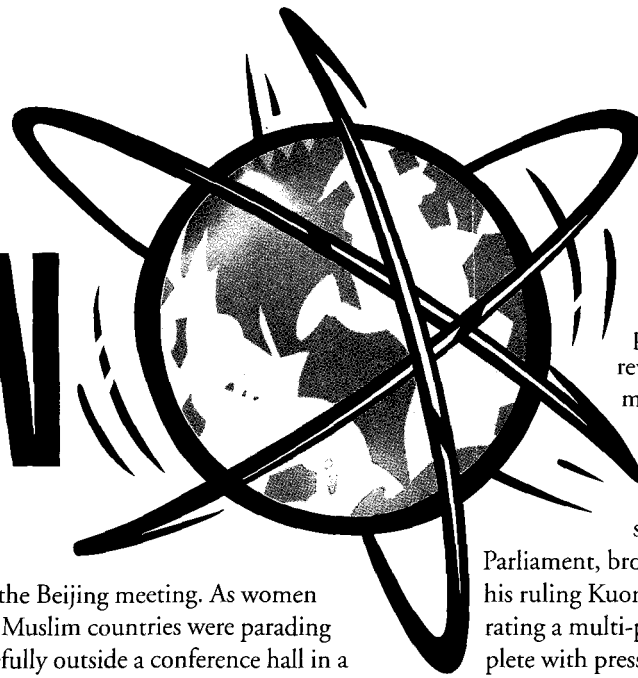


SCAN



on Taiwan since 1988, Lee has presided over another revolutionary transformation: the nation's rapid transition to democracy. He amended the constitution, reorganized

Parliament, broke the monopoly of his ruling Kuomintang by inaugurating a multi-party system complete with press and speech freedoms, and attacked corruption. The

process will climax in 1996 with the first public election of a president in the entire 5,000-year history of the Chinese people.

Recently, Lee and others have been making noises about claiming a rightful place for their country in the international community. Since Taiwan was kicked out of the U.N. in 1971 in favor of a seat for the communist People's Republic of China (PRC), Taiwan has been a kind of international step-child, lacking formal recognition or a voice in international affairs. Lee and his Kuomintang party are now pushing for a new U.N. seat for Taiwan. Other parties have called for a full declaration of Taiwanese independence.

All of this activity kicked off by Lee's renovation of Taiwanese politics has greatly annoyed rulers of the mainland PRC, who view Taiwan as a renegade province. Things came to a boil when Lee made a high-profile though unofficial visit to his alma mater Cornell in June. Since then, the PRC autocrats have been lobbing missiles around the East China Sea, harshly criticizing Lee, and pulling all strings (including pressure on Taiwanese businessmen who now have large investments at stake on the mainland) to try to defeat Lee in his election bid.

Meanwhile, the PRC continues to run a large prison labor system, and to persecute and kill religious and political dissenters. Its oppressive one-child-only mandatory birth control policy is now being enforced at near-peak pressure. All knowledgeable observers agree that the policy produces millions of forced steril-

THE ORTHODOX ALLIANCE GOES GLOBAL

On page 70 of this issue, Fred Barnes writes about the surprising "orthodox alliance" that has grown up in the United States. Evangelical Protestants, serious Catholics, Mormons, and orthodox Jews who a generation ago would have been quite suspicious and perhaps even hostile toward each other are now collaborating, because the things they share—belief in a transcendent God and a morally ordered universe—are more important than the denominational differences that separate them.

This isn't some feel-good ecumenism, but a muscular and calculated response to the worrying moral decay evident throughout the modern world. To put it crudely, folks who once feared having a next-door neighbor or in-law who read a different Bible are now worried about neighbors and fiancés who don't have any Bible at all, who worship instead at the altar of personal liberation. Anyone whose creed teaches the moral absolutes of the Ten Commandments is now enthusiastically counted as an ally.

One remarkable outcome of the recent U.N. Conferences on Women and on Population, held in Beijing and Cairo respectively, was to demonstrate that the "orthodox alliance" now exists internationally as well as within our own country. Whenever the two-parent family, heterosexuality, and other time-tested institutions must be defended at international meetings these days, the main support for traditional Judeo-Christian positions comes not from the modern nations of Judeo-Christian heritage but from the Islamic delegations.

