE OCCASION OF
THE VISIT OF MRS. HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON,
FIRST LADY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

**Welcoming address of IRCICA Director General
Prof. Dr. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu**

Dear Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton, distinguished guests,
I am delighted to welcome you to IRCICA. On behalf of the Centre and myself, I would like to thank you for the honour given to us by your visit. I also welcome the distinguished guests who accepted the invitation to attend this meeting. Your visit to our Centre is another positive step in your efforts towards promoting inter-cultural understanding, a mission which we share. Our Centre, which was established fifteen years ago as the first intergovernmental cultural institution of the OIC and also the first international organisation to be set up in Istanbul, endeavours to strengthen cooperation among Islamic countries and to promote understanding between the Muslim world and other nations. With this aim, we try to inform world opinion about the civilisation of Islam, the history and culture of Muslim nations, their cultural and scientific exchanges with other civilisations, particularly with the West. For many years now, we have been participating in various forums which brought together representatives of different religions. We have also undertaken a great many activities in cooperation with major international organisations and with hundreds of institutions engaged in Islamic studies, including eminent institutions in the United States of America, such as the Library of Congress, the Center for Middle East Studies of Harvard University, and the Middle East Studies Association of North America. Around three hundred universities, research centres and libraries in America and approximately ten thousand institutions in other parts of the world receive our publications. The main purpose of these activities is to present a true image of the Islamic civilisation and foster affinities between peoples of different cultures. We included a number of relevant research projects in our work programs and are currently building up the endowment of a foundation that we have established to help the success and continuity of these efforts.

We believe that inter-religious dialogue ought to be based on the principles of tolerance and respect of others which are shared by all religions and shape the ideal human values of major civilisations. Guidance comes from the religions themselves. All three revealed religions teach man to strive to live his short life on earth in peace. Despite this, relations between religions and cultures still suffer from misunderstandings, intolerance and distrust. Some go so far as to suggest that conflict and confrontation between civilisations are inevitable. Furthermore, statements are made characterising Islam as violent - a label that is in total contradiction with the essence of Islam, a religion of peace. Such assertions overlook the fact that economic, political or other reasons of acts of violence are fundamentally the same in all cultural or religious contexts.

These and other views prejudicial to inter-faith relations are fraught with danger and can be disastrous for the future of mankind, all the more so in the present international environment where new balances of power replace the old bi-polar system. This process, more than ever, calls for joint efforts to prevent religious hatred, which went to the extent of ethnic cleansing in the very recent war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Therefore, inter-faith dialogue carries the utmost importance in our time. I believe that your valuable efforts, and in particular this meeting at IRCICA, will help to reinforce this understanding. Your visit to Istanbul is also highly significant because this is a city which for over five centuries has been one of those rare lands of peace where peoples of different religions live together in an environment of perfect harmony. Your presence in the atmosphere of this historic Yildiz Palace, with the distinguished representatives of our different religious communities, is another meaningful manifestation of inter-cultural dialogue. Towards this goal, our Centre, for its part, will continue to make all efforts possible in cooperation with the institutions concerned all over the world. ...

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**Address of Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton,
First Lady of the United States of America**

Thank you very much, Director General. I feel privileged to be here, and I feel privileged to be here with all of you. Istanbul, as the Director General has already said, has been and remains the meeting place of the world's great religions. I am grateful that the leaders of these religions should gather here this afternoon to assist me in understanding and being part of a dialogue on behalf of peace and tolerance and respect among all people. It is an honour for my daughter and me to be here at the Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture. My daughter has studied Islamic history in school in the United States and has a deep and abiding interest in Islam.

My visit today to just a few of the religious sites that are part of this great city's heritage underscores the deep history and importance of this city and this country to religion. I also had the opportunity yesterday to speak to leaders of the communities of business and academia and other institutions, and I spoke about the dramatic costs of ethnic and religious conflict in the past and in the present.

I saw at first hand in Bosnia just a few days ago, what the failure to respect and tolerate can bring to innocent people. While I was there I met with some religious leaders and leaders of the communities represented in Bosnia, and we discussed how each of them will attempt to play a major role in bringing peace to that troubled land. They know very well that reconstruction consists not only of rebuilding the physical plant, repairing the houses, once again opening the roads, and enabling people to live their lives, but it also involves spiritual reconstruction and reconciliation. They told me they knew that peace cannot be realised unless there is both physical and spiritual renewal, and unless peace, tolerance, respect and understanding replace the hatred and violence that marred their lives.

The leaders gathered here already know the importance of dialogue, community, tolerance and reconciliation. And I am very grateful that we have such leaders representing the major monotheistic religions here in this city, because this city has so much symbolic and religious importance to people throughout the world. As the Director General

said, we face enormous challenges in the future and the religious community will have to be at the forefront in assisting the rest of us in meeting those challenges, in creating conditions for coexistence and harmony, in making it possible for all religions and religious people to exemplify their own spirituality in ways that enhance their lives and the quality of life among all of us. I am very grateful that I have this opportunity to meet with leaders who stand against those who, as the Director General said, would use and misuse religion for political or other reasons. And I am also grateful that there are efforts such as those that emanate from this Centre to bridge the divides that too often separate us, man from man, woman from woman, people from people, and instead, attempt to bring reconciliation to all the children of God.

I look forward to our opportunity to exchange ideas and views, and I am appreciative of the chance I have been given to listen to these leaders gathered here who speak for so many others and whose voices have been strong on behalf of the need for all of us to be humbler, to work harder and to understand our obligations to make it possible for each of us to fulfil the divine mission that we have been given as believers. And I thank you very much for convening this gathering.

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Primary Lessons

Federal Education Law Becomes Hot Target Of Wary Conservatives

New Hampshire Turns Down Funds to Aid Schools, Fearing Hidden Agenda

Vaccines and Mind Control

By ROCHELLE SHARPE

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

CONCORD, N.H. — In the shadow of the New Hampshire Capitol last summer, concerned parents began weekly meetings to detect any hidden agenda behind Goals 2000, the federal government's latest effort to improve education.

Suspicious of claims that the national reform plan was voluntary, they scrutinized the new law as if it were an arcane text. When they uncovered words they viewed as synonymous with mandatory—including 195 uses of "shall," 63 of "will," 33 of "require," and 13 of "must"—they became more wary.

"It's like joining the army," David Wheeler, a Republican state senator, later complained. "You can voluntarily join, but once you're in, you are under orders."

The "Live Free or Die" state became one of three in the nation this year to refuse the education money available under the law, underscoring some citizens' deepening distrust of the federal government.

Ink-Blot Test

In many ways, the Goals 2000 debate symbolizes the fundamental tension in politics today: the struggle between federal and local control. The issue is especially sensitive for education, widely perceived to be in dire need of reform nationwide but historically controlled by local school boards. The controversy also underscores how a simple, wholesome idea becomes contentious once theory gets complicated by political reality.

The crusade to create national education goals began with much fanfare at a summit of the country's governors in 1989. But once the mom-and-apple-pie goals and a plan to achieve them became law last

year, the movement's popularity started to wilt. The flexible program became a political Rorschach test, embodying for some conservatives a host of government evils.

"Goals 2000 will produce stupid children," declared a fund-raising letter from the American Policy Center, a libertarian lobbying group in Virginia. "The government plans to take over the responsibility for raising infants, toddlers and preschoolers."

Campaign Politics

Although Congress approved the law in a bipartisan vote early last year, the House decided this year to eliminate the \$750 million the administration requested for Goals 2000 for 1996. (The Senate is scheduled to consider the matter this fall.) Virginia and Montana as well as New Hampshire declined to apply for the grants this year, citing fears of federal intrusion. The program has even become a Republican rallying cry in the New Hampshire primary: While campaigning there, former Education Secretary Lamar Alexander, Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole and Sen. Phil Gramm praised local officials for rejecting the money.

All the fuss is over a program that many political analysts view as the most flexible education plan ever produced by the federal government. The law outlines eight broad national education goals, such as making sure American students are competent in core subjects by the year 2000 and making them first in the world in math and science.

To accomplish its goals, the law calls for the creation of model national academic standards in 13 subjects, standards that any school district can use as guides. It also offers states money to reform their schools so they can achieve the education goals, and requires them to submit a plan to the Department of Education describing how they would use the funds.

"Most of the concerns people have raised about why they shouldn't get in the program are not founded on what the law really says," says Michael Cohen, a senior adviser at the Department of Education. "This is not massive federal intrusion," he adds. "It's essentially federal support for bottom-up reform."

Oregon Tale

More than a dozen states vigorously debated whether they should take the money, fearing hidden federal strings, but in the end, 47 decided to apply. Many of them are now delighted with the program and, as required, have passed the federal money on to local school districts for such

things as training teachers and expanding foreign language courses. U.S. Education Department officials say.

In Oregon, for example, educators are especially enthusiastic about a provision that allows states to ask the secretary of education to set aside federal regulations that become barriers to local reform. "It's given us flexibility that we've never enjoyed," says Larry Austin, spokesman for Oregon's department of education. "It supports the same thing we support, bottom-up school reform and higher standards."

But in New Hampshire, where many citizens are adamant that schools be controlled by municipalities, Goals 2000 just sounded too good to be true. When residents heard that the federal government wanted to give them money for reform—about \$1.3 million in fiscal 1995—with no strings attached, they decided to examine the offer carefully.

Before long, some parents were circulating rumors that Goals 2000 was connected to a United Nations cabal and were discussing how school inoculation programs could result in injections of mind-controlling substances, says one top state education official.

Eleanor Campbell, president of an anti-Goals 2000 group, says the law's real goals are "mind manipulation for political correctness." She says the academics behind Goals 2000 are behaviorists, who believe children don't need knowledge or understanding but critical thinking.

Mrs. Campbell believes one of the law's goals, to have children start school "ready to learn," would let federal workers judge parents' performance in the home and take their children away. (In one section of the law that has nothing to do with school reform, small grants are offered to non-profit groups for parental resource centers. Groups must spend part of the money on one of two programs, including "Parents as Teachers," in which parents who sign up can get regularly scheduled visits at home from certified parent educators.)

Search for Guns?

Mrs. Campbell's organization, People for Responsible Educational Policy, is part of what locals call the "megagroup," a coalition of such bodies as the Granite State Taxpayers, the Christian Coalition, New Hampshire Right to Life, and the Gun Owners of New Hampshire—each of which finds something to dislike in the legislation. The gun owners' group, for instance, believes Goals 2000 would allow the federal government to remove children from

MORE...

Primary Lessons:

continued...

homes where guns can be found and loaded within 10 minutes, even though the only mention of firearms in Goals 2000 says schools should be free of guns.

The Christian Coalition, whose national director, Ralph Reed, spoke against the bill on the floor of the state senate, argues that the program ignores parental authority over children. George Fellendorf, chairman of the coalition's state chapter, adds, "Schools believe what they're teaching is more important than what the parents are teaching."

Such criticisms of Goals 2000 can obscure the more basic anger in the Republican Party's conservative wing about the education plan, which started taking shape during the Bush administration. President Bush, who pledged to become the nation's "education president," convened the governors' education summit and later announced six national education goals in one of his State of the Union addresses.

Mr. Bush, who favored a grass-roots education movement rather than a sweeping federal program, later proposed legislation that outlined the goals, financed model schools and promoted school choice, using federal vouchers for private schools. But it never passed.

President Clinton changed the focus of the education legislation. Opposed to school choice, Mr. Clinton instead proposed offering states money to reform their own schools if they submitted a plan outlining how they would use the federal money.

Congress approved Goals 2000, but by the time legislation had been crafted that would appeal to enough lawmakers to pass, the voluntary program had grown substantially. The number of goals went from six to eight, and the number of courses for which model academic standards would be created jumped from five to 13.

The model standards also became a source of frustration because they turned out to be so detailed. Chester E. Finn Jr., senior fellow at the Hudson Institute, a conservative think tank in Washington, D.C., said he had expected the standards would be relatively brief, perhaps all fitting into a slim 70-page volume, as such standards do in Japan. Instead, the geography standards alone comprise 272 pages. "It's a kind of excess that gets to the point of unreality," he says.

Thumbs Down

Once it was time for New Hampshire to apply for the money, neither U.S. Education Secretary Richard Riley nor New Hampshire Education Commissioner Elizabeth Twomey could convince the state board of education that the federal program really had no strings. Mr. Riley wrote a lengthy letter to the board, reassuring members that their worries about

federal control were unfounded. Even the model standards are suggestions, not requirements.

To ease fears that the government could somehow distort students' values, Ms. Twomey focused the state's application not on curriculum changes but on ways to use technology in the schools. In the end, the state board just didn't trust the public officials. It voted 4-2 against applying for the money, convinced that the legislation would eventually mutate into a highly regulated federal plan.

Some New Hampshire citizens, though, considered the entire debate more an exercise in politics than ideology.

"If we didn't have the first-in-the-nation primary, we'd have the money today," says Arnie Arnesen, a prominent Democrat who lost her bid for governor in 1992. Gov. Stephen Merrill declined to overturn the board's decision to bolster his conservative credentials and ensure his king-maker status in the Republican primary, she contends. Many Democrats view the Republicans' complaints about Goals 2000 as a political maneuver to keep President Clinton from pointing to education reform as an accomplishment during the 1996 election.

The governor's office says Mr. Merrill's action wasn't motivated by politics but by concern that Goals 2000 would weaken local control of education.

Education has become increasingly political in New Hampshire in recent years. The town of Merrimack became a testing ground for ideas of the Christian Coalition, with some of its members lobbying the local school board unsuccessfully to get creationism taught in the schools. They succeeded instead in adding a moment of silence to the school day and removing all references to homosexuality in the classroom.

Kenneth Coleman, a Merrimack board member who lost an election in which he faced Christian Coalition opposition, says people may not accept all the religious right's criticisms of the schools, but the constant repetition of the charges creates an atmosphere in which the average citi-

zen doesn't know whom or what to believe. "Education has become a wonderful thing to hate," he says. "People blame it for the loss of family values. They blame it for not creating the work force they want. They blame it for causing higher taxes."

Virginia's Battle

But Mr. Finn of the Hudson Institute argues that the federal government really can interfere with local control of education. "I do not think this is a paranoid fantasy," Mr. Finn says of fears about the reach of the Goals 2000 legislation. "This is the normal history of federal programs over the last 30 years."

Indeed, when Virginia was contemplating whether to participate in Goals 2000, it was feuding with the U.S. Education Department over the state's decision to expel a handicapped child who had brought a gun to school. The department tried to withhold the state's \$60 million in special-education money over the 1993 incident, citing federal rules that require states always to provide services to handicapped children. Federal and state officials have been locked in a court battle ever since.

The incident, says William C. Boshier Jr., head of Virginia's schools, "is an example of how trust erodes" between states and the federal government. His frustration is heightened by the number of federal requirements that apply to his department. "I'd like to tell you as superintendent of 35,000 children that I spend a lot of time dealing with children and curriculum. But instead, I spent an inordinate amount of time on friable asbestos, urea formaldehyde, underground fuel tanks, and lead in water fountains," he says.

Indeed, some New Hampshire school-board members became concerned that if they agreed to take Goals 2000 money, the state would be forced to comply with environmental or transportation rules.

"They get the hook into you, and then you can't get out," says Pat Genestreti, a former New Hampshire state board member. "If they want to really give us money with no strings attached, they should just mail the check."

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This arresting billboard in a Baltimore neighborhood is part of the Campaign for Our Children, a six-year media effort organized by the Maryland Governor's Council on Adolescent Pregnancy. It uses television, radio, posters, and educational materials to encourage pre-teens and teenagers not to have sex.

call for censorship. It is a call for truth-telling. If the media insist on portraying the reality of American sexual behavior, the media must also portray the reality of its consequences.

Next, we must redefine "responsible" sexual behavior in a way that acknowledges the sexual revolution, economic reality, and the developmental differences between younger and older adolescents.

Families today cannot thrive if they are supported solely by a man or a woman with only a high school degree. Thus, early marriage for most teens is impractical. For older teens then, sexually responsible behavior should be defined as behavior that prevents early and out-of-wedlock pregnancy, the spread of sexually transmitted diseases, and unnecessary abortions. Policies and programs to meet these goals must acknowledge the cognitive differences between the early and late teenage years. Children today may reach sexual maturity as early as 10 or 11, yet, on average, adolescents begin to grasp the consequences of their actions at age 16.

In other words, teens are biologically impelled to have sex before they can manage it. Thus, for young teens incapable of making mature choices and using birth control responsibly, there is no such thing as "safe"

sex. Abstinence is the only responsible behavior.