A Vatican negotiator at both U.N. conferences recently described to one of your editors a pivotal event connected

with the Beijing meeting. As women from Muslim countries were parading peacefully outside a conference hall in a pro-life demonstration, a group of Western lesbian feminists verbally attacked and harassed them, and began kissing in front of them. Delegates from Islamic nations across the globe were enraged and this helped swing their voting against the moral-relativist language that radicals had injected into the platform for action of the Beijing conference.

It's a shame it took a surge by forces of cultural decadence to create alliances among disparate traditionalist creeds and cultures. But it's heartening to see people who once saw each other as enemies now finding common ground in efforts to restore some wholesomeness and sanity to modern civilization.

THE WAR ON TAIWAN

One of your editors recently met Taiwanese President Lee Teng-hui in Taipei. He is, by any measure, an impressive person.

For one thing, President Lee is a first-rate thinker. His 1968 Cornell Ph.D. dissertation on rural development won the Agricultural Economics Association's prize as the best of its kind in the United States that year. Lee went on to become one of the chief architects of Taiwan's radically distinctive and successful land reform program, which initiated the nation's rapid economic rise. Unlike most Third World land reforms, Taiwan's was built on respect for private property rights. Plots were bought from large holders—not confiscated—and then resold to peasants at low interest rates.

As president of the Republic of China

izations and IUD insertions, millions more involuntary abortions, and millions of infanticides, especially of female babies.

The Clinton administration's China policy could hardly be more incoherent—blustery and empty one day, tough the next, pusillanimous or unprincipled the third. The Chinese started stiffing American businesses in response, and suddenly the president agreed to an official visit with Chinese President Jiang Zemin in New York on October 24.

But however much we Americans covet Chinese commerce, they need ours far more. The PRC currently enjoys an annual trade surplus with the United States of around \$25 billion. Let us see if they'll throw that away in an economic cold war. (Meanwhile, Taiwan-U.S. trade totals a very much worth defending \$45 billion a year.)

The United States understandably wants good relations with mainland China. But in September the Taiwanese were openly wondering in their newspapers whether they were going to be attacked militarily by a mainland government piqued that its neighbor's president would dare visit the United States and ask for a place in the sun for his people. China's bullying gerontocracy needs to be told by our president that war on Taiwan isn't even an option.

POST-WELFARE COMPASSION

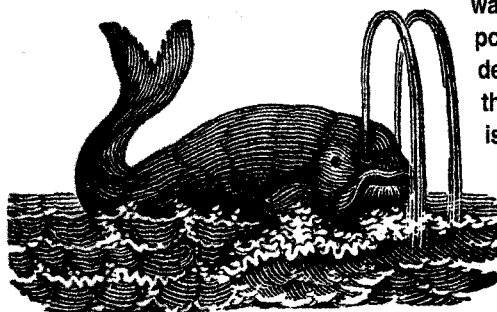
While debate rages over the shape welfare reform should take, all parties agree that major changes in American society will have to occur if millions of welfare recipients are to get back on their feet and lead productive lives. As John DiIulio puts it, pulling the knife of seductive welfare payments out of the stabbed person's body is essential, but it isn't always enough; first-aid treatment will also sometimes be necessary. Senator Dan Coats (R-Ind.) and William J. Bennett made this point forcefully in a recent article for the *Wall Street Journal*.

"Republicans eventually must stand for more than shifting the focus of funding from Washington to Sacramento, Bismarck, and Montpelier," they write. "They need to offer a vision of rebuilding broken communities—not through government, but through those private insti-

WHALE-SONG IN THE RAINFOREST

WEDO, the Women's Environment and Development Organization, was an influential group at the U.N. Conference on Women staged outside Beijing in September. Which is worrying, because their main pre-conference document, titled "A Women's Creed," is full of gag lines—and we don't mean the kind written by George Burns. An excerpt, courtesy of Elizabeth Lurie of the Independent Women's Forum:

We have survived femicide. We have rebelled—and left clues.... We are the girlchild in Zambia, the grandmother in Burma.... We are whale-song and rainforest; the depth-



wave rising huge to shatter glass power on the shore; the lost and despised who, weeping, stagger into the light.... The exercise of imagining is an act of creation. The act of creation is an exercise of will. All this is political. And possible. Bread. A clean sky. Active peace.... Believe it. We are the women who will transform the world.

tutions and ideals that nurture lives."

Through the course of this century, Coats and Bennett argue, government has supplanted many of the informal institutions that once ensured that children became responsible adults. Communities were bulldozed and replaced by public housing projects; fathers were superseded by welfare checks. To help the institutions and individuals it suffocated recover, government must devolve power back to those private structures that have traditionally rescued society's unfortunates.

"The distribution of power within government is less important than the redistribution of power beyond government."

Sen. Coats has introduced 19 bills designed to increase the power of nonprofits while shrinking the welfare state. Among his proposals:

- Increase the Earned Income Tax Credit for married families but end it for single people and illegal immigrants.
- Give families earning less than \$60,000 annually a \$5,000 tax credit for an adoption.
- Establish a \$500-per-person income-tax credit for donations to poverty-fighting organizations. Offer another \$500

annual credit to anyone who provides home care to a needy person, including unmarried pregnant women, homeless people, people with AIDS, or battered women with children.

- Have the Education Department fund demonstration projects for single-sex schools, and mentoring programs that link low-income youth with responsible adults. Fund 100 school-choice ventures.
- Protect doctors who volunteer to treat poor people against malpractice suits.



"Fred, do you want to join a cult?"

From The Wall Street Journal—Permission, Cartoon Features Syndicate

NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 1995

HEALING BODY AND SOUL

This is a tale of two low-budget charitable organizations and their hard choices. The first, HOB0 (Helping Our Brothers Out), started in Austin in 1987 to get homeless men clothes and food, plus some Bible study and prayer. The program was small and often crude, but it helped the needy. With numerous volunteers and the support of local churches, it reunited the homeless with their families where possible, and encouraged them to take responsibility for their lives with God's help.

But in 1989 the HOB0 board of directors faced a choice: remain a financially challenged, Bible-based organization, or snag big bucks from the feds. As director John Porterfield put it, "We became aware of grants that we could just pick up. We knew there were strings attached, but...the money was there in our hands; the only question was whether we should put it in our pockets." Board members, who cared about both bodies and souls, faced a terrifying choice: supply material help to many, using government funds, or supply spiritual help to a few, and suffer nightmares about those left unserved.

HOB0 chose to take the government money and drop their ministry orientation. Soon, HOB0 sported legal services, a health clinic, hot showers, even Sharon Stone movies—everything to enable an addict or alcoholic to remain homeless.

The only thing lost was the pressure to change. God was dead, and so was real hope at the new HOB0.

Which brings us to our second organization. An innocent bystander might think that a religious charity that followed the opposite course—no government grants—would be free of state interference. Not so.

This summer, Teen Challenge in San Antonio stuck with its highly effective policy of treating alcoholics and addicts by teaching them about Christ, and in that way filling the holes in their souls. For this, the state's Commission on Alcohol and Drug Abuse tried to close it down. That's not real treatment, the agency asserted. Turn in your license!

Teen Challenge insisted that it was treating the cause, not just the symptoms, and it provided evidence that such an approach is far more effective than those the state prizes. (For example, a Department of

Health and Human Services investigator examined 300 anti-addiction programs and found Teen Challenge the best—and the least expensive.) Refusing to give up or make a quiet deal, Teen Challenge staged a public rally at the Alamo that featured testimonies from ex-junkies on how Teen Challenge saved their lives. Several hundred people, mostly black and Hispanic, sang and waved placards with messages like, "Once a Burden, Now a Taxpayer" and "Because of Jesus I am No Longer a Debt to the State of Texas." Citizens deluged Texas Governor George W. Bush with calls and letters; more came in when the *Wall Street Journal* and *World* ran articles explaining the controversy.

Facing an uprising from Christian and conservative voters who had helped elect him, Gov. Bush said, "I support faith-based programs. I believe that a conversion to religion...by its very nature promotes sobriety. There is logic to what Teen Challenge is doing, and I support it strongly."

Bush also agreed to push for new laws and regulations: "Teen Challenge should view itself as a pioneer in how Texas approaches faith-based programs.... Licensing standards have to be different from what they are today."