Older teens who have sex, however, are simply behaving the way 18- and 19-year-olds have behaved for generations. And unless we reconfigure our economy to make it practical for them to marry, practicality requires that we uncouple our social demand that sex be limited to marriage. We can and must, however, reimpose the social sanction against unmarried childbearing.

Practicality also requires that we offer all young people the information and opportunities to develop the skills they need to behave responsibly. To achieve this, the federal government should design a comprehensive sexuality education curriculum for grades K-12 that school districts could voluntarily adopt. This means providing an age-specific agenda of information young people need to know about their physical and emotional development. It also means teaching them decision-making and negotiating skills with regard to sexual behavior.

The federal government should also give states challenge grants to fund community-controlled clinics that would provide young men and women easy access to health care, including contraceptive information and family planning services.

free - for right

'94 Christian Coalition

VOTER GUIDE



Rick Santorum (R)

PENNSYLVANIA U.S. Senate



Harris Wofford (D)

ISSUES		
Opposes	Raising Federal Income Taxes	Supports
Supports	Prohibiting Abortion Except in Cases of Rape, Incest, and Life of the Mother	Opposes
Supports	Federal Tax Relief for Families	Opposes
Opposes	Federal Government Control of Health Care	Supports
Opposes	Banning Ownership of Legal Firearms	Supports
Supports	Term Limits for Congress	Opposes

- False

- False

- False

- False

- False

PENNSYLVANIA Governor



Tom Ridge (R)



Mark Singel (D)



Peg Lautsik (I)

ISSUES			
Parental Choice in Education	Supports	Opposes	Supports
Pennsylvania Abortion Control Act	Supports	Opposes	Supports
Banning Abortion Except for Life of the Mother	Opposes	Opposes	Supports
Outcome-Based Education (OBE)	Opposes	Supports	Opposes
Term Limits	Opposes	No Response*	Supports
Raising State Income Taxes	Opposes	No Response*	Opposes

★ Vote on November 8 ★

WINNING THROUGH REASON, NOT FEAR:

10 RULES FOR MEETING THE CHALLENGE OF THE RELIGIOUS RIGHT

This memo outlines the key strategic findings from a national survey conducted by Peter D. Hart Research Associates on behalf of People For the American Way. The survey gauged voters' views on basic social and moral values and important public policy issues, and measured attitudes toward the Religious Right, its leaders, and its agenda. For the survey, a representative sample of 1,002 registered voters were interviewed by telephone between August 1 and 6, 1994.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report outlines ten "rules of engagement" to help those who are facing and dealing with challenges from the Religious Right. These guidelines are derived from People For the American Way's in-depth national survey, which reveals a complex battlefield. Relatively few voters today are drawn to the Religious Right, but neither do many fear its influence; much of the public embraces traditional moral and religious values, and voices concern over a perceived decline in these values, yet most people reject the specific policies advocated by the Religious Right in the name of those values.

Meeting the challenge of the Religious Right thus requires a strategy based on revealing and contesting its real agenda for the nation, rather than on questioning the legitimacy of the movement or sounding the alarm about its ostensible power. This is best done by moving the debate beyond questions of general values, to focus on specific issues and policies and spotlight the often

extreme positions taken by the Religious Right and its leaders. Voters do not object to the Religious Right's expressed values--many of which they respect--but they do object to its efforts to impose a narrow religious agenda on all Americans. This is the movement's principal point of vulnerability.

The public already is skeptical of the Religious Right, and the opportunity exists to expand and crystalize these doubts. The survey results indicate, however, that some tactics and strategies employed by Religious Right opponents have not been effective. This is why there are "don'ts" as well as "dos" included in the recommendations. Progressives only strengthen the Religious Right's hand when they exaggerate the threat posed by the movement, employ extreme rhetoric, or fail to respect the public's core values.

Ultimately, this is a fight to capture the **political mainstream**. Today, most voters do not feel represented by either progressives--who do not seem to share their concern over the nation's crisis of moral values--or the Religious Right--which does not respect their belief in the separation of church and state. Progressives need to change this dynamic by enlisting mainstream voters to form a solid majority opposed to the Religious Right and its political agenda.

Progressives can accomplish this if they acknowledge and address voters' deep concern over the nation's moral decline, speak to the issues that truly concern average Americans, and--most important--trust in people's reason rather than appealing to their fears.

The ten rules are as follows:

1. Do not focus the debate on the extent of the Religious Right's strength or exaggerate the "threat" it poses. It is not the Religious Right's existence--or its putative power--that Americans object to but rather what it wants to *do*.
2. Always remember that this is a fight for the mainstream, which will be won by addressing the concerns and values of ordinary Americans. Voters often feel left out of today's arguments between the Religious Right and progressives. This leaves both these sides on the margins, with the middle up for grabs.
3. When appropriate, criticize the Religious Right for trying to use government to impose its religious values on others, thereby mixing religion and politics in an inappropriate way. This is what most limits its appeal with voters.
4. Whenever possible, engage the Religious Right in fights over specific issue positions rather than general values, and force its leaders to defend their most extreme positions. Progressives can win on the issues, especially when they develop a competing agenda for change.
5. Speak to Americans' strong conviction that the nation is experiencing a serious decline in moral values. Avoid getting positioned outside the mainstream on questions of core values.
6. Highlight the limited range of values advocated by the Religious Right, and challenge its claim to speak for all moral and religious Americans.
7. Do not allow the Religious Right to define political differences as a debate over the importance or value of religion. Although Americans do not favor government promoting particular religious views, they do want more religion in their society.
8. Do not compromise your credibility by employing exaggerated language. Progressives' descriptions of the Religious Right must ring true to voters.
9. Reach out to less-educated and lower-income voters, who often do not have liberal social values.
10. Educate younger Americans about the Religious Right; they reject much of its agenda, but are also the least concerned about its influence.

RULES FOR ENGAGING THE RELIGIOUS RIGHT

- 1. Do not focus the debate on the extent of the Religious Right's strength or exaggerate the "threat" that it poses. It is not the Religious Right's existence--or its putative power--that Americans object to but rather what it wants to *do*.**

It is important to recognize at the outset that Americans, by and large, do not fear the Religious Right or its influence. Just 28% of voters say that "the increasing influence of conservative religious groups in the political process" is a very or fairly serious problem for the country today, while two-thirds feel this is a just somewhat or not that serious a problem. The results are essentially the same when we ask about the growing influence of "Religious Right" or "radical right-wing" political groups within the Republican Party--34% of voters rate each of these as very or fairly serious problems. Furthermore, the public feels strongly that most of the criticisms leveled at the Religious Right are "exaggerated fears" (61%) rather than "legitimate concerns" (21%).

Why are most Americans not very concerned about the influence of the Religious Right? First, the public generally believes that people have a right to speak out and promote their viewpoint, a right that certainly extends to the leaders and members of Religious Right groups. Second, people do not see religious conservatives as having an extraordinary amount of influence today. The "barbarians at the gate" imagery and rhetoric sometimes employed by progressives does not make sense to most voters, and may even serve to reduce the credibility

of those who use it. Such language also can create the impression that progressives would prefer to silence certain people because of their religious or political views, which undermines any message based on the ideals of liberty and tolerance.

At the same time, most voters are not attracted to the Religious Right. For example, just 18% of voters express favorable feelings toward Pat Robertson--probably the most prominent national leader of the movement--while nearly half either hold a neutral (25%) or unfavorable (21%) view of him. Fully 41% of voters say that knowing a political candidate "was closely associated with right-wing religious groups and supported the positions of the Religious Right" would make them *less* likely to support that candidate, while only one-quarter (24%) indicate that this type of association would increase that candidate's chances of receiving their vote (another 23% say such a link would make no difference to them).¹

Most Americans do not support the Religious Right, but they also do not see it as a clear and present danger; they disagree with it much more than they fear it. Consequently, progressives are on stronger ground when contesting the Religious Right's *agenda* rather than its right to be in the political arena.

2. Always remember that this is a fight for the mainstream, which will be won by addressing the concerns and values of ordinary Americans. Voters often feel left out of today's arguments between the Religious Right and

¹ Throughout this memo, voters described as feeling "positive," "negative," and "neutral" toward the Religious Right or its candidate refers to those who say they are more likely (24%) to support a candidate closely associated with the movement, less likely (41%), and that it would not make a difference (23%), respectively.

progressives. This leaves both these sides on the margins, with the middle up for grabs.

Just as voters voice minimal worry over "the growing influence of the Religious Right within the Republican Party" (34% identify this as a very or fairly serious problem), they evince relatively little concern about alleged "intolerance and discrimination against deeply religious Christians" (39% very or fairly serious problem)--a frequent complaint from the Religious Right. In the public debate between the Religious Right and progressives, neither side is winning today. In the survey, we invited voters to respond to a sharp attack on the Religious Right, and also to a rejoinder.

Critique of the Religious Right

The leaders of the Religious Right are **misusing** religion to argue for extreme right-wing political positions that have little public support. For example, they want to end legal abortion, reduce support for public education, and stop the schools from addressing public health issues such as AIDS prevention. The Religious Right promotes intolerance and division in our society, by arguing that there is only one right moral or Christian position on political issues. Government should not take sides in favor of a particular religious viewpoint, but this is what would happen if the Religious Right had its way.

Defense of the Religious Right

Attacks against the so-called 'Religious Right' are an example of anti-Christian bigotry and part of an effort to stigmatize Christians. At a time when homosexuals and feminists have a lot of political power, Christians need to be heard, but liberals are trying to assign Christians to an inferior status and deny them a place at the table.

The public's response is, essentially, "a plague on both your houses." Fewer than four in ten voters find each statement convincing (37% and 34%, respectively), while majorities do not. Both sides in the debate often employ a "state of siege" rhetoric, but most people do not feel embattled and therefore think all of these threats have been exaggerated. The danger for progressives is not that they may lose this exchange, but that they will appear to be as intolerant--and as irrelevant--as the Religious Right itself often seems to be. Even worse, time spent arguing over who is more discriminated against, or who is more intolerant, is time *not* spent communicating effectively with the American public.

While Americans do not fear the Religious Right's influence or worry about "anti-Christian bigotry," they *do* care about the larger issues underlying the debate. A 53% majority of voters rate the danger of people using government to impose their religious viewpoints as a serious problem, while a somewhat larger majority (63%) express concern about the declining role of religion in society. Both of these issues are considered real and important problems.

These two questions together provide a useful portrait of the electorate. Only 18% of voters worry about people using government to impose religious viewpoints but *not* about religious decline--a group that, as we might expect, is very hostile toward the Religious Right and strongly embraces progressive positions. On the other side, 28% care about the decline of religion but not about the threat of government imposition--these voters hold very conservative social views and are supportive of the Religious Right. The arithmetic is straightforward:

progressives cannot win without gaining substantial support from the half of the electorate that is in neither camp.

These people in the middle are the non-combatants in the nation's culture wars. They are concerned about the possible use of government to impose religious views, but they also worry over religion's declining place in society. Their moral and social values are mostly moderate to conservative, yet they feel more negative than positive toward the Religious Right. Progressives must appeal to these mainstream voters, while maneuvering the Religious Right to the margins.

3. When appropriate, criticize the Religious Right for trying to use government to impose its religious values on others, thereby mixing religion and politics in an inappropriate way. This is what most limits its appeal with voters.

People's misgivings about the Religious Right arise primarily from its perceived desire to use government to implement a particular set of religious ideas, thereby imposing them on all Americans. When voters describe in their own words their feelings about a candidate associated with the Religious Right, one dominant concern emerges: that "politics and religion don't mix," and that this type of candidate endangers the proper "separation of church and state." In addition, some voters worry that such candidates would try to "push their ideals or views on everyone else."

In general, Americans are fundamentally uneasy about the prospect of mixing religion and politics.² When we ask people to offer their thoughts on the role that religion and religious groups should play in the political system, a considerable number (40%) see benefits to that involvement, yet notably more (57%) voice concerns that religion and politics will become too mixed. Most Americans believe that religious people have a right to express their political views, but many also have reservations when it comes to government potentially *acting* on those views.

Although "mixing religion and politics" and "using government to impose religious views" are closely related ideas, the former criticism appears to have somewhat greater intuitive appeal, especially among certain critical voter groups. It ranks especially high among swing voters who are neutral toward the Religious Right: 30% say "going too far in mixing religion and politics" is one of the things that most bothers them about the Religious Right and its leaders (compared to just 19% who feel this way about "trying to use government to impose their religious views on the whole country"). It also ranks as a higher-than-average objection among non-college-educated voters, older Americans, and liberal to moderate Republicans.

4. Whenever possible, engage the Religious Right in fights over specific issue positions rather than general values, and force its leaders to defend

² A recent NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* survey (July 1994) found that a 54% majority of Americans feel it is not appropriate "for religious groups to advance their beliefs by being involved in politics and working to affect public policy."

their most extreme positions. Progressives can win on the issues, especially when they develop a competing agenda for change.

When the Religious Right speaks to a legitimate area of public concern, it is important that progressives then offer a competing set of solutions; otherwise, the debate becomes the Religious Right's solution versus the status quo, giving the former a significant advantage. The survey explored one such area in depth--education--and the findings show that a coherent and attractive alternative can beat the Religious Right's approach decisively. The results also reveal that certain specific Religious Right positions are especially unpopular and dramatize its effort to use government to advance a narrow religious agenda.

Some aspects of the Religious Right education agenda and rhetoric have public appeal. Favoring organized classroom prayer, for example, helps a candidate (53% more likely to support) far more than it hurts (22% less likely to support), as does believing that "we have gone too far in forcing religion out of the public schools" (47% more likely, 29% less likely). However, people respond even more positively to many progressive messages. Voters feel overwhelmingly favorable toward a candidate who supports comprehensive sex education (71% positive, 12% negative). By better than two to one, they prefer an educational approach focused on "doing what is necessary to improve the quality of education in the public schools" (66%) over the Religious Right platform of providing vouchers "so parents can send their children to private or religious schools" (28%).

We also asked people to respond to two prospective school board

candidates, one with a Religious Right message and one with a mainstream progressive message:

Religious Right Candidate

This candidate's top priority is giving parents greater control over their children's education. In this regard, the candidate favors giving parents more power to remove textbooks and other materials they find objectionable. This candidate also believes we need to restore religion and morality to the public schools, and opposes course material that might lend respect to the homosexual lifestyle. On the issues of AIDS and birth control, the candidate wants courses that teach abstinence only, not birth control, and opposes making condoms available to students in the public schools.

Mainstream Progressive Candidate

This candidate puts top priority on improving public schools and raising the academic performance of all school children, and therefore supports establishing meaningful academic standards. When it comes to sex education, this candidate believes we need to stress abstinence, but also believes we must face reality and arm our kids with information about birth control and disease prevention. This candidate says schools should teach children about the importance of respecting others and settling problems without violence. This candidate also believes that religious instruction is best done by parents and religious leaders, not by teachers and administrators.

Voters react very differently to these two candidates: just 33% say that the Religious Right candidate has a great deal or quite a bit of appeal, while 79% feel that way about the progressive candidate. The biggest concern people volunteer about the conservative candidate's views is the focus on teaching abstinence to the exclusion of other birth control information--most voters do not find that stand realistic but rather feel that it puts young people at risk. In fact, the Religious

Right's opposition to teaching comprehensive birth control--thereby increasing the incidence of teen pregnancy and endangering young people's health--is the single most compelling anti-Religious Right argument tested in the survey. The focus on parental control also seems to have limited appeal: only a few of those positive toward the Religious Right favor this viewpoint, while a significant number of other voters worry about the prospect of parents removing books from the curriculum.

TABLE 1: MOST EFFECTIVE ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE RELIGIOUS RIGHT

	Concerns A Great Deal %	Concerns Quite A Bit %	Total Concerns %
Because it believes that only abstinence should be taught, the Religious Right opposes teaching public school students about birth control methods used to prevent diseases and pregnancy	44	23	67
If the Religious Right had its way, almost all abortions would be illegal and women would lose their freedom of choice	46	19	65
The organized school prayer proposals by the Religious Right would give government officials the power to decide which prayers students should say	47	18	65
The Religious Right wants the power to censor certain books from public schools and libraries	47	17	64
The Religious Right opposes proposals that set rigorous academic standards for our schools, making it impossible to improve educational achievement	40	18	58

On such issues as comprehensive sex education, reproductive freedom, and book censorship, the Religious Right's positions are outside the mainstream. Progressives need to expose such stands when they are hidden, and focus the debate on these specifics when Religious Right leaders try to limit the discussion

to more general issues such as "family values," "sexual responsibility," or "moral decline" (where they are on rhetorically stronger ground).

It is also important to note the progressive candidate's emphasis on raising academic performance through "meaningful standards." A major weakness of Religious Right candidates often seems to be their preoccupation with relatively peripheral issues while ignoring the real task at hand--in this case, improving the quality of education in the public schools. Progressives should not make this same mistake. A progressive agenda, for example, that promoted respect for diversity but failed to address the public's desire for higher academic standards would be much less compelling than the one tested in the survey. (In fact, a very effective anti-Religious Right argument--one of the few that resonates even among its supporters--is to reveal the movement's opposition to rigorous academic standards.) Whatever the issue, progressives want to be sure to advance agendas that seriously address the problems as voters understand them.

5. Speak to Americans' strong conviction that the nation is experiencing a serious decline in moral values. Avoid getting positioned outside the mainstream on questions of core values.

The voting public today believes that the nation is in the midst of a serious deterioration in moral values, and that this decline lies at the heart of many of the nation's social problems. A 51% majority of voters say that the most serious problems in our society today "stem mainly from a decline in moral values," compared to 34% who feel they stem "mainly from economic and financial

pressures on the family." Other survey research has shown that voters also identify declining values as the main culprit when it comes to specific issues such as violence, welfare, education, and even the economy. When presented with a hypothetical political candidate who puts "top priority on returning to traditional moral values," voters indicate by an overwhelming 74% to 7% that they would be more rather than less likely to vote for such a political figure.

It is its belief in and advocacy of traditional moral values that gives the Religious Right its primary appeal. Voters who point to a decline in values as the main cause of the nation's ills feel much more positive toward the Religious Right than do those who lean toward economic explanations. The top reason people offer for supporting a candidate associated with the Religious Right is that such a person would have "good morals and values." This reason ranks higher than the specific *religious* beliefs or practices such a candidate would presumably bring to office.

Leaders and candidates of the Religious Right are thus at their most persuasive when they point to the nation's moral decline. Progressives therefore should avoid debating *whether* there is a national moral decline--in the public's mind, this is not debatable--and instead should focus the discussion on specific solutions. People are inclined to accept the Religious Right's general diagnosis of declining values, but they often have a broader conception of which values need to be promoted and frequently reject the Religious Right's policy remedies.

Americans make an important distinction between moral and religious views, and they are much more comfortable with government promoting morality than religion. Voters strongly agree (59%) that government officials should not let their own religious views be the most important consideration in public policy decisions, but they are much less sure that "government should not concern itself with the morality of private activity, such as sexual orientation" (42% strongly agree). Similarly, 72% strongly feel that political leaders should not question the religious faith of those with whom they disagree, but only 45% report this same level of agreement that religious leaders active in politics should not question the *morality* of people with whom they disagree.

In a time of perceived serious moral decline, public discussions of morality--and even challenges to the moral content of an opponent's views--are not seen as inappropriate. Religious Right leaders therefore can be expected to talk as much as possible in a language of broad moral values, while progressives, where appropriate always will want to return the discussion to the narrowly *religious* basis of their opponents' views. As always, it is the possibility of government being used to implement these religious views, not the views themselves, that people object to.

One "traditional" moral value merits special attention: strong families. When people are given an opportunity in an open-ended format to describe the values they most want to see encouraged in America today, "family values" is mentioned far more often than any other item. There is great breadth to this sentiment: it

ranks first among both the young and the old, and among Catholics, born-again Christians, and other Protestants. Voters are extremely worried by the weakening of family structures that they perceive, and they see stronger families (and family values) as essential for improving the nation's social and moral health. Progressives would make a serious mistake to ignore, or appear to denigrate, these concerns, and should not shy away from expressing their own belief in strong families.

More generally, the progressive agenda needs to respect voters' basic moral values. An important part of the appeal of the progressive school board candidate's message, for example, is the support for teaching abstinence. A message that included sex education without accommodating the public's belief that abstinence is the most appropriate--though often an unrealistic--form of birth control for teenagers would generate much less support.

6. Highlight the limited range of values advocated by the Religious Right, and challenge its claim to speak for all moral and religious Americans.

While there is general agreement that the nation is experiencing a decline in values, Americans have a far broader conception than does the Religious Right of which values are important. Indeed, the other top reason voters have for objecting to the Religious Right--along with mixing religion and politics--is the sense that its leaders often claim (wrongly) to speak on behalf of all moral and religious people. This is an especially strong concern among voters who are

neutral toward the Religious Right, women, and people who say religion is an important part of their life.

The breadth of values embraced by the public is revealed when we ask what kind of values most need to be promoted in America today. There is no clear consensus: 32% of voters select *traditional moral* values, including religion and the traditional family; 29% say *personal* values, such as responsibility and hard work; and 18% emphasize *community* values, like contributing to the community and showing respect for others (another 20% refuse to choose, embracing all three).

As we might expect, people who support the Religious Right choose traditional moral values by a considerable margin. Those negative toward the Religious Right also voice a clear preference--for personal values such as hard work and responsibility. The swing neutral group offers a fairly mixed response, but shows more interest in personal than community values. What progressives need to remind people of is how *narrow* the Religious Right's conception of morality and values is compared to their own. This narrowness, in turn, reinforces concerns over the Religious Right's desire to use government to enact its agenda.

Many progressives emphasize tolerance and respect for *diversity*. The survey results would seem to indicate, however, that this does not do a good job of addressing the general concern over declining values. For example, a prospective candidate who emphasized "the diversity of America and respect for people of different backgrounds, including gays and lesbians" gains no political

benefit from that statement--31% of voters are positive toward such a candidate and 32% feel negative (compared to 74% positive and 7% negative for a candidate who espouses "returning to traditional moral values").

Progressives cannot afford, especially in today's environment, to concede the mantle of "values" to their opponents. An emphasis on the importance of strong families, the work ethic, and personal responsibility will resonate particularly well with voters, and the language of community also has some appeal. However, the point is not to portray progressive values as "better" than those of the Religious Right, but rather to highlight the terribly constricted nature of the Religious Right's moral vision. Progressives should challenge aggressively the Religious Right's claim to a monopoly on virtue, which already offends many voters, and remind the public of the multiplicity of values that the nation needs to encourage and strengthen today.

7. Do not allow the Religious Right to define political differences as a debate over the importance or value of religion. Although Americans do not favor government promoting particular religious views, they do want more religion in their society.

The public's concern about the Religious Right's approach to mixing religion and politics should not be mistaken for lessened commitment to religion or its role in American life. Americans place a great deal of importance on religion. When asked how important religion is in their life, two-thirds of voters indicate that it is either quite important (41%) or the single most important thing (26%) in their life.

In addition, a solid 63% majority of voters believe that the declining role of religion in our society is a very or fairly serious problem today. Obviously, progressives cannot hope to win the battle for public opinion in any given campaign without gaining the support of many people who care deeply about religion and worry about its decline.

TABLE 2: SHOULD GOVERNMENT PROMOTE RELIGION?

	Negative Toward Religious Right Candidate %	Neutral Toward Religious Right Candidate %
<u>Agree:</u> Government should not favor one religion over another, but should encourage religion in general	59	71
<u>Agree:</u> Government should not favor one religion over another or encourage religion in general	73	58

The public is ambivalent when it comes to the question of what role government should play in dealing with religious decline. People are uneasy with the idea of government involvement, yet they *are* concerned about the problem--at a minimum, voters certainly do not want their government to facilitate the decline of religion in any way.³ As shown in the previous table, people already opposed to the Religious Right are more attracted to the principle of government not promoting religion, but government promotion of religion is a plus for the crucial neutral swing voters. (Supporters of the Religious Right, of course, support

³ Twice as many Americans believe the country has already gone too far in keeping government and religion separate (36%) as feel that it mixes them too much (18%); a 40% plurality feel there is a good balance (NBC News/Wall Street Journal, July 1994).

government encouragement of religion.) This is why the Religious Right claims only to favor government promotion of religion *in general*.

This is not to say that Americans are comfortable with the notion of government promoting religion or religiosity; in fact, they have quite mixed feelings about it. However, the survey results suggest that, when possible, progressives should focus the discussion on ways in which the Religious Right promotes one *particular* set of religious values over others, rather than engage the movement's contention that government should be encouraging religion more generally. Voters overwhelmingly reject the former, while they are divided on the merits of the latter.

The best way to focus the discussion is to move from the general to the specific--a good example is the issue of school prayer--so that voters can see how efforts to promote religion in general can, in practice, turn into an imposition of one particular set of values. A majority of voters favor allowing school prayer, whether it is teacher-led (57%) or student-led (68%). This support declines substantially, however, when certain implications are made clear. Support drops dramatically if there is a risk of lawsuits (only 30% favor), if the prayer offends students of different faiths (29% favor), and, most of all, if school officials are "involved in selecting or approving the prayers" (22% favor). This last prospect--that government officials would gain the power to choose prayers--is a very effective argument against the Religious Right and even has a great deal of appeal among conservative voters.

8. Do not compromise credibility by employing exaggerated language. Progressives' descriptions of the Religious Right must ring true to voters.

Referring to politically active religious conservatives as "the Religious Right" is not the most negative terminology that progressives could employ. The survey results show, for example, that a candidate closely associated with "the Radical Right" turns away far more voters (9% positive, 58% negative) than one associated with "the Religious Right" (24% positive, 41% negative). There is no question that the word "radical" is a negative when applied to a political movement; this is also true of "extreme," "far," or any other label that defines a person or group as outside the mainstream.

The problem, however, with using this strong language when referring to the Religious Right--as opposed to when describing a hypothetical candidate in a public opinion poll--is that this is a real, existing political movement about which people already have an opinion. And voters do not consider "Radical Right" to be a fair description of this movement. We asked voters about the fairness of describing Pat Robertson as a leader of the Religious Right, and by two to one, they say that this is a legitimate description; but by the same margin, they feel that calling Pat Robertson a leader of the *Radical* Right is an unfair description that does not really fit him.

Attaching a stigmatizing label to one's opponents can be very effective politically, but for the label to work, it must be *plausible*. The term "Radical Right" fails this critical test. Some groups clearly can be tarred with the "extremist" or

"radical" brush--such as those who bomb abortion clinics or shoot doctors--but this tactic must be used with great care.⁴

9. Reach out to less-educated and lower-income voters, who often do not have liberal social values.

Progressives generally have been much more successful at rallying voters higher on the socioeconomic scale than at reaching less affluent Americans. White college-educated voters, for example, are much more negative toward a candidate backed by the Religious Right (59% negative) than are those without a college degree (35% negative). As can be seen in the following table, voters who feel negative toward the Religious Right are significantly more upscale than are voters in the swing neutral group.

Non-college-educated voters have less liberal views than do college-educated voters on many values-related questions. Though they are less worried about intolerance and discrimination against homosexuals and lesbians (37% of non-college-educated whites feel this is a very or fairly serious problem, and 45% of college-educated voters feel this way), they voice greater concern about the declining role of religion (65% non-college-educated, 56% college-educated). Non-college-educated voters feel much less positive toward a candidate who emphasizes the diversity of America than do college-educated voters (26% to 40%

⁴ Ironically, leaders of the Religious Right seem to be trying to relabel themselves, as well, as the "pro-family" movement (which suggests that they too understand the concerns over the church/state issue). Our guess is that this effort will fail; the religious foundations of this movement are central to what it is about, and neither journalists nor the public are going to ignore that.

positive, respectively), and they are more drawn than are college-educated voters to one who puts a priority on traditional moral values (79% to 60% positive, respectively).

TABLE 3: PROFILE OF ANTI-RELIGIOUS RIGHT AND NEUTRAL VOTERS

(Vertical percentages--i.e., 58% of neutrals have a high school education or less.)

	Negative Toward Religious Right Candidate %	Neutral Toward Religious Right Candidate %
Percent with high school education or less	35	58
Percent who are four-year college graduates	38	14
Percent who are blue collar workers ¹	35	50
Percent who are upper-status white collar workers ¹	31	15
Percent with income below \$20,000	17	28
Percent with income \$50,00 or over	28	18

¹ Percentage of employed adults.

The best way to prevent less-educated voters from embracing the Religious Right, despite their conservative social leanings, is to address their concerns about the mixing of religion and politics. Non-college-educated voters cite this concern regarding the influence of the Religious Right more frequently than do college-educated voters, while being less upset over the movement's right-wing issue positions or its intolerance toward people whose behavior it disapproves of. In terms of specific issues, non-college-educated voters are especially worried by the idea of having government officials choosing school prayers and the Religious Right's opposition to rigorous academic standards (and they share college-educated voters' desire to protect a woman's right to choose an abortion). They

express less concern, though, over book censorship and the Religious Right's opposition to laws that protect gays and lesbians from discrimination.

10. Educate younger Americans about the Religious Right; they reject much of its agenda, but are also the least concerned about its influence.

One of the more disturbing findings in the survey is that younger Americans (18- to 29-year-olds) feel significantly less negative toward the Religious Right than do voters in all other age groups. This is somewhat surprising, because younger voters have progressive attitudes on many social issues; compared to older voters, they are more supportive of comprehensive sex education, less enthusiastic about school prayer, and are especially drawn to a candidate who emphasizes the diversity of America. The explanation for this discrepancy seems to lie in younger people knowing much less about the Religious Right and its true agenda, and thus having no reason to take a negative view. Only 50% of young people know who Pat Robertson is, for example, compared to 77% of voters in all other age groups.

TABLE 4: FEELINGS TOWARD RELIGIOUS RIGHT CANDIDATE, BY AGE

	Positive Toward Religious Right Candidate	Negative Toward Religious Right Candidate	Differential
	%	%	%
Age 18 to 29	32	30	+2
Age 30 to 44	24	43	-19
Age 45 to 59	25	41	-16
Age 60 and over	18	46	-28

Progressives therefore need to make special efforts to inform younger Americans about the Religious Right and its goals. The Religious Right's harshly judgmental character especially should be stressed when communicating with young people, as their top objection to the Religious Right is its intolerance toward people whose lifestyle it does not sanction. On specific issues, a disproportionate percentage of young voters are disturbed by the Religious Right's opposition to sex education and by the prospect of book censorship.

SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

This report presents the key findings of an in-depth survey conducted by Peter D. Hart Research Associates on behalf of People For the American Way. The findings are based on telephone interviews with a representative national sample of 1,002 registered voters. The statistical margin of error associated with a sample of this size at the 95% confidence level is $\pm 3\%$.

OVERVIEW

There is a strong feeling in America today that many of the nation's problems are the product of a decline in moral values. A substantial majority of Americans believe that the declining role of religion in our society is a serious problem for the country today, and three in four voters say they would be more likely to support a candidate who puts top priority on "returning to traditional moral values."

While much of the public shares a common view about the need to deal with the problem of values in America, voters are not of a single mind about which values in particular most need to be strengthened. And when the issue turns from the moral state of the nation to the question of what role government should play in promoting moral values, attitudes become much more complicated and divided. In dealing with this question, the public expresses strong concerns about the dangers of going too far in mixing religion and politics, and about allowing some people to use government to impose their own religious viewpoint on others.

These concerns are evident in voters' reactions to the Religious Right political movement, as represented by Pat Robertson and others. Despite the broad appeal of

candidates who stress traditional values, only 24% of the public say they would be more likely to support a candidate who was closely associated with right-wing religious groups and supported the positions of the Religious Right, while a plurality of 41% say they would be less likely to support such a candidate. In volunteered responses, voters who feel uncomfortable with the Religious Right most often say this movement would go too far in eroding the legitimate separation of church and state; additionally, these voters describe the Religious Right as being closed-minded and intolerant, and as wanting to impose its moral views on everyone else.

Even though many Americans might agree with the Religious Right's point of departure concerning the need to strengthen moral values, large majorities disagree with the movement's conclusions on specific issues, such as its agenda on making abortions illegal in most cases; teaching abstinence only in the public schools, to the exclusion of birth control and methods of disease prevention; and diverting funds from the public schools to help parents send their children to private or religious schools.

In the end, what Americans seem to want are leaders who understand the need for strong moral values in our society, but who also understand the dangers of using government and politics to impose moral and religious viewpoints on others. And despite the very strong concerns about morality that Americans express today, they do not want the political process to become a battlefield in a large-scale cultural and religious war. What Americans want now is what they have wanted in the past: mainstream leaders who provide common-sense solutions to the nation's pressing problems.