This battle is far from over. The governmental social services empire is ready to strike at faith-based organizations. The test will come next year, when block grants to states will permit officials to redirect resources from failed government social programs to successful private charities. His-

torically, compassionate efforts succeed in changing lives when they are challenging, personal, and spiritual—all things that programs like Teen Challenge are, and that government programs are not.

—**Marvin Olasky**, editor of *World*, tells the full story of HOB0 in *To Empower People*, forthcoming from AEI Press.

FREEDOM NEEDS MORALITY

"As democracy has spread, prosperity grown, and freedom expanded, public morality has apparently declined." That, says prominent political scientist James Q. Wilson in his 1995 Edmund James lecture, is now the Western world's chief dilemma.

Moral decay, Wilson notes, is common to almost all Western nations and has its cause in their shared culture of liberal democracy. Enlightenment thinkers believed that once modern man was liberated from "revealed religion, ancient custom, or inherited power," he would govern himself by reason. But that liberation tended, over time, to erode the "moral capital" of citizens. By the twentieth century, "that capital began to exhaust itself."

Hostility to traditional morality has infected not only the growing horde of people receiving higher education, but also the young, and those in weak families. The result: self-indulgence, drug experimentation, skepticism of all authority, "confusion over sexual roles," and single-parent families.

"We all feel the tension between individual assertion and communal obligations," Wilson says. "Our critics abroad in the worlds of Islam and Confucius remind us...that the West has irrevocably cast its lot with a culture that makes it easy, and seemingly natural, for the individual to triumph over the group." They "scorn the choice we have made and wager that in time...their way will be proved superior."

Wilson says such critics may underestimate a free society's capacity to correct its own errors, and he points to America's triumphs in recent decades in such areas as civil rights and manufacturing. "Costly as its embrace may be, freedom is man's universal hope." But "that hope will be easier to sustain," Wilson concludes, if all of us, "especially the intellectuals, recognize that the exercise of freedom presupposes the maintenance of a natural moral order."

THE COMMON MAN

Two left-of-center magazines recently spotted a sea change in American politics:

"A kind of class reversal has taken place, whereby the Left appears increasingly elitist—a reservation for intellectuals and Hollywood types—and it is the Right that seems to speak for the common man."

—*New York magazine*

"As nary a populist can be found on the Left (save Ralph Nader and Jesse Jackson), it is the Christian Right that has best taken up the challenge to fill the growing emptiness in American life, to soothe everyday people's fears and uncertainties."

—*The Nation*

SOCIAL + ECONOMIC CONSERVATIVE

Famous for insisting that the business of America is business, President Calvin Coolidge was both an economic and a social conservative, as his address on the sesquicentennial of the Declaration of Independence shows: "We live in an age of science and of abounding accumulation of material things. These did not create our Declaration. Our Declaration created them. The things of the spirit came first. Unless we cling to that, all our material prosperity, overwhelming though it may appear, will turn to a barren scepter in our grasp. If we are to maintain the great heritage which has been bequeathed to us, we must be like-minded as the fathers who created it. We must not sink into a pagan materialism. We must cultivate a reverence which they had for the things that are holy."

WANTED: ANTIDOTES TO SELFISHNESS

In all humans, there is a constant struggle between the selfishness designed to preserve the individual, and the social instincts that preserve the species. Of the two, selfishness naturally predominates. As any parent can attest, only years of training can curb this tendency. So when social institutions enter into this internal contest on the side of self-centeredness, chaos must result.

Self-centeredness and its related ills—crime, illegitimacy, child neglect—are exploding in America. This is because the national culture is glorifying individualism beyond healthy limits. Civilization requires the constraint of egoism. When a society decides its individual members should maximize their wealth and pleasure even at the expense of their children, you know danger is around the corner.