A CRISIS OF VALUES

Results from this survey underline the degree to which Americans are concerned by what they view as a crisis of values in our society. Nearly two-thirds of all registered voters, for example, describe "the declining role of religion in our society" as a very or fairly serious problem for the country today. By 74% to 7%, voters say they would be more rather than less inclined to support a political candidate who "put top priority on returning to traditional moral values." And by 51% to 34%, Americans say that the most serious problems in our society today stem mainly from a decline in moral values, rather than from economic and financial pressures on the family.

While there is a broad consensus about the need to strengthen values in our society, different people mean different things when they talk about moral and social values. When asked to volunteer the specific concerns that come to mind when they think about the moral or social values they would like to see in the country, far from speaking with a single voice, voters identify a variety of issues. Twenty-four percent mention the importance of families staying together and another 9% stress the importance of parents paying more attention to their children. Additionally, 18% mention the need for people to be more tolerant and respectful of others; 17% discuss personal standards such as integrity, discipline, and accountability; 14% mention the need for more religion; and 8% stress sexual abstinence.

We also asked voters to say which one of three value sets they consider to be the most important, with the following results:

	<u>All Voters</u> %
What we need to do in America today is encourage a return to our traditional moral values, like religion and the traditional family	32
What we need to do in America today is encourage stronger personal values, like individual responsibility and hard work	29
What we need to do in America today is encourage stronger community values, like contributing to the good of the community and respect for others	18
All equally (VOL)	20

Liberal and moderate white voters, along with voters in the Northeast, are most likely to stress personal values, while conservative whites and Southerners are most likely to stress traditional moral values.

THE PUBLIC REJECTS A "MORAL CRUSADE"

As concerned as they are about the moral climate in the country today, Americans also are concerned about the implications of injecting a moral crusade into politics and government.

When asked in very general terms to volunteer their feelings about the role religion should play in politics today, 40% respond with a positive answer, but 57% volunteer some concern or fear about mixing religion with politics and eroding the separation between church and state.

In answer to another question, a majority of 53% describe "people trying to use government to impose their own religious viewpoints on others" as a very or fairly serious problem for the country today.

While Americans hunger for strong moral values in our society, they also are clear about maintaining appropriate boundaries between religion on the one hand and government and politics on the other. Fully 80% of the public agree that "people in government should not let their private religious views be the most important consideration in public policy decisions." An even larger majority (89%) say political leaders should not question the religious faith of people they disagree with.

The public's ability to draw clear lines with regard to government's involvement in religious matters is most vividly displayed on the issue of school prayer. As other polls have shown, Americans generally are sympathetic to the notion of permitting prayer in public schools. By 53% to 22%, for example, voters say they would be more inclined to support a candidate who favored laws to allow organized classroom prayer in the public schools.

Public opinion on this matter changes dramatically, however, if the consequence of this sort of organized prayer is having school board officials or school administrators involved in selecting or approving the prayers to be used. Under these circumstances, even those who initially favor school prayer change their view and say by a margin of 52% to 35% that they would be opposed to it. (Among all voters, 22% would favor prayer in this case and 33% would oppose it.)

SKEPTICISM TOWARD THE RELIGIOUS RIGHT

Americans do not currently perceive the Religious Right to be a powerful political force in the country. Even so, a plurality of voters say they would have a negative reaction to a political candidate who is associated with the Religious Right.

Only 28% of the public say that "the increasing influence of conservative religious groups in the political process" is a serious problem for the country today. Just one in three voters voice concern about the growing influence of the Religious Right or radical right-wing groups within the Republican Party.

The best organized group within the Religious Right, the Christian Coalition, is unknown to the large majority of Americans, with nearly two thirds of the public saying they have not heard much about it.

Pat Robertson is somewhat better known to the public, with 72% saying they are familiar with who he is. When those who say they have heard of him are asked to volunteer their impressions of Pat Robertson, 33% express favorable impressions and 42% offer unfavorable ones.

It is interesting to note that those who are familiar with Pat Robertson say, by 50% to 26%, that it is legitimate to describe him as being "a leader of the Religious Right political movement." These same voters, however, say by 48% to 25% that it would be unfair to describe Pat Robertson as a "leader of the Radical Right political movement."

As for the Religious Right itself, the balance of public opinion is clearly more negative than positive, though many voters treat the movement as being irrelevant one way or the other. Of voters with a definite opinion either way, as opposed to those who

either say it would not make much difference or are not sure how they feel, 24% say they would be more likely to favor a candidate who was closely associated with right-wing religious groups and who supported the positions of the Religious Right, and 41% say these kinds of affiliations would make them feel less favorable toward a candidate.

In volunteered responses, the most frequent positive comments about a candidate of the Religious Right are that he or she would be a person of good morals and values, mentioned by 13% of voters. However, 21% of Americans say they would be concerned that a candidate of the Religious Right would go too far in eroding the proper separation between church and state, and another 13% say that Religious Right candidates would be too intolerant of other points of view or too prone to want to impose their values on everyone else.

The biggest gulf between the Religious Right and the mainstream of American public opinion, however, arises when questioning leaves the area of labels and generalities, and turns to specific issues. Three-fifths of all registered voters say, for example, that they would be more inclined to support a candidate who believes the choice on abortion should be left up to the woman, with few legal restrictions; 65% of Americans say they would have serious concerns about the Religious Right's support for making nearly all abortions illegal.

Similarly, 71% of all registered voters are favorable toward a candidate who supports comprehensive sex education that starts with abstinence, but also includes information on birth control and disease prevention; 67% of all registered voters say that the Religious Right's opposition to teaching public school students about birth control

methods used to prevent diseases and pregnancy gives them serious concerns.

In a clear rejection of the Religious Right's emphasis on vouchers, the movement's flagship education proposal, Americans would prefer by a margin of 66% to 28% to see a focus on improving the public schools, rather than instituting vouchers for private and religious education.

The survey further shows that a school board candidate who takes a more progressive approach to fixing what's wrong with education is far more appealing to the public than a candidate who takes the kinds of positions that are typical of Religious Right candidates. An important element of this result is that the public wants school officials to focus first and foremost on quality public education.

Plainly, the public is uncomfortable with the Religious Right's political agenda. Candidates facing Religious Right opponents cannot afford to let them escape the extremity of their positions by talking only in broad rhetorical terms about family values and moral decline. The more the debate focuses on the specifics of what the Religious Right wants to do, the less appealing the candidates of the Religious Right will be.

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Interviews: 1002 respondents
 Dates: August 1-6, 1994

FINAL

Study #4122
 People For the American Way
 August 1994

47 Male
 53 Female
 [5]

AREA		TYPE	SAMPLE POINT			FORM	DATE	
[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]	[10]	[11]	[12]	August	[13] [14] 1994

I'm calling from Peter D. Hart Research, a national public opinion polling firm. We are conducting a survey on public affairs and issues facing the country, and I'd really appreciate the chance to get your opinions on a few questions. **(CHECK BELOW FOR THE CATEGORY OF RESPONDENT YOU ARE SUPPOSED TO ASK FOR, THEN SAY:)** Your number was selected at random, and in this household, I am supposed to speak with the (youngest/oldest)(man/woman) age 18 or over who is at home now.

PERSON TO ASK FOR

- ___ ASK FOR YOUNGEST
 ___ ASK FOR OLDEST

(REPEAT INTRODUCTION IF RESPONDENT IS NOT THE PERSON WHO FIRST ANSWERED THE PHONE.)

1. Are you currently **registered** to vote at this address?

Yes, registered	100	CONTINUE	[15]
Not registered	-	TERMINATE AND DO NOT	
Not sure	-	COUNT TOWARD QUOTA	

2. I am going to read you two statements about the problems facing our society today. Please tell me which one of these statements comes closer to your own point of view. **(READ STATEMENTS SLOWLY, ALTERNATING ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

Statement A: The most serious problems in our society today stem mainly from a decline in moral values.

Statement B: The most serious problems in our society today stem mainly from economic and financial pressures on the family.

Statement A/problems result from decline in moral values	51	[16]
Statement B/problems result from economic and financial pressures on the family ..	34	
Some of both (VOL)	13	
Neither (VOL)	1	
Not sure	1	

3. I'm going to read a list of things that some people might consider to be problems today. For each one, please tell me how serious a problem you feel it is for the country today--very serious, fairly serious, just somewhat serious, or not that serious. If you do not feel it is a problem at all, just say so. (READ EACH ITEM.)

	<u>Very</u> <u>Serious</u>	<u>Fairly</u> <u>Serious</u>	<u>Just</u> <u>Somewhat</u> <u>Serious</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>That</u> <u>Serious</u>	<u>Not A</u> <u>Problem</u> <u>At All</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>Sure</u>	
The increasing influence of conservative religious groups in the political process	15	13	21	24	23	4	[17]
The declining role of religion in our society	44	19	18	11	6	2	[18]
People trying to use government to impose their own religious viewpoints on others	38	15	17	14	12	4	[19]
(FORM A ONLY)							
Discrimination in housing and employment based on people's sexual orientation	25	17	22	15	15	6	[20]
(FORM B ONLY)							
Intolerance and discrimination against homosexuals and lesbians	25	17	20	18	14	6	[21]
(FORM A ONLY)							
Intolerance and discrimination against deeply religious Christians	23	16	22	19	16	4	[22]
(FORM B ONLY)							
Government hostility toward religion	25	15	16	18	20	6	[23]
(FORM A ONLY)							
The growing influence of radical right-wing political groups within the Republican Party	21	13	21	17	16	12	[24]
(FORM B ONLY)							
The growing influence of the Religious Right political groups within the Republican Party	20	14	17	18	19	12	[25]

(FORM A ONLY)

- 4a. There has been some talk lately about the "Religious Right" political movement and its impact on American politics.

What comes to mind when you hear about the "Religious Right?"

(PROBE:) Are there any specific people, groups, or issues you think of when you hear about the "Religious Right" and its political involvement?

(PROBE:) What do you feel are some of the positive and negative aspects of the "Religious Right" and its political involvement? [26-33]

Net Positive Aspects	17%	Net Negative Aspects	39%
Moral values, focusing on moral/family values, trying to instill moral values	6	Anti-abortion, pro-life groups	8
Doing what needs to be done, have good intentions, positive influence	3	Too militant, intolerant, radical, fanatics	7
Term is wrong, not a flattering term	2	Politics and religion don't mix	7
Need prayer in schools	2	Jerry Falwell/Moral Majority	4
Bringing country back to God, aware of the fact that people need religion in their lives	2	Trying to run our lives, expect everyone to follow and adhere to their values	3
		People who have a right to their own beliefs	9
		Don't know; no response	42%

(FORM B ONLY)

- 4b. There has been some talk lately about the "Radical Right" political movement and its impact on American politics.

What comes to mind when you hear about the "Radical Right?"

(PROBE:) Are there any specific people, groups, or issues you think of when you hear about the "Radical Right" and its political involvement?

(PROBE:) What do you feel are some of the positive and negative aspects of the "Radical Right" and its political involvement? [34-41]

Net Positive Aspects	11%	Net Negative Aspects	37%
People with high moral values	4	Too militant, intolerant, radical, fanatics	7
Term is wrong, makes them sound worse than they are, they are not a problem, they are not radical	2	Anti-abortion, pro-life groups	6
Favor gun control	2	Rush Limbaugh	5
		Jerry Falwell	3
		Pat Robertson	3
		Don't know; no response	54%

(BOTH FORMS:)

- 5a. Are you familiar with Pat Robertson and who he is, or is he someone you have not really heard that much about? **(IF FAMILIAR WITH ROBERTSON, ASK:)** Do you have favorable, neutral, or unfavorable feelings toward Pat Robertson?

<u>Familiar With Pat Robertson</u>		
Favorable feelings	18	[42]
Neutral feelings	25	
Unfavorable feelings	21	CONTINUE
Not sure of feelings	8	SKIP TO Q.6a
<u>Not Familiar With Pat Robertson</u>	26	
<u>Not Sure If Familiar With Pat Robertson</u>	2	

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY ARE FAMILIAR WITH PAT ROBERTSON IN Q.5a.)

- 5b. Why do you feel that way about Pat Robertson?

(PROBE:) Are there any other favorable or unfavorable impressions you have of Pat Robertson? [43-50]

Net Favorable Impressions		33%	Net Unfavorable Impressions		42%
A good man, a good Christian, decent, upright, 10 God-fearing man, honest			TV evangelist taking money from people, using religion to take money from the poor, in it for the money	8	
Agree with what he stands for, shares my 9 values, thinks as I do			Should use different approach, too pushy, trying to force his own point of view	7	
His ministry does a lot of good work, good 4 preacher			He is a man of God, shouldn't be a politician	7	
Straight-shooter, tells it like it is 3			Manipulative, plays on people's emotions	5	
Like him, doing a good job 3			Disagree with his viewpoints	3	
-----			Has good things and bad things	4	
-----			Don't know; no response	22%	

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY ARE FAMILIAR WITH PAT ROBERTSON IN Q.5a.)

- 5c. **(FOR BOTH ITEMS BELOW, ASK:)** If you heard someone describing Pat Robertson as being a leader of **(READ ITEM)**, would you consider this to be a legitimate description of him, or an unfair description that doesn't really fit Pat Robertson? **(MAKE SURE TO ALTERNATE ORDER OF ITEMS ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Legiti- mate</u>	<u>Unfair</u>	<u>Some of Both (VOL)</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
The Religious Right political movement .	50	26	2	22	[51]
The Radical Right political movement . . .	25	48	2	25	[52]

(ASK EVERYONE)

- 6a. Are you familiar with an organization called the Christian Coalition, or is that something you have not really heard that much about? **(IF FAMILIAR WITH CHRISTIAN COALITION, ASK:)** Do you have favorable, neutral, or unfavorable feelings toward the Christian Coalition?

Familiar With Christian Coalition

Favorable feelings	10	[53]
Neutral feelings	10	
Unfavorable feelings	6	
Not sure of feelings	10	CONTINUE
		SKIP TO Q.6c
<u>Not Familiar With Christian Coalition</u>	60	
<u>Not Sure If Familiar With Christian Coalition</u>	4	

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY ARE FAMILIAR WITH CHRISTIAN COALITION IN Q.6a.)

- 6b. Why do you feel that way about the Christian Coalition?

(PROBE:) Are there any other favorable or unfavorable impressions you have of the Christian Coalition?
[54-61]

Net Favorable Impressions	40%	Net Unfavorable Impressions	28%
Concerned with lack of values, fighting for moral values, dealing with the decline of morality	16	Disagree with things they support	7
I am a Christian	7	They have too much influence	5
Agree with their stands	7	Religion and politics don't mix	4
Accomplishments are good, have done good things	4	Too greedy, self-serving, fake	4
Have helped me, belong to it	3		
		Agree with some things they have done and disagree with some things they have done	4
		Don't know; no response	31%

(ASK EVERYONE:)

- 6c. Are you familiar with Jerry Falwell and who he is, or is he someone you have not really heard that much about? **(IF FAMILIAR WITH JERRY FALWELL ASK:)** Do you have favorable, neutral, or unfavorable feelings toward Jerry Falwell?

Familiar With Jerry Falwell

Favorable feelings	11	[62]
Neutral feelings	24	
Unfavorable feelings	32	
Not sure of feelings	8	
<u>Not Familiar With Jerry Falwell</u>	23	
<u>Not Sure If Familiar With Jerry Falwell</u>	2	

(FORM A ONLY)

- 7a. One issue that has been talked about lately is the role of religion in politics. In terms of your own way of thinking, what kind of a role do you think religion and religious groups should play in our political system? What are some of your thoughts about what role religion should play in politics today?

(PROBE:) What are some of the positive things about having religion and religious groups play more of a role in our political system?

(PROBE:) What concerns or fears would you have about religion and religious groups playing more of a role in our political system? Can you think of any examples where religious groups went too far in getting involved in the political system? [63-70]

Net Positive Things	40%	Net Concerns or Fears	57%
Political leaders should have the fear of God, leaders must be Godly to be able to run the country	15	Religion and politics don't mix, separation of church and state, stay out of politics	47
Religious groups should play any role they want, they have the same rights as anyone else	7	Fanatical religions, go too far	5
People need some type of religion, follow the golden rule, have basic moral standards	6	Go too far on abortion issue	4
Trying to bring God/religion into our lives, nation should move towards Christianity	5	Try to force their ideals on us	3
We need more Christian leaders	4		
		Don't know; no response	12%

(FORM B ONLY)

- 7b. Many people today talk about the importance of having strong moral and social values in our country. What specific values come to your mind when you think about the moral or social values you would like to see in our country today?

(PROBE:) Are there any other moral or social values that you think need to be strengthened in our country today? [71-74]

Families should stick together, family values	24%
More tolerance/respect towards people, the golden rule	18
More religion/prayer, go back to God, the Bible	13
Parents should pay more attention to children, love/care for them	9
Sexual abstinence	8
Don't know; no response	12%

(BOTH FORMS)

8. People talk about the importance of having strong values here in America. I am going to read you three statements on this subject, and then I'd like you to tell me which one of them comes closest to your own point of view. **(READ STATEMENTS SLOWLY, ROTATING ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. IF RESPONDENT HAS A HARD TIME DECIDING AMONG STATEMENTS, ASK:) Well, which one of these would you pick as your top priority?**

Statement A: What we need to do in America today is to encourage a return to our traditional moral values, like religion and the traditional family.. . . .	32	[75]
Statement B: What we need to do in America today is encourage stronger personal values, like individual responsibility and hard work	29	
Statement C: What we need to doing in America today is encourage stronger community values, like contributing to the good of the community and respect for others	18	
All equally (VOL)	20	
Not sure	1	

- 9a. Now I'm going to mention some things you could find out about a candidate for political office in your area. For each factor I mention, please tell me if this is something that would make you more likely or less likely to support that candidate. If I mention a particular factor that would not make much difference to you one way or the other, just say so.

(FOR EACH ITEM BELOW, ASK:) If a candidate for political office (READ ITEM), would this make you more likely or less likely to support that candidate, or would it not make much difference to you one way or the other? (ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

	<u>Make More Likely To Support</u>	<u>Make Less Likely To Support</u>	<u>Would Not Make Much Difference</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Emphasized the diversity of America and respect for people of different backgrounds, including gays and lesbians	31	32	32	5	[76]
Believed we have gone too far in forcing religion out of the public schools	47	29	22	2	[77]
Favored comprehensive sex education that starts with abstinence, but also includes information on birth control and disease prevention	71	12	14	3	[78]
Was closely associated with Radical Right political groups	9	58	20	13	[79]
Believed the choice on abortion should be left up to the woman, with few legal restrictions	59	27	9	5	[80]
Put top priority on returning to traditional moral values	74	7	15	4	[81]
Supported laws to allow organized classroom prayer in the public schools	53	22	21	4	[82]

ALWAYS ASK THIS ONE LAST:

Was closely associated with right-wing religious groups and supported the positions of the Religious Right	24	41	23	12	[83]
--	----	----	----	----	------

(FORM A ONLY)

9b. Why would you feel that way about a candidate who was closely associated with Religious Right political groups?

(PROBE:) What are some of the things that might make you **more** likely to favor a candidate who supports the positions of the Religious Right?

(PROBE:) What are some of the things that might make you **less** likely to favor a candidate who supports the positions of the Religious Right? [84-91]

Net Reasons More Likely to Favor	26%	Net Reasons Less Likely to Favor	39%
Candidate with good morals and values is better, more stable	13	Should be a separation of church and state, politics and religion don't mix	21
It's what I believe in, what I agree with	5	Try to push their ideals/views on everyone else	7
Need more religion, that what is our country needs right now	5	Too close-minded, intolerant	6
Would have God in his life	3	Too radical, militant, violent	6
Need prayer in the schools	2	Not trustworthy, have a hidden agenda	3
		People have a right to their own beliefs	6
		Makes no difference to me	3
		Don't know; no response	28%

(BOTH FORMS:)

10. I am going to read some statements that express different views regarding the involvement of religion in politics and public affairs. For each statement, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with this statement.

	<u>Strongly Agree</u>	<u>Somewhat Agree</u>	<u>Somewhat Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly Disagree</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
(FORM A)						
Government should not favor one religion over another, but should encourage religion in general	67	21	5	6	1	[92]
(FORM B)						
Government should not favor one religion over another or encourage religion in general	60	23	8	5	4	[93]
(FORM A)						
Political leaders should not question the religious faith of people they disagree with	72	17	5	4	2	[94]
(FORM B)						
Religious leaders active in politics should not question the morality of people they disagree with	45	23	13	13	6	[95]
(FORM A)						
Political leaders should not claim to speak on behalf of an entire faith when they take positions on policy issues	68	17	5	6	4	[96]
(FORM B)						
Political leaders should not claim that God is on their side when they take positions on policy issues	61	13	8	13	5	[97]
(BOTH FORMS)						
People in government should not let their private religious views be the most important consideration in public policy decisions	59	21	7	10	3	[98]
Government should not concern itself with the morality of private activity, such as sexual orientation	42	23	12	17	6	[99]

11. When it comes to meeting the educational needs of the country, which one of the following approaches would you be more likely to favor: (a) doing what is necessary to improve the quality of education in the public schools, or (b) using tax-funded vouchers or tax deductions so parents can send their children to private or religious schools, instead of public schools?

Improve quality of the public schools	66	[100]
Vouchers/deductions for private and religious schools	28	
Both equally (VOL)	3	
Not sure	3	

(FORM A)

- 12a. Do you favor or oppose allowing **teacher-led** prayer in the public schools, if most, but not necessarily all, students want it?

Favor prayer	57	CONTINUE	[101]
Oppose prayer	29	FORM B--SKIP TO Q.13a	
Depends (VOL)	7	FORM A--SKIP TO Q.14a	
Not sure	7		

(FORM B)

- 12b. Do you favor or oppose allowing organized, **student-led** prayer in the public schools, if most, but not necessarily all, students want it?

Favor prayer	68	CONTINUE	[102]
Oppose prayer	23	FORM B--SKIP TO Q.13a	
Depends (VOL)	5	FORM A--SKIP TO Q.14a	
Not sure	4		

(BOTH FORMS--ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY FAVOR SCHOOL PRAYER IN Q.12a OR Q12.b:)

- 12c. And would you favor or oppose this kind of prayer in the public schools if (READ ITEM, REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM AND ROTATE ITEMS.)

	<u>Favor Prayer</u>	<u>Oppose Prayer</u>	<u>Depends (VOL)</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
It meant that school board officials or school administrators would be involved in selecting or approving the prayers to be used	35	52	7	6	[103]
There were a risk that the school system would have to pay large legal fees to defend itself against lawsuits from opponents of school prayer	47	40	4	9	[104]
The prayers offended the religious beliefs of some students who had different religious faiths	46	36	10	8	[105]

(FORM B ONLY--ASK EVERYONE:)

13a. Now I would like to describe a candidate in a local school board election and get your reaction. (READ DESCRIPTION SLOWLY.)

"This candidate's top priority is giving parents greater control over their children's education. In this regard, the candidate favors giving parents more power to remove textbooks and other materials they find objectionable. This candidate also believes we need to restore religion and morality to the public schools, and opposes course material that might lend respect to the homosexual lifestyle. On the issues of AIDS and birth control, the candidate wants courses that teach abstinence only, not birth control, and opposes making condoms available to students in the public schools."

Based on this description, how much do you think this candidate would appeal to you—a great deal, quite a bit, some, just a little, or not much at all?

A great deal of appeal	19	[106]
Quite a bit of appeal	14	
Some appeal	18	
Just a little appeal	10	
Not much appeal at all	38	
Not sure	1	

(FORM B ONLY)

13b. Why do you feel that way about this candidate?

(PROBE:) What are some of the things about this candidate that would appeal to you?

(PROBE:) What are some of the things that would give you doubts or concerns about supporting this candidate? [107-114]

Net Favorable Impressions	50%	Net Unfavorable Impressions	41%
Agree with the candidate's ideals	15	Not teaching birth control is not a realistic approach, shouldn't teach abstinence only	17
Abstinence courses	11	Parents shouldn't have the power to remove books from school, teachers should be allowed to select books/materials they want to use	10
Sex education doesn't belong in schools, should be taught at home	7	Kids need to be taught about diseases, AIDS	8
Parents should have more control, parents have the right to decide what their kids should be taught	6	Candidate is imposing his views on the public	5
Religion in schools	3	Disagree with his stand on homosexuals	4
		Don't know; no response	10%

(FORM B ONLY:)

- 13c. Now I would like to describe another candidate in a local school board election and get your reaction. **(READ DESCRIPTION SLOWLY.)**

This candidate puts top priority on improving public schools and raising the academic performance of all school children, and therefore supports establishing meaningful academic standards. When it comes to sex education, this candidate believes we need to stress abstinence, but also believes we must face reality and arm our kids with information about birth control and disease prevention. This candidate says schools should teach children about the importance of respecting others and settling problems without violence. This candidate also believes that religious instruction is best done by parents and religious leaders, not by teachers and administrators.

Based on this description, how much do you think this candidate would appeal to you--a great deal, quite a bit, some, just a little, or not much at all?

A great deal of appeal	52	[115]
Quite a bit of appeal	27	
Some appeal	13	
Just a little appeal	3	
Not much appeal at all	4	
Not sure	1	

(FORM A ONLY--ASK EVERYONE:)

- 14a. Recently, some people have criticized the growing political influence of the Religious Right and organizations led by religious figures who take very conservative positions on issues.

When you hear people criticizing the Religious Right, do you think they are mainly raising legitimate concerns about this movement, or do you think they are just raising exaggerated fears and being biased against religious people?

Legitimate concerns	21	[116]
Exaggerated fears	61	
Some of both (VOL)	8	
Not sure	10	

(FORM A ONLY:)

- 14b. Let me read you a statement in response to the criticisms of the Religious Right, and then I'd like to get your reaction.

(READ STATEMENT SLOWLY:) "Attacks against the so-called 'Religious Right' are an example of anti-Christian bigotry and part of an effort to stigmatize Christians. At a time when homosexuals and feminists have a lot of political power, Christians need to be heard, but liberals are trying to assign Christians to an inferior status and deny them a place at the table."

(AFTER READING STATEMENT, ASK:) How convincing do you personally think this statement by supporters of the Religious Right is--very convincing, fairly convincing, just somewhat convincing, or not really convincing?

Very convincing	18	[117]
Fairly convincing	16	
Just somewhat convincing	22	
Not really convincing	36	
Not sure	8	

(FORM A ONLY:)

- 14c. Now let me get your reaction to a statement that **opponents** of the Religious Right might make about why the political influence of the Religious Right is a **legitimate** concern today.

(READ STATEMENT SLOWLY:) "The leaders of the Religious Right are **misusing** religion to argue for extreme right-wing political positions that have little public support. For example, they want to end legal abortion, reduce support for public education, and stop the schools from addressing public health issues such as AIDS prevention. The Religious Right promotes intolerance and division in our society, by arguing that there is only one right moral or Christian position on political issues. Government should not take sides in favor of a particular religious viewpoint, but this is what would happen if the Religious Right had its way."

(AFTER READING STATEMENT, ASK:) How convincing do you personally think this statement by opponents of the Religious Right is--very convincing, fairly convincing, just somewhat convincing, or not really convincing?

Very convincing	20	[118]
Fairly convincing	17	
Just somewhat convincing	23	
Not really convincing	33	
Not sure	7	

(BOTH FORMS:)

15. Please tell me which one or two of the following items, if any, would bother you the most about the leaders of the Religious Right and their political influence. **(READ CHOICES SLOWLY, ALTERNATING ORDER OF ITEMS ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

A) They are trying to use government to impose their religious views on the whole country	19	[119]
B) They are intolerant of people who live in ways they do not approve of	20	>
D) They take extreme, right-wing positions on many issues	9	
E) They go too far in mixing religion and politics	23	
F) They wrongly claim to speak for all moral and religious people	26	
All equally (VOL)	14	
None (VOL)	8	
Not sure	7	

16. Getting to the end of this survey, let me read you several concerns people have raised about the Religious Right and its positions on issues. For each one I read, please tell me how much that criticism of the Religious Right would concern you--a great deal, quite a bit, some, or little. (READ EACH ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

	Concerns A Great Deal	Concerns Quite A Bit	Concerns Some	Concerns Little	Not Sure	
(FORM A ONLY)						
The Religious Right favors taxpayer-supported voucher plans that would take funding away from the public schools and divert it to private and religious schools	36	16	18	28	2	[120]
(FORM B ONLY)						
If the Religious Right had its way, almost all abortions would be illegal and women would lose their freedom of choice	46	19	13	20	2	[121]
(FORM A ONLY)						
The organized school prayer proposals by the Religious Right would give government officials the power to decide which prayers students should say	47	18	16	16	3	[122]
(FORM B ONLY)						
Because it believes that only abstinence should be taught, the Religious Right opposes teaching public school students about birth control methods used to prevent diseases and pregnancy	44	23	15	15	3	[123]
(FORM A ONLY)						
The Religious Right opposes proposals that set rigorous academic standards for our schools, making it impossible to improve educational achievement	40	18	18	15	9	[124]
(FORM B ONLY)						
The Religious Right opposes laws that are designed to stop discrimination against gays and lesbians	29	15	24	26	6	[125]
(FORM A ONLY)						
The Religious Right opposes many environmental laws because the laws conflict with their interpretation of the Bible	33	15	21	23	8	[126]
(FORM B ONLY)						
The Religious Right wants the power to censor certain books from public schools and libraries	47	17	19	14	3	[127]
(FORM A ONLY)						
The Religious Right wants the government to regulate the content of movies, TV shows, and the arts	38	14	19	26	3	[128]
(FORM B ONLY)						
The Religious Right wants creationism taught as an alternative to evolution in public school science classes	31	13	24	29	3	[129]

FACTUALS: These last few questions are for statistical purposes only.

F1. In what age group are you--(READ LIST)?

18-24	9	[130]
25-29	10	
30-34	12	
35-39	9	
40-44	11	
45-49	8	
50-54	7	
55-59	7	
60-64	6	
65 and over	19	
Refused	2	

F2. What type of work do you do? What is the job called? (BE SURE TO CLASSIFY PROPERLY. WRITE JOB DESCRIPTION IN SPACE BELOW. IF RESPONDENT IS UNEMPLOYED, GET USUAL OCCUPATION.)

High-level professional ..	6	[131]	Farmer/rancher	1	[132]
Middle-level professional ..	11		Homemaker	8	
Executive, manager	3		Retiree	23	
Sales, proprietor	6		Student	5	
White collar worker	9		Other	1	
Skilled laborer	24		Not sure/refused	2	
Semi- and unskilled laborer	1				

(ASK OF ALL WOMEN.)

F3. Do you work outside the home or not?

Work outside the home	27	[133]
Do not work outside the home	22	
Not sure/refused	4	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

F4a. What is your religious preference? (READ CHOICES.)

Baptist	20		
Methodist	7	CONTINUE	[134]
Lutheran	6		
All other Protestants	22		
Catholic	24		
Jewish	2		
Muslim	-	SKIP TO	
Other	8	Q.F5	
None	8		
Refused	3		

(ASK ONLY OF PROTESTANTS IN Q.F4a)

F4b. Do you consider yourself to be a born-again Christian?

Born-again Christian	31	[135]
Not born-again Christian	21	
Not sure/refused	3	
Non-Protestants (Q.F4a)	45	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

F5. How important would you say religion is to you in your own life--the single most important thing, quite important, somewhat important, or not that important?

Single most important thing	26	[136]
Quite important	41	
Somewhat important	21	
Not that important	10	
Not sure	2	

F6a. Regardless of how you may be registered, how would you describe your overall point of view in terms of the political parties? Would you say you are mostly Democratic, leaning Democratic, completely Independent, leaning Republican, or mostly Republican?

Mostly Democratic	25	[137]
Leaning Democratic	11	
Completely Independent	25	
Leaning Republican	11	
Mostly Republican	22	
Not sure	6	

F6b. Thinking about your general approach to issues, do you consider yourself to be liberal, moderate, or conservative?

Liberal	19	[138]
Moderate	40	
Conservative	34	
Not sure	7	

F7. Did you vote in the November 1992 election for president among George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, and Ross Perot, the Independent?

(IF "YES," ASK:) For whom did you vote--George Bush, Bill Clinton, or Ross Perot?

YES, VOTED

George Bush	30	[139]
Bill Clinton	36	
Ross Perot	14	
None (VOL)/not sure/refused	7	
<u>NO, DID NOT VOTE</u>	11	
<u>NOT SURE IF VOTED</u>	2	

F8. What is the last grade you completed in school? (DO NOT READ CHOICES.)

Less than high school	8	[140]
High school graduate	37	
Post-high school vocational training	5	
Technical school	2	
Two-year college graduate	17	
Four-year college graduate	18	
Postgraduate	9	
Not sure/refused	4	

F9. For statistical purposes only, we need to know your household income for last year. Will you please tell me which one of the following categories best describes your total household income for 1993? (READ CATEGORIES.)