Today's epidemic of rapacious crime, the most extreme form of selfishness, indicates that that dangerous future is now for America. A less visible but deeper symptom is the voluntary, self-interested breakup of the family in the United States. Illegitimacy is over 30 percent, divorce rates hover around 50 percent. These trends are supremely harmful to both children and society, and they afflict rich and poor, white and black alike. Parents in the United States also spend less time with their children than a generation ago. The

FROM THE DARK AGES

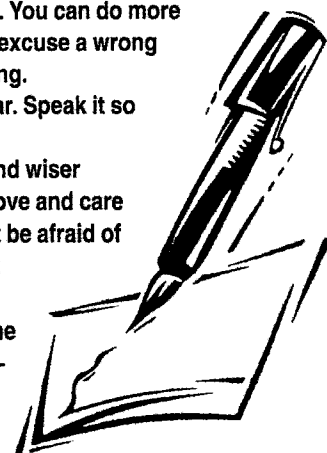
Some penmanship exercises devised at the turn of the century by the National Institution for Moral Instruction, recently unearthed by St. Louis artist Betsy Nimock, and published in the *Washington Times*:

Goodness—Refuse to do a mean act, be it ever so small. You can do more good by being good than in any other way. Never excuse a wrong action by saying someone else does the same thing.

Truthfulness—Speak the truth! Speak it boldly, never fear. Speak it so that all may hear; in the end it will appear.

Self-reliance—I will gladly listen to the advice of older and wiser people. I will reverence the wishes of those who love and care for me, but I will learn to think for myself. I will not be afraid of being laughed at. I will not be afraid of doing right when the crowd does wrong.

Honesty—An honest man is the noblest work of God. The honest penny is better than the stolen dollar. Honesty is that which compels us when we are wrong to acknowledge it.



increasing use of day care is a concern, because studies overwhelmingly show day-care children to be more aggressive and antisocial than non-daycare children, and less respectful of authority figures.

Whenever these points are raised, the usual protest is an appeal to individual rights (career choice, sexual freedom, etc.). Rights, of course, are the classic intellectual haven for self-interested conduct. But few children seem to be misled by such explanations. They see that looking out for number one, as demonstrated by the materialism and sexual self-indulgence of their parents, has become the guiding principle of adult society. What some call personal freedom looks to many a child like adult tyranny of the self, whose reign children feel painfully.

How can a society pull itself out of such an unfolding calamity? It is not at all clear that we can. Clearly, government cannot solve a cultural problem of this magnitude. And the liberal answer of spending more state money and minting more rights is a demonstrated, if well-intentioned, failure.

Two things would solve most of our social problems, but neither can be legislated: self-denial and love. These flourish only when a society marshals all its resources—family loyalty, informal social pressure, legislation, and moral suasion—to actively encourage them. History reveals that life is

a series of obligations to be fulfilled as honorably as possible, with occasional interludes for moderate self-indulgence. That is not a fun message, but it is essential to a civilization's survival.

In understanding and reinforcing this, religion must surely be an essential ingredient. Religious teaching has a unique ability to inspire self-denial, and to instill the sense of moral obligation that deters bad behavior even after the policeman has left the scene.

Radical individualism has been carried to extremes in modern society. We need antidotes, or we will suffer chaos.

— **Andrew Peyton Thomas** is an assistant attorney general for Arizona and author of *Crime and the Sacking of America*.

MAINLINE ACCOMMODATERS VS. EVANGELICAL RESISTERS

In *The Churching of America 1776–1990*, Roger Finke and Rodney Stark use census data to show that "mainline churches" have always been in decline in the United States. As churches become comfortable with established mores, Finke and Stark suggest, they lose their appeal. Churches that counter the broader culture grow. University of Oklahoma professor Allen Hertzke seconds this, noting that Methodists, for example, grew rapidly when in the evangel-

ical vanguard. "Only when they became accommodationist toward the world" did Methodism begin to decline. In TRANSCRIPT, Robert Fogel likewise notes that in the natural competition among religions, the "enthusiastic" varieties win.

John Green, a leading academic expert on religion and society, makes a related argument in an Ethics and Public Policy Center book entitled *Disciples and Democracy*. He distinguishes mainline Protestants from evangelical Protestants on the grounds that mainliners are willing "to accommodate orthodox Protestant beliefs to the modern world," while evangelical churches "resisted accommodation to the modern world and remained committed to orthodox Protestant beliefs." Green adds that mainline Protestantism has declined in recent decades and now accounts for less than a fifth of the adult population, while evangelical groups have grown and eclipsed the mainliners in influence and size.

Most religious seekers, it seems, are looking for cures for modernism, not apologies.