Below \$20,000	21	[141]
\$20,000-\$35,000	28	
\$35,000-\$50,000	17	
\$50,000-\$65,000	10	
Above \$65,000	11	
Not sure/refused	13	

F10. What is your race--white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or something else?

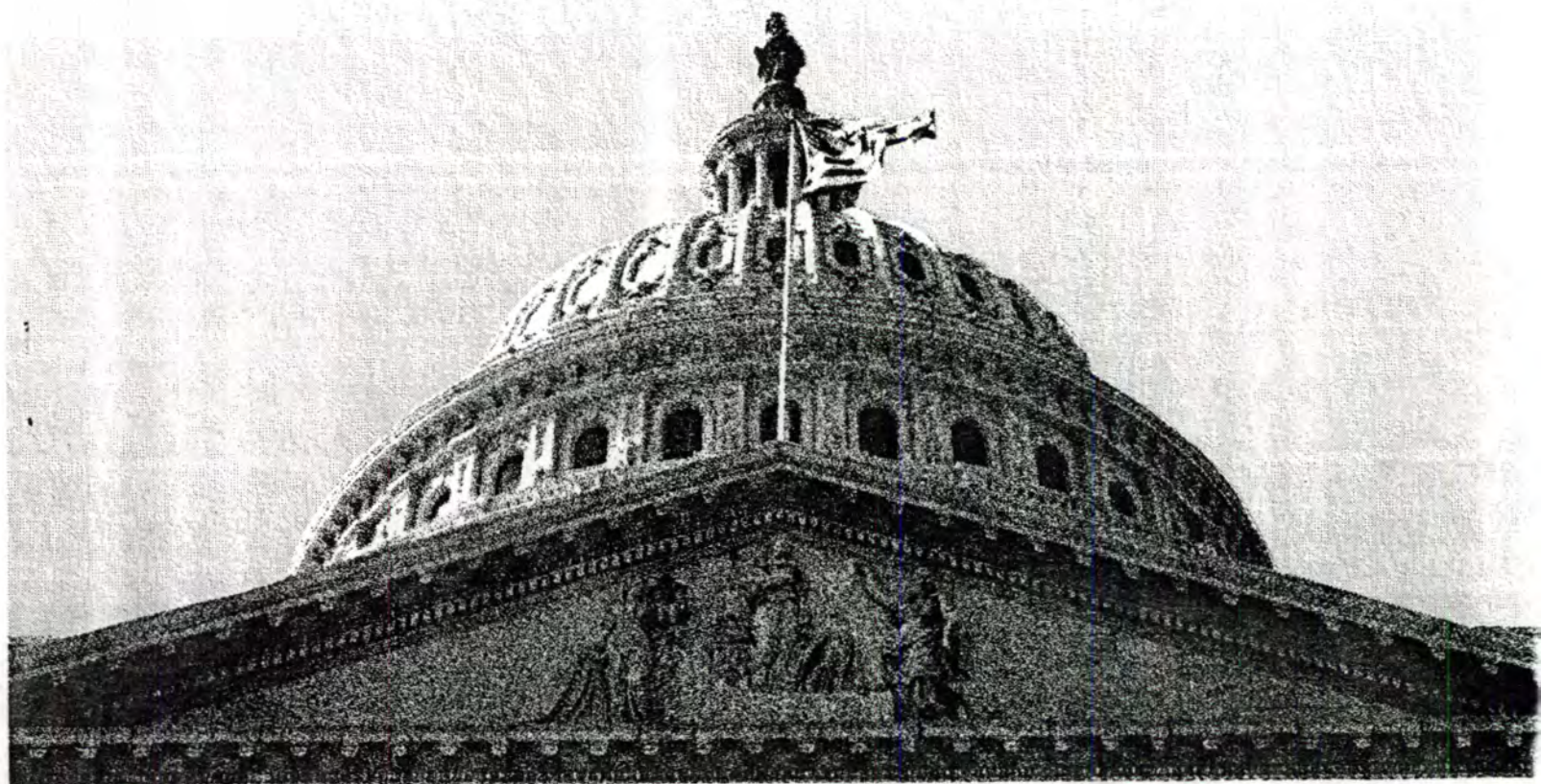
White	80	[142]
Black	10	
Hispanic	5	
Asian	1	
Other	2	
Not sure	2	

file

THE RELIGIOUS RIGHT:

PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY

THE
NEXT
100
DAYS



With work on the 100-day "Contract With America" completed, and Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-GA) and others presenting general outlines of a legislative agenda for the rest of the 104th Congress, the new Speaker faces a difficult challenge: his party staked its election on a Contract that sought to avoid many of the divisive social issues nearest the heart of the Religious Right leadership. Yet, Religious Right groups that helped carry the election are now expecting what they themselves have termed "payback" for their efforts in the 1994 campaign.

Throughout the course of the first 100 days, the Republican majority walked something of a legislative tightrope, addressing a number (though certainly not all) of the Religious Right's social issues, but still managing to keep the principal focus of its work on budget and tax issues not generally associated with the Religious Right. At the same time, movement leaders operated from the premise that their electoral efforts last fall, and their lobbying support for the Contract this winter, would be rewarded with a rich legislative harvest come spring and summer. Already, troubling signals are in view that the new conservative majority is poised to pay back its Religious Right supporters with a full-scale assault on reproductive freedom, public education, free expression and other movement targets. While the new leadership continues to shy away from public discussion of the Religious Right's divisive social and cultural agenda and to downplay differences in the party over such issues as reproductive rights, congressional activity has already begun to put those rights at risk.

The Religious Right and the Contract

The Religious Right concluded early on that their best chance for winning congressional approval for their sweeping legislative agenda was to demonstrate loyalty to the Republican party Contract. To the mainstream press, movement leaders have generally portrayed their support as grounded in the merits -- arguing for the balanced budget amendment, term limits, and tax cuts on economic grounds. But in more private communications with their members and followers, they have taken a different tack. The contrast was best demonstrated by Ralph Reed, executive director of Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition, and the most visible political leader of the Religious Right. The Christian Coalition produces a 30-minute program for National Empowerment Television, the Paul Weyrich-founded cable channel on which Speaker Newt Gingrich has appeared regularly. The NET Christian Coalition program provides -- quite literally - only half the story. In fact, the Coalition produces a full-hour program, which is packaged for closed-circuit satellite feeds to members and subscribers across the country. What NET viewers do not see, because it is not available to them, is a considerably more tailored message. On one such recent broadcast, Reed told Christian Coalition members and supporters precisely why they should support the Contract, even though it omitted many of their key issues: "If the Contract gets off on a bad foot and stumbles, and if the

the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, targeting reproductive choice for poor women, or for assurances that anti-gay initiatives will be on the congressional agenda. Religious Right organizations have been invited to put their imprimatur on Contract legislation in numerous Congressional hearings, with Gary Bauer's Family Research Council, for example, testifying for tax credits, welfare reform, and the elimination of public broadcasting, and Concerned Women for America speaking on tax credits and welfare reform. But the Religious Right's achievements so far are just a glimmer of what movement leaders are hoping to push through Congress in the months ahead.

A New Contract

Religious Right support for the Contract has not stopped movement leaders from advancing their issues during or after the first 100 days. Many of them remain dissatisfied that the Contract excluded the so-called "family agenda" in the first place, and have launched an aggressive campaign to insist that their agenda take priority in the Congress' second "100 Days." As Gary Bauer of the Family Research Council explained, "We are disgruntled and we don't intend to tolerate it. I think across the board we feel that the Republican Party is taking us for granted." Some Religious Right leaders have begun to single out Republican leaders for censure. When Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole (R-KS) said he would not use abortion as a litmus test for choosing a running mate, James Dobson of Focus on the Family fumed, "What an insult to the millions of Americans who grieve over the killing of pre-born children. What arrogance it was to trivialize an issue that burns in their hearts." Dobson also branded New Jersey Governor Christine Whitman unfit to serve as Republican party spokesperson: "She's pro-abortion, pro-gay, pro-lesbian and pro-condom distribution. She stands for the opposite to what the pro-family movement believes."

Religious Right leaders have explicitly employed Contract rhetoric to advance their social agenda. Shortly after the November election, Martin Mawyer of the Christian Action Network issued a "Pro-Family Contract With America," which listed among its top priorities a constitutional amendment for school prayer, the abolition of the National Endowment for the Arts, and a "de-fund[ing] of the homosexual agenda." Similarly, D. James Kennedy of Coral Ridge Ministries wasted no time in unveiling a "Family Values Contract," covering such hot button issues as abortion, prayer in school, funding for the arts, and gay rights. In April, Jerry Falwell circulated a "Moral Contract With America" to all members of Congress seeking their signatures. Falwell threatened, "We will find out once and for all who is for us -- and for a strong America -- and who is against us." His litmus test includes support for "God-centered education," defining American families as limited to those made up of one man and one woman, and supporting welfare reform.

Also in April, Religious Right leaders led by Ralph Reed of the Christian Coalition and James Dobson of Focus on the Family have stepped up the pressure, declaring abortion the most critical issue facing the Republican party. Reed warned that the Christian Coalition would not support a presidential ticket that included a candidate who favored

many planks of their platform. On other issues, they have seized, or in some cases created, opportunities to advance their proposals within the context of the Contract.

What follows is a description of the progress of the Religious Right's agenda during the first 100 days and the expressed agenda for Day 101 and beyond, taken from their own broadcasts, writings and mailings, and legislative initiatives during the first hundred days of the 104th Congress. Even the greatly increased influence of the Religious Right will be insufficient to enact the entire agenda over expected opposition from mainstream religious, education and other groups, as well as moderates of both parties. But it is clear that the Religious Right will have an unprecedented opportunity to translate their once theoretical policy objectives into statutory reality.

REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS

Unable to gain support for a constitutional amendment prohibiting abortion in the face of majority support for a woman's right to reproductive freedom, Religious Right organizations at the federal level are seeking to "chip away" at this right by targeting access to clinics, discouraging doctors from providing the procedure, denying poor women access to abortion services and counseling, and encouraging states to reduce the number of abortions through cash bonuses offered in the House welfare reform bill.

The Republican party's attempt to avoid an early focus on abortion backfired in February when Christian Coalition Executive Director Ralph Reed issued a threat to the party that Religious Right followers would not support "a national ticket or a platform that does not share Ronald Reagan's belief in the sanctity of human life." Reed's statement established abortion as the defining social issue for the party and its policy decisions during the current Congress and the coming presidential campaign.

Religious Right groups have set out an ambitious agenda on reproductive rights for the 104th Congress. While their ultimate goal is to amend the Constitution to ban abortion and give human fetuses all the legal protections enjoyed by American citizens, groups have vowed to end federal funding for abortion procedures, counseling and referral, ban third-trimester abortions, pass national parental consent laws, end federal funding for fetal tissue research, and prohibit the sale and manufacture of RU-486. When the 104th Congress convened, legislation introduced in the House based on the "Contract" provided vehicles to limit access to abortion services. Given the strength with which the Religious Right has exerted its influence, more forced "test" votes on abortion are likely as the electoral primary season approaches.

- **Pass a permanent Hyde Amendment, to restrict federal funding of abortions and restrict Medicaid funding of abortions.**

choice Rep. Chris Smith (R-NJ) unsuccessfully attempted to vote down the rule over the provision, the “family cap” was preserved in the House legislation.

Representative Smith’s efforts were opposed by the Family Research Council and Concerned Women for America, which expressed support for provisions to cut off aid to children born to teenagers out-of-wedlock, because “illegitimacy” was the root cause of “countless social ills.” The National Conference of Catholic Bishops, however, spoke strongly against several of these provisions, insisting that “we must not penalize innocent children by cutting off their support because their mother was too young, or has other children on welfare.”

In an effort to assuage concerns that “family caps” provisions might increase abortions, the House Ways and Means Committee added pernicious language to the welfare reform bill which would provide cash incentives to states which decrease a so-called “illegitimacy ratio,” defined as the annual percentage of live births born to women out-of-wedlock plus any increase in abortions statewide (to women off or on AFDC). An increase in the ratio would render the state ineligible for an increase in grant funds. The “illegitimacy ratio” would not only encourage states to enact restrictive abortion policies, but at a time when clinic violence is escalating, it offers an incentive to ignore clinic security.

Representative Pete Stark (D-CA) sought to offer an amendment on the floor to strike the ratio altogether and replace it with an incentive for states to reduce teenage pregnancy, but the Rules Committee, chaired by Rep. Gerald Solomon (R-NY), blocked it from being debated on the House floor. As welfare reform legislation was being debated and passed on the House floor, Religious Right groups expressed their support for initiatives that would end federal subsidies for “illegitimacy.”

- **Restrict women on welfare from having access to abortion services.**

On the House floor, Rep. Henry Hyde (R-IL) succeeded in adding an amendment to the welfare reform bill that prevents any funds under the welfare block grant from going toward “medical services.” Hyde specifically explained that the amendment would prohibit federal funding for abortion services. Representative Hyde has gained substantial support from the Religious Right for his anti-choice positions and his efforts to restrict access to abortion services for poor women, earning him praise as one of 10 family advocates in the 103rd Congress by the Family Research Council. Restricting Medicaid abortions is a top priority for these organizations and even appeared as the first declaration on Coral Ridge Ministries’ “Family Values Contract” which demanded that legislators, “[f]ree citizens from having to fund abortion or abortion referrals. Do not force taxpayers to subsidize in any way the slaughter of innocent unborn children.”

To many moderates, however, it was unclear whether the Hyde amendment as offered also targeted family planning services. In an effort to clarify the restriction, Rep. James

In an op-ed in the *Washington Times*, Christian Coalition Legislative Director Marshall Wittmann reaffirmed the group's goal of ending federal grants for Planned Parenthood, stating that "it will be difficult even for pro-abortion politicians to defend Planned Parenthood's radical agenda of opposing parental consent and waiting period laws, as well as its support for graphic sex-ed programs and condom distribution to school children." Planned Parenthood has been providing voluntary family planning services for up to four million Americans a year since 1917.

- **Reinstate the abortion "gag rule."**

This Reagan-originated regulation prevented medical professionals in family planning clinics receiving federal funds from even *discussing* abortion with their patients, and was overturned by President Clinton in 1993. Although the "gag rule" provision originally included in the "Contract with America" was removed due to pressure from moderate Republicans, restoring and enacting the provision remains a top priority for the Religious Right. The restoration of the "gag rule" would seriously affect the ability of women to receive comprehensive family planning information and services.

- **Reject Surgeon General Nominee Dr. Henry Foster.**

The nomination of Dr. Henry Foster as the next Surgeon General provided both religious and secular right-wing groups with an additional opportunity to make inroads into the provision of safe and legal abortions. Thomas Jipping of the Free Congress Foundation Center for Law and Democracy, an organization supported by the Christian Coalition, Concerned Women for America, and Family Research Council, claimed in the *Washington Times* that "Dr. Foster's professional career is inextricably tied to abortion. His supporters' response that abortion is a legal medical procedure is irrelevant."

Dr. Foster, a well-regarded and distinguished obstetrician/gynecologist and the acting dean of Meharry Medical College, was chosen by President Clinton in part because of his successful program to reduce the number of teenage pregnancies. Dr. Foster's program, "I Have a Future," aims to reduce teenage pregnancy by encouraging teenagers to delay sexual activity and to focus on their education, health, and self-esteem. In addition to promoting abstinence, Dr. Foster's comprehensive sex education and health program offers contraceptives to teens with a parent's permission. Recognized as one of America's Thousand Points of Light by former President George Bush, the "I Have a Future" program has succeeded at providing children in Nashville, Tennessee with the self-esteem and educational skills necessary to avoid the trap of teen pregnancy.

Well before the nomination became official, however, the Family Research Council flooded the airwaves, attacking Dr. Foster's affiliation with Planned Parenthood and characterizing him as "Elders-lite." Shortly after it became known that he had performed abortions during his 30 year career, the attacks became more vicious, with Judie Brown of the American Life League labeling Dr. Foster as a "ghoul" who "opted out of the

the 1962 Supreme Court's landmark decision limiting prayer in public schools "was the single event that triggered a sudden and precipitous decline in the character of the nation." Not surprisingly, nearly every Religious Right organization that has crafted some version of a "Pro-family Contract with America," has included either passing a school prayer or so-called "Religious Equality" amendment in their legislative agenda. The Religious Right is also sure to redouble its efforts to cut off federal funds to school districts that "effectively prevent" voluntary constitutionally protected prayer

- **Enact a broad "Religious Equality" or "Religious Freedom" Constitutional Amendment or statute to permit prayer and proselytizing in schools and other public places.**

The Religious Right's long-standing goal of restoring government-sponsored prayer to public schools is certain to be part of the House Republican leadership's agenda this year. During the 1994 campaign, Speaker Gingrich carefully signaled to Religious Right activists that he would move a school prayer constitutional amendment by July 1995. However, when Gingrich revealed this intention to the general public in the wake of the 1994 elections, he was met with widespread criticism, forcing Gingrich and his lieutenant on the prayer issue, Rep. Ernest Istook (R-OK), to regroup.