TO WRECK CAPITALISM, ATTACK RELIGION

In 1960, Madalyn Murray O'Hair filed a lawsuit in the name of her son William that sought to ban Bible-reading from schools. The resulting Supreme Court decision, pressed across the land by ACLU

suits, eventually forced the removal of almost all religious practice from public life. Wearing religious jewelry, delivering an invitation for a church basketball game to a playmate, wearing t-shirts with religious themes—these are now infractions not only at public schools but in other official settings as well.

This June, William J. Murray, O'Hair's son named in the original suit, wrote an article for *The World and I* describing his mother's motivation. "Many will ask: Surely those who filed these lawsuits against school prayer originally did not intend such intrusion into religious liberty by the state? Weren't these merely well-intentioned Americans interested only in the concept of state-church separation?" Actually, no.

During the time his mother's suit was in court, Murray explains, "she was the manager of the Communist Party Bookstore in Baltimore. She was also chairman, in Maryland, of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, a pro-Castro organization. Prior to 1960 she had sought citizenship in the Soviet Union."

"I endured perhaps five years of Marxist-Leninist study classes in the basement of my home in Baltimore during my teens," Murray reports. "During this indoctrination, much of it led by my mother, I learned that...religion is the opium of the people. Preachers and rabbis are used by the ruling class to keep the masses in place.

To destroy the capitalist system in America the people must be separated from their religious heritage and traditions. All icons of Western civilization must be removed from the school." His mother, Murray summarizes, was a "collectivist bent on the destruction of America."

THE NEW NC-17 TREND

When Hollywood replaced its "X" (adults only) film rating with the more innocuous-sounding NC-17 label, many said it opened the door for still more violent and sexual content in movies. The "X" rating had always been a kiss of death for mainstream films, and most theaters refused even to carry such works, which most newspapers refused to advertise.

Now with the release of the films *Kids* and *Showgirls* in 1995, and other NC-17 films on the horizon, the camel's nose is under the tent. Raunchy films that once would have been consigned to seedy red-light districts are entering family theaters and video rental chains.

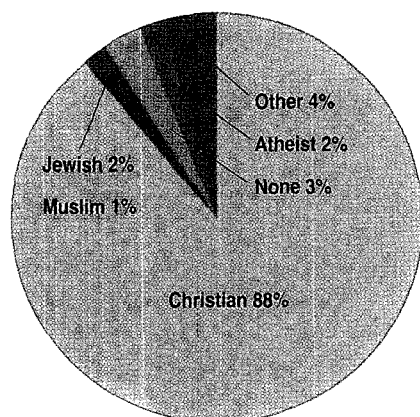
As *Kids* and *Showgirls* show, the NC rating ought to stand for No Conscience. In addition to sexual debauchery, both films contain appalling images of vicious racial violence. In *Kids* two white youths nearly beat a black youth to death and then spit on him. In *Showgirls*, a white rock star and his bodyguards inflict anal gang rape on a kind-hearted black woman.

Kids, released by the Disney subsidiary Miramax, shows scenes of intercourse with teenagers said to be as young as 13. Sex talk is constant, and young girls are sexual prizes to be stolen and then trashed. Unfortunately, *Kids* is setting box office records at "art" theaters. And many teenagers are seeing it, because theater owners rarely enforce ratings, particularly on the West Coast.

In MGM/United Artist's \$40 million dud *Showgirls* (starring former teenage role model Elizabeth Berkley from the NBC family show *Saved By The Bell*) offensive elements include mock lesbian sado-masochistic scenes. Director Paul Verhoeven and writer Joe Eszterhas claim their film had to be NC-17 to show the truth about the lives of Las Vegas showgirls. Just a pair of scrupulous documentary scholars, apparently. Meanwhile, their humble ef-

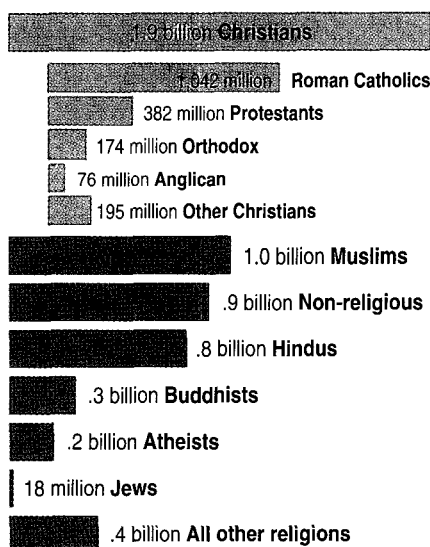
U.S. RELIGION PROFILE

Do you consider yourself to be Christian, Jewish, Muslim, atheist, or of another religious faith?