The starting point for Gingrich and Istook's efforts was a school prayer amendment that Istook introduced in the House in October 1994. This proposal was limited to school prayer and gave school officials broad discretion to select prayers to be recited, triggering opposition not only from mainstream religious organizations, but also from a few organizations allied with the Religious Right that considered the proposal overly statist. This year, Gingrich and Istook have worked with Religious Right leaders to "make over" the original amendment. Among others, Religious Right leaders Jay Sekulow of Pat Robertson's American Center For Law & Justice (ACLJ), Richard Land of the Southern Baptist Christian Life Commission, and the Rev. Lou Sheldon of the Traditional Values Coalition, have all provided input on the language of the proposal that Representative Istook plans to unveil.

This drafting effort appears close to completion. Hearings on the proposed amendment are tentatively scheduled for June in the House Judiciary Committee, and Representative Istook may introduce the amendment in June. By all accounts, Istook's proposal will be even broader than his amendment of last October. Rev. Lou Sheldon of the Traditional Values Coalition, who claims to have had a major role in preparing the amendment, has written supporters that a "broad constitutional amendment, rather than a narrow prayer amendment" will be unveiled shortly after the April recess. Ralph Reed of the Christian Coalition has repeatedly made clear that "For us the issue is much broader than voluntary school prayer."

An early draft published by the *L.A. Times* indicates that Istook will propose a constitutional amendment to authorize proselytizing, organized prayer and other religious

- **Establish a cut-off of all federal funds to school districts as a club to promote government-sponsored prayer in public schools.**

Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC) and Rep. Sam Johnson (R-TX) will revive a dangerous school prayer amendment to education authorization bills that was defeated in the last Congress on Goals 2000 and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The amendment, which according to Pat Robertson's American Center for Law and Justice was crafted by the ACLJ and Senator Helms, would deny federal funding to any state or local education agency that "effectively prevents" (intentionally or inadvertently) voluntary, constitutionally protected prayer in public school. Sen. Helms has introduced the language as a free standing bill, S. 319, and Rep. Johnson is planning to introduce the amendment to one or more of several education authorization bills that will begin to move through the House Economic and Educational Opportunities Committee.

Federal law already provides for termination of federal funds to state or local education agencies that willfully violate a court order to respect constitutional rights regarding prayer. The Helms/Johnson amendment would go further, imposing a confusing federal mandate on schools. Lower courts disagree about what is considered "voluntary, constitutionally protected prayer." The amendment language would force school authorities to navigate this unsettled area of the law under the threat of school children losing all federal education dollars. The amendment would likewise undermine local control of education by empowering Education Department bureaucrats to second-guess local decisions regarding school prayer, cutting off federal funding if they did not like the results. Moreover, the funding cut-off measure would radically expand the ability of Religious Right litigation groups to force unconstitutional prayer into the public schools. School officials would be pressured to allow unconstitutional prayer and proselytizing as a way of avoiding threatened termination of all federal education funds to their entire school district. Costly litigation and divisive threats against teachers and other school officials would likely increase.

Religious Right groups have not shied away from jeopardizing public education in pursuit of their social agenda. The Helms/Johnson amendment is just one example.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

The new Congress has proved receptive to the Religious Right's aim of undermining support for the public education system. The Religious Right's zeal for cutting federal education funding is dramatically at odds with the views of the 68 percent of Americans who, according to an NBC News/Wall Street Journal poll conducted in early March, strongly oppose cutting funds for the Department of Education. In the face of such opposition Christian Coalition Executive Director Ralph Reed cast his organization's goal as "de-federalizing education policy" by "block granting federal functions back to the states, locally elected school boards, and parents." He stated further that, "Education

In addition to targeting specific programs, House Republicans recently announced the formation of a task force that will press for legislation to dismantle the Department of Education, repeal Goals 2000, and eliminate all federally mandated education regulations on state and local school districts. These Reagan-era idea have found considerable support from conservative interest groups, as well as a number of newly-elected members of the House of Representatives. Freshman Rep. Joe Scarborough (R-FL), an ally of the Religious Right and the chairman of the House task force, has attempted to justify this agenda by charging that, "The Department of Education has been an absolute and total abject failure," and further claims that there is a direct causal relationship between the establishment of the Department of Education and the decline in educational standards.

- **Pass education vouchers legislation.**

Religious Right leaders have long viewed school vouchers as a way to divert tax dollars from public education and direct them to private and religious schooling. In his book *America Can Be Saved*, Jerry Falwell writes,

I hope to live to see the day when . . . we won't have any public schools. The churches will have taken them over again and Christians will be running them. What a happy day that will be!

Private and religious school voucher amendments that were offered to both Goals 2000 and ESEA were all defeated in floor votes in the House and Senate during the 103rd Congress. The Religious Right and members of the new congressional leadership, however, have made passing voucher legislation a top priority for the 104th Congress. In laying out the Christian Coalition's legislative agenda for the next two years, Ralph Reed declared, "We should return much of the \$33 billion we spend at the federal level . . . and convert it into scholarships or vouchers." While Majority Leader Dick Armey (R-TX) is expected to lead efforts to pass a voucher proposal bill in the House, Sens. Dan Coats (R-IN) and Joseph Lieberman (D-CT) have introduced a voucher proposal bill that seeks to establish a beachhead on the issue by creating voucher demonstration projects. Furthermore, Speaker Gingrich has stated that Congress will propose school vouchers for the District of Columbia before the end of May.

- **Pass the Family Privacy Protection Act of 1995.**

The Religious Right has long sought congressional legislation that will give them powerful tools to remove curricula they dislike from the public school system. In 1978, Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-UT) sponsored an amendment the General Education Provisions Act (GEPA) to require parental consent before a student could participate in any psychological or psychiatric "examination, testing or treatment." This amendment, also known as the Protection of Pupil Rights Act (PPRA), was never intended to reach curricula. According to Senator Hatch, the intent of the 1978 amendment was to "let parents decide whether or not to permit their school children to be subjected to research

Calling for increased access to school records, library checkout records, and curriculum materials, Religious Right groups have rallied around a “parental rights” amendment to state constitutions, whose stated goal is that “the right of parents to direct the upbringing and education of their children shall not be infringed.” Religious Right groups claim that they are seeking similar legislation in a number of states and that Rep. Steve Largent (R-OK) has agreed to introduce a bill in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Proponents of the “parent’s rights” bill have claimed that the legislation will assist those who now have “no effective vehicle to challenge something like outcome based education, condom distribution, etc.” The organization leading the charge for the bill, Of The People, has made plain that the “parental rights” amendment is a far ranging tool for censorship that could be used to restrict, censor or remove materials from public libraries and schools, to prevent minors from access to abortion services, and to “counter the growing trend of giving children the right to challenge parental decisions.” The legislation may also present a threat to existing child-abuse and child-labor protections.

As Congress moves beyond the 100-day mark, the attacks on public education by House Republicans and the Religious Right will become more intense. Efforts to cut education funding, divert tax dollars to private and religious schools and advance censorship measures will surface as major right-wing objectives.

FREE EXPRESSION

For several years, Religious Right organizations have taken the lead in the war against federal funding for the National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting based on the content of programming and projects funded by these entities. Their efforts are finally bearing fruit as Republican congressional leaders have jumped on this bandwagon. Even before the start of the 104th Congress, Speaker-to-be Gingrich declared one of his goals was to “zero-out” funding for CPB as quickly as possible. NEA opponents, many of whom were given 100 percent approval ratings from the Christian Coalition in the November election, have waged an unwavering campaign to prevent what the Religious Right misleadingly calls “taxpayer funding of pornography and anti-Christian ‘art’ projects.”

In addition, the Religious Right has lent support to recent attempts of censorship aimed at the new information technologies. A bill introduced in the first hundred days would prevent freedom of speech on on-line networks, crippling these important new forums for communications. Finally, free expression has been under attack with the reintroduction of a constitutional amendment to prevent flag burning.

- **Abolish the National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities.**

documentary about African-American homosexuals, were used as political organizing tools by Pat Robertson and the Christian Coalition. Even though Congress requires CPB to follow detailed "balance and objectivity" guidelines, attacks on public broadcasting have continued.

The standard line among congressional proponents of cuts in funding for the cultural agencies is that they are just part of the general belt-tightening of the entire federal budget. However, both Speaker Gingrich and Senator Larry Pressler (R-SD), the leading proponent of public broadcasting funding cuts in the Senate, have repeatedly made clear that ideology, not fiscal responsibility, is driving their targeting of CPB.

In an extraordinary move, which revealed his ideological vendetta against CPB, Senator Pressler sent an extensive set of interrogatories in late January to the Chairman of CPB which requested, among other things, "a list of all political contributions over \$250 made by individuals employed by or working under contract to CPB funded entities." It also asked CPB, "how many NPR staff have previously worked for Pacifica," and demanded financial and profit information relating to the airing of Armistead Maupin's "Tales of the City" on public television. Senator Pressler has appeared on public television to complain about liberal bias, even using the acclaimed Ken Burns' *Baseball* series as an example because it contained interviews with then-Governor Mario Cuomo of New York, a former minor baseball player.

Speaker Gingrich has also spoken out publicly against public broadcasting, sometimes with contradictory messages. In the beginning of the new session, encouraged by the momentum created by the Religious Right, Mr. Gingrich called for complete defunding of CPB. Later, in January, he retreated from that position, at least in front of some audiences, saying that he didn't really mean to "zero-out" CPB. Then, when speaking to a friendly audience on National Empowerment Television, his anti-CPB rhetoric grew as hostile as ever and he renewed his call for defunding.

House Appropriations hearings on CPB have also proved to be showcases for extreme right wing views. In a January Appropriations Subcommittee hearing on CPB, eight vociferous far right critics of public broadcasting were invited to testify against the system, including Gary Bauer's Family Research Council, the right-wing Center for the Study of Popular Culture, Reed Irvine's Accuracy in Media, Brent Bozell's Media Research Center and the National Rifle Association. After these organizations launched ideological attacks against CPB, Rep. John Porter (R-IL), the chairman of the Labor, Health and Human Services and Education subcommittee, and a longtime supporter of public television, did not permit members to question the witnesses, thereby preventing CPB supporters from discrediting the witnesses' claims.

Near the close of the 100 days, congressional action on fiscal year 1995 rescissions proved quite punishing for public broadcasting. The House drastically cut back '96 and '97 funding by 15 percent the first year, and 30 percent the second year. In the Senate, the Appropriations Committee recommended level funding for '96 and '97. When the

Robertson was an enthusiastic supporter of the amendment, and during its last incarnation, he gleefully proclaimed, "Oh my, that's going to be a good one. I'll tell you, the Republicans are rubbing their hands with glee.... I can not believe any congressman in an election year is going to vote against such an amendment. It would be political suicide, absolute suicide." With another Presidential election on the horizon, Robertson and other far right leaders are likely to provide troops for yet another assault on the integrity of the First Amendment.

GAY RIGHTS

Religious Right leaders raise millions of dollars each year playing off supporters' fears of gays and lesbians, and scapegoating this relatively small group of Americans as the principal threat to the integrity of the two-parent family. Accordingly, the Religious Right will not allow anti-gay legislation to be forgotten by the new leadership. For example, the Christian Coalition's "Contract with the American Family," claims that "the U.S. Government still gives millions of dollars to the homosexual lobby." Martin Mawyer, president of the Christian Action Network, includes reinstating the ban on gays in the military among his group's legislative priorities.

- **Hold Congressional hearings on so-called "gay influences" on public education.**

In yet another concession to the Religious Right, Speaker of the House, Newt Gingrich, declared his intention to convene congressional hearings on so-called, "gay influences" on public education. The hearings, expected later this year, will be a payback to Reverend Lou Sheldon, Chairman and founder of the Traditional Values Coalition, which promotes the belief that homosexuality is "the most pernicious evil today." Hearings will in all likelihood provide a springboard for a revival of legislation to end any mention of homosexuality in public education in anything but an unfavorable light. Gingrich's announcement was no accident. As Sheldon reported to his supporters, "I met with Newt Gingrich and Newt promised me -- and will put it in writing -- that if elected Speaker of the House, he will hold field hearings on the homosexual agenda as it is relevant to the public schools, and how they're trying to promote and advocate homosexuality."

- **Eliminate funding of schools that encourage or promote any "program or activity" involving homosexuality.**

Last Congress, Sheldon was the principle force behind an amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1994 (ESEA) that would have cut off funding to public schools with any program or activity having "the purpose or effect of encouraging or supporting homosexuality as a positive lifestyle alternative." This amendment remains a high priority for the Religious Right.

Legislation has also been introduced in the House to prevent the use of federal funds to "promote" homosexuality. Rep. Robert Dornan (R-CA), a recently announced candidate for president, has introduced a bill (H.R. 862) which states, "No Federal funds may be used *directly* or *indirectly* to promote, condone, accept, or celebrate homosexuality, lesbianism, or bisexuality." The bill is eagerly supported by the Religious Right. For example, Martin Mawyer, President of the Christian Action Network, is encouraging his supporters to pressure Congress to pass this bill. As Mawyer explains it:

It is very important for us to begin the tedious documentation of how your tax dollars are being spent to promote, condone, and advance the homosexual agenda. . . . I hope and pray that I can gather one million signatures on Congressman Dornan's bill and deliver them all to Congress. If I can do this, then there will be no question that Congressman Dornan is speaking for the American people when he says: 'No funds to promote, condone, accept, or celebrate homosexuality, lesbianism, or bisexuality.'

This sweeping bill would not only promote broad censorship but would jeopardize a wide range of legitimate government activities including AIDS prevention, research and treatment, hate-crime tracking, and anti-violence activities.

- **Deny equal employment discrimination protections to gays and lesbians.**

Gays and lesbians' struggle for protections against discrimination based solely on their sexual orientation has been distorted aggressively by Religious Right organizations as demands for "special rights." Religious Right hostility toward gays and lesbians has sparked Gingrich to come out four-square against employment protection for gays and lesbians, stating "I don't think you should have the right of filing a federal lawsuit or having the federal government protect you based upon your sexual behavior." While no federal legislation has been introduced, the "special rights" crusade stands at the heart of the Religious Right agenda. Amendments preventing federal, state and local government from protecting civil rights for gays and lesbians are likely to follow -- particularly when the Supreme Court considers Colorado's Amendment 2 next year. This amendment to Colorado's Constitution would prohibit civil rights legislation protecting gays and lesbians from being enacted through the normal legislative process, imposing special obstacles upon those seeking such protection not imposed on other groups.

JUDICIAL NOMINATIONS

Right-wing political organizations, aided by conservative senators, have pledged to mount aggressive challenges to President Clinton's judicial nominees during the 104th Congress. Their efforts on judicial nominations are led by Paul Weyrich's Judicial Selection Monitoring Project (JSMP) of the Free Congress Foundation Center for Law and Democracy. JSMP is supported by a wide array of Religious Right organizations, such as the American Family Association, Christian Coalition, Concerned Women for

appears that the Senate will rescind \$15 million from the agency. The House voted to cut \$5.8 million from the corporation's 1995 appropriation.

- Dismantle the National Service program.
- Reject the U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child. "Pro-family" groups claim that the treaty would usurp parental authority.
- Oppose U.S. representation at the U.N. Conference on Women's Issues in Beijing, China. The conference is to promote gender equality and to end discrimination against women worldwide.
- Bar women in the military from combat situations.



PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY

Your Voice Against Intolerance

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For Immediate Release

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CHRISTIAN COALITION ANNOUNCES 'PRO-FAMILY' CONTRACT ON PAT ROBERTSON'S *700 CLUB* TELEVISION SHOW

PEOPLE FOR PUBLISHES ANALYSIS OF CONTRACT'S DANGER TO FAMILIES; POLLS SHOW THAT ROBERTSON-REED 'CONTRACT' DOESN'T SPEAK FOR MAJORITY

People For's Minberg: 'Contract with American Family' a 'mighty misnomer'

The Christian Coalition's "Contract with the American Family" was unveiled today by Executive Director Ralph Reed on Pat Robertson's television program, the *700 Club*. A copy of the Contract is attached. As Reed acknowledged, the Contract is primarily a repackaging of the Christian Coalition's political agenda. That agenda is both out of step with and harmful to millions of American families.