Source: Barna Research Group, 1992.

WORLD RELIGION PROFILE



Source: 1993 data, *Encyclopedia Britannica Yearbook*.

forts were pushed on the public by one of the biggest publicity campaigns ever.

Ironically, the truth *Showgirls*'s makers missed is that Las Vegas is shifting rapidly away from its cheesecake past. "We've had a movement here toward family entertainment," notes *Las Vegas Review Journal* entertainment columnist Michael Paskevich. "Five years ago, 57 percent of our shows had some kind of female nudity, and now it's down to 22 percent."

While the American public craves family-oriented entertainment, certain Hollywood producers and directors prefer to push their own bad ideas and pet films into theaters, even at the expense of commercial success.

In 1996, a third NC-17 film will come to a theater near you. New Line's *Striptease* paid Demi Moore a record \$12.5 million to take off her clothes. The test is on: Will Hollywood slide "X" movies into the cultural bloodstream?

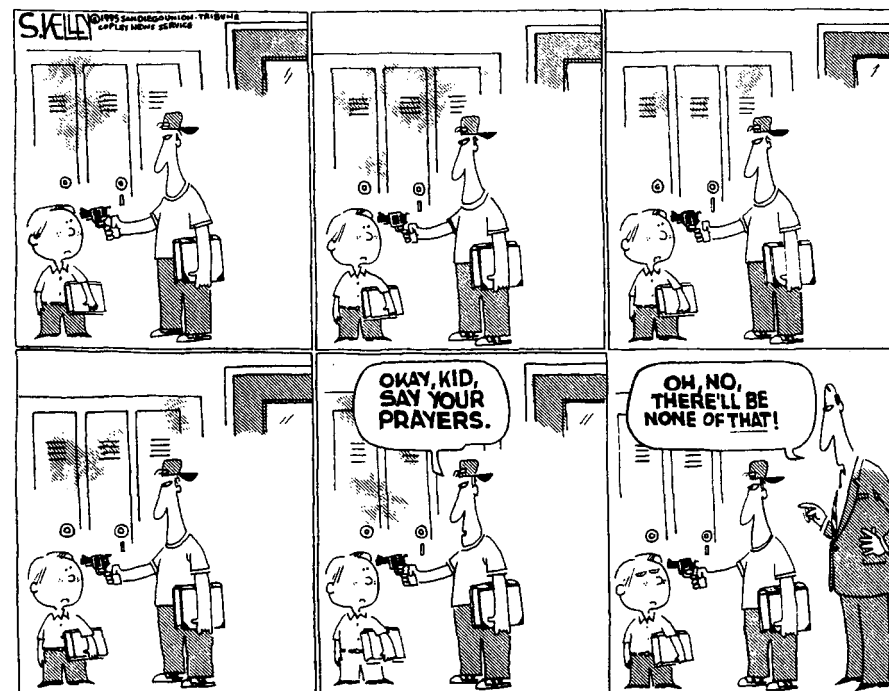
—*Dave Geisler is a Southern California writer who covers Hollywood.*

THE REST OF THE STORY

The choir of West High School in Salt Lake City had planned to sing two popular songs—"The Lord Bless You and Keep You" and "Friends"—at the school graduation this spring. But the the 10th Circuit Court of Appeals forbade this, because the songs had references to God. On commencement day, a senior named Will Badger stepped to the podium and urged the choir and audience to join him in singing "Friends" anyway. On page 23, Abraham Foxman describes the reaction of the student who brought the original lawsuit that blocked the singing.

The other part of the story is how other students and the audience at the graduation felt, and how school officials reacted. The crowd began singing, and school principal Bill Boston rushed to the microphone to try to silence them. He failed. Meanwhile, a uniformed police officer physically removed Badger and prevented him from receiving his diploma with his fellow students.

At a press conference the next day, school officials were livid. Principal Boston said videotapes of the ceremony would be reviewed