"The 'Contract with America' is a mighty misnomer, but that's par for the course," said People For the American Way Executive Vice President Elliot Minberg. "Reed may present himself as the fresh friendly face of the Christian Coalition, but his boss Pat Robertson is just as extreme -- and their mutual political agenda just as troubling -- as ever."

"Robertson and Reed are hoping to build political momentum by wrapping their agenda in the rhetoric of families," said Minberg. "But the proposals they are promoting -- like legislation they supported in the first 100 days of this Congress -- would be harmful to millions of American families."

Minberg notes the Christian Coalition's support earlier this year for a tax plan that was publicly opposed by more than 100 moderate Republican Representatives. The plan offered a \$500 per child tax credit to wealthy families making up to \$200,000 per year; poor families were not eligible. The tax break for wealthy Americans cleared the House at the same time that dramatic cutbacks in programs for less fortunate children and families were under the knife.



Mincberg questioned Reed's claim that each of the Contract items are supported by 60 to 90 percent of the American people. "Judging from the accuracy of the Christian Coalition's voter guides, and given the wealth of polling data that contradicts Mr. Reed's claim, I would take a skeptical look at those numbers," said Mincberg. "Even Mr. Reed's pollster would admit that questions can be framed to 'encourage' the result pollsters are seeking."

The Robertson-Reed Contract was compiled at least in part through a direct mail "survey" of Christian Coalition members and potential supporters. Along with a fiery letter from Robertson, the mailing included requests for contributions to the Christian Coalition, an action postcard to be mailed to Members of Congress, and a "survey," addressed to Pat Robertson, that asked for responses to a series of questions on the Christian Coalition's agenda items. The issue section of the survey asked Coalition members to check off the issues (from a list of seven) that recipients wanted included in the Robertson-Reed Contract. It included several agenda items that ended up being included in the Contract released today, as well as several issues -- sex education and gay rights issues -- that are not. "The truth about the Robertson-Reed Contract is that it is the Christian Coalition's same old agenda, tempered by a bit of political reality," said Mincberg.

Among the items in the Christian Coalition's Contract with the American Family:

Religious Equality Amendment:

What Ralph Reed today called the "crown jewel" of the Robertson-Reed Contract represents a sweeping effort to alter the Bill of Rights for the first time in its 204-year history. The Christian Coalition may not offer specific amendment language tomorrow; supporters have had difficulty reaching agreement after Rep. Ernest Istook's proposed school prayer amendment generated more opposition than support last fall. Proposed language discussed publicly would authorize proselytizing by teachers and students, vocal group prayer in classrooms and over school intercoms, and denunciation of others' religions not only in public schools, but in all public place.

Religious expression in America is already protected by the First Amendment and the Religious Freedom Restoration Act of 1993, landmark legislation restricting government actions that "substantially burden" religious liberty. A group of religious and civil liberties groups from across the political spectrum recently signed a joint statement of current law, which, contrary to public statements by Pat Robertson and Ralph Reed, already protects a wide range of religious expression available to public school students, including organized prayers before or after school, Bible clubs, sharing faith with friends, saying grace before lunch, and praying during the day, subject to the same time, place and manner restrictions that govern all student speech.

An amendment directed at promoting religious activity in government-sponsored settings would permit government officials to intrude into one of the most private elements of family life -- individual faith. Infringing on the rights of parents to determine the religious

upbringing of their children and creating divisive community conflicts over government endorsed religious activity are not “pro-family” in the wildest stretch of the imagination. A Peter Hart poll conducted last summer found that more than 58 percent of American voters would oppose student-led prayer that involved school officials or administrators in selecting or approving the prayer. By a margin of 47 to 31 percent, Americans would oppose student-led prayers that offended the religious beliefs of students of different faiths.

While Reed calls publicly for “civility” among people of different faiths, Robertson continues to demonstrate a contempt for other religious traditions. In March, Robertson told *700 Club* viewers, “We’re importing Hinduism into the United States. Edgar Cayce is here in Virginia Beach, talking about reincarnation. The whole thought of Karma, of meditation, of the fact that there is no end of life, and there is an endless wheel of life, this is all Hinduism. ... The origin of it all is demonic. We can’t let this kind of thing come into America.” Last month he told viewers, “Islam in truth is a Christian heresy. Mohammed had been deeply taught in Christianity and Judaism, and he sort of mixed some of it up. But I would strongly recommend you get some of his background, the story about his various marriages, all the things that went on in his personal life. Then you get to the teachings of what he really taught. You’ve got to get some history on it. There are those who have been Islamic who are excellent. They’ve written books concerning that and they’ve debated the matter. But the excellence of the teaching of Jesus is so much superior, if you will, to Islam.”

Abolishing the Department of Education:

Ralph Reed has called the abolition of the Department of Education his number one legislative priority.

The Christian Coalition’s attacks on public education are far from friendly to American families, the great majority of which depend on public schools to provide children with opportunities to learn and prosper. Public schools, often the only places where families of diverse backgrounds interact, help sustain communities. Among the pro-family efforts that the Christian Coalition would sacrifice by dismantling the Department of Education are Title I funding for poor school districts, which give children from under-privileged families educational opportunities they would otherwise be denied, and Parental Literacy programs that better equip parents to play a role in their children’s education. Not surprisingly, 68 percent of Americans surveyed in a March 1995 Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll said they opposed cutting funding for the Department of Education.

School Vouchers:

The Robertson-Reed Contract calls for vouchers that would divert taxpayer funds from public education into private schools. The Christian Coalition and other Religious Right groups have a long-term strategic goal of delegitimizing and dismantling public education in favor of private sectarian schools.

Voucher programs that would funnel scarce resources away from public education and into private schools would devastate already struggling school districts in poorer areas. In Milwaukee’s five-year old voucher program, only half of students eligible have taken

advantage of vouchers; one third of them returned to public schools after the first year of the program, and 40 percent returned after the second year. The real "choice" exercised in a voucher program is made not by parents and children, but by private schools, which may and do reject applicants on the basis of a host of factors. In addition, private schools lack the capability to teach all types of students. Most voucher proposals would subsidize parents who can already afford to send their children to private schools, while financially strangling the schools attended by poorer families.

A Peter Hart survey in 1994 found that American voters overwhelmingly favored, by 66 to 28 percent, concentrating on improving the quality of public schools over using tax funds to send children to private or religious terms. And in the only poll that really counts, voters have soundly rejected vouchers wherever they've appeared on the ballot.

Here's what Pat Robertson told viewers in January this year: "They took prayer out of the schools. The next year the Supreme Court ordered Bible reading taken from the schools. And then progressing, liberals, most of them atheistic educators, have pushed to remove all religion from the lives of children ... The people who wrote the Humanist Manifesto and their pupils and their disciples are in charge of education in America today." Earlier this month, Robertson complained about Supreme Court rulings on religion in public schools, saying that "the Supreme Court continuously takes its fingers and sticks them in the eye of Almighty God."

Cultural agencies:

The Robertson-Reed Contract calls for abolishing federal support for the National Endowment for the Arts, National Endowment for the Humanities and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. Ralph Reed says these agencies "undermine moral values."

The Christian Coalition continues to recycle a few outdated examples of Reagan-Bush era NEA-funded projects that it deems "anti-Christian" or pornographic. In its voter guides, it has translated support for continued NEA funding as support for "taxpayer-funded obscene art." In truth, the vast majority of NEA-funded projects and institutions contribute greatly to families and communities and to the understanding of American values. These projects teach children about the arts and allow families to learn together about the world's great artists through symphonies, ballets and operas, which federal support helps bring to rural as well as urban areas. In addition, NEA-funded projects like Theater IV, which was started in Richmond, VA and travels throughout the nation presenting plays dealing with child sexual abuse, substance abuse, delinquency and teenage pregnancy, can help communities identify cases of abuse and similar problems and begin to help families being to solve them.

Public broadcasting provides the vast majority of educational and children's programming watched in this country, and the only alternative to the sometimes violent, adult-oriented material that commercial broadcasters provide under market pressure. Where do parents go when the programming on broadcast and cable television is *not* pro-family or pro-children? They go to public broadcasting. In fact, *Sesame Street* and *Barney* are the two

most watched series on television among pre-schoolers. While CPB opponents claim that public broadcasting viewers are elitists, the facts say otherwise: more than 57 percent of the children who watch public broadcasting come from families with household incomes of \$40,000 or less. In addition, public broadcasting has been a leader in the development of new educational tools through the use of technologies for distance learning, helping to ensure that all American children will be productive citizens in the information age. Public broadcasting is the uncontroverted leader in pro-family and pro-children programming and initiatives.

An Opinion Research Corporation Poll released in January reported that 84 percent of Americans supported current or increased levels of funding for public television. A 1994 Lou Harris poll indicated that 60 percent of the American people believe that the federal government should provide financial assistance to arts organizations, such as art museums, dance, opera and theater groups, and symphony orchestras. Almost as many, 56 percent, said they would be willing to pay \$15 more in their own taxes per year to support federal efforts in the arts.

“Parental Rights”

The Contract calls for “protecting parental rights in the care and nurturance of their children.”

Reed did not provide any details in today’s announcement, but his parental rights plank appears similar to a proposed “parental rights” constitutional amendment that is being promoted nationwide. The amendment states that “The right of parents to direct the upbringing and education of their children shall not be infringed. Parents rights are already well protected under existing law. Among the questions raised by these new “parental rights” proposals: would they hinder the prosecution of parents who abuse their children? would they nullify child labor laws? would they make it impossible for children to receive counseling or medical treatment under any circumstances without parental consent?

The vague language released today does not make it clear whether Robertson and Reed view their call for parental rights as a way to give parents a veto power over school curricula, requiring a logistically unworkable pre-approval by every parent to all material used in public schools.

The parental rights language may be a veiled attack on comprehensive sex education, which the Christian Coalition and other Religious Right groups have sought to eliminate from public schools. The vast majority of Americans support sex education that emphasizes abstinence but also arms students with potentially life-saving information about birth control and disease prevention. The Christian Coalition and its political allies seek to replace comprehensive sex education with “abstinence-only” programs that prohibit discussion of birth control and disease prevention. A 1994 Peter Hart survey found that 67 percent of American voters are concerned about Religious Right opposition to teaching about birth control and disease prevention. A 1992 USA Today/CNN/Gallup poll found that 53 percent of Americans would be more likely to support a presidential candidate who took a position in

favor of providing condoms to public high school students to prevent AIDS; only 32 percent said such a position would make them less likely to support the candidate.

It is imperative that young women and men are educated about sexual activity and its consequences. It is not pro-family to put more teenagers at risk of unwanted pregnancy, sexually-transmitted disease, and AIDS.

Restricting information on the internet and cable television

The Robertson-Reed Contract calls for restricting access to "pornography" on the internet and on cable television.

Robertson and Reed would have the Congress make for all families decisions that should clearly be left to the judgment of individual parents. Ironically, the Contract singles out for government intrusion into family decision-making two technologies that already give parents significant power to control what their children see. Legislation to restrict information on the internet has already been introduced in this Congress. But it is not necessary to restrict adults' first amendment rights to freely exchange information in order to protect children. Parents can currently block unwanted channels from their homes in most cable systems. And parents and teachers can exercise significant control over how and when their children use the internet.

Reproductive Choice

The Robertson-Reed Contract calls for further restrictions on women's access to abortion services. The Contract as announced today will call for further restricting access to abortion, eliminating federal "subsidies" and tax funding for abortion, and banning certain abortion procedures..

Americans are adamant in supporting women's access to safe and legal abortions. More than 70 percent of Americans believe that abortion should be available and should be a choice left up to a woman and her doctor.

Robertson and Reed have previously called for an end to federal funding for Planned Parenthood on the grounds that the organization provides abortion services. It is not clear whether the Contract's call for ending "subsidies" for abortion refers to a ban on funding for Planned Parenthood. Planned Parenthood has been providing voluntary family planning services to over four million Americans each year since 1917. Planned Parenthood received Title X family planning funds for gynecological exams, HIV- and sexually-transmitted disease-testing, prenatal and obstetrical care, midwife services, breast exams, and contraceptive services for women and men. Planned Parenthood does not perform abortions with funds from the U.S. government. It is not pro-family to deny women and men affordable information and services that allow them to make decisions about the size of their families and the spacing of their children.

The Contract with The American Family

(as reported on the 700 Club on May 16)

1. RELIGIOUS EQUALITY

A Constitutional Amendment that would protect public expressions of faith by Americans.

2. LOCAL CONTROL OF EDUCATION

Transfer of Education funds from the Department of Education to state and local school districts.

3. SCHOOL CHOICE

Scholarships allowing parents to choose their child's school.

4. FAMILY-FRIENDLY TAX POLICY

Women at home could contribute to retirement accounts.

5. PUNISH CRIMINALS, NOT VICTIMS

Require all federal inmates to work and study as well as pay restitution to victims.

6. PROTECTING PARENTAL RIGHTS

Protection of Parental Rights in the care and nurturing of their children.

7. RESTORING RESPECT FOR HUMAN LIFE

Real limits on late-term abortion.

Ban controversial abortion procedures.

Eliminate federal subsidies and tax-funding of abortion.

8. RESTRICTING PORNOGRAPHY

Protect children from pornography on the Internet and cable TV.

9. SUPPORT FOR PRIVATE CHARITIES

Allow contributions to private charities instead of federal welfare programs

Bring back a faith-based charitable system

10. PRIVATIZING FEDERAL FUNDING OF CULTURE

End Funding For National Endowment for the Arts, National Endowment for the Humanities, and Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

The TWO FACES of the CHRISTIAN COALITION



RALPH REED



PAT ROBERTSON

Photo credits: Rick Reinhard/Impact Visuals

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

"We reaffirm our belief in the notion that church and state should be separate institutions."
to *The New York Times*

"The Constitution of the United States says nothing about the separation of church and state. That phrase does appear, however, in the Soviet Constitution, which says the state shall be separate from the church and the church from the school. People in the educational establishment, and in our judicial establishment, have attempted to impose Soviet strictures on the United States."

to *Conservative Digest*

RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE

"There are two things that have made America great. One is her essential moral goodness... but you also have to acknowledge diversity and pluralism."

on *Meet the Press*

"The Constitution of the United States, for instance, is a marvelous document for self-government by Christian people. But the minute you turn the document into the hands of non-Christians and atheistic people they can use it to destroy the very foundation of our society."

on *The 700 Club*

MONOPOLIZING FAITH

"We shouldn't be denigrating other people's faith. We shouldn't have our public discourse polluted by casting aspersions on other people's religious beliefs."

on *Good Morning America*

"[I]t is painfully obvious that you are a deeply troubled individual who has somewhere along the way lost your Judaic roots only to seek in radical secularism what only God can give you."

to ADL President Abe Foxman

EDUCATION

"I think our motivation is primarily a parents-rights agenda. We're not interested in creationism or prayer in school."

to the *Boston Phoenix*

"[T]he public education movement has also been an anti-Christian movement... We can change education in America if you put Christian principles in and Christian pedagogy in. In three years, you would totally revolutionize education in America."

on *The 700 Club*

REPRODUCTIVE FREEDOM

"What we believe as an organization is that abortion should not be used as a form of birth control."

on *Meet the Press*

"What Planned Parenthood is doing is absolutely contrary to everything Christian. It is teaching kids to fornicate, teaching people to have adultery, teaching people to get involved in every kind of bestiality, homosexuality, lesbianism — everything that the Bible condemns. And teaching to be without absolutely any moral constraint."

on *The 700 Club*

WOMEN

"I think Pat Robertson is very pro-woman."

on *Meet the Press*

"The feminist agenda is not about equal rights for women. It is about a socialist, anti-family political movement that encourages women to leave their husbands, kill their children, practice witchcraft, destroy capitalism and become lesbians."

in fundraising letter

HOMOSEXUALITY

"We don't oppose homosexuals having jobs, running for office, being involved in the civic process, owning and renting property.... It's not a matter of being against or hating homosexuals."

on *Meet the Press*

"When lawlessness is abroad in the land, the same thing will happen here that happened in Nazi Germany. Many of those people involved in Adolph Hitler were Satanists, many were homosexuals — the two things seem to go together."

on *The 700 Club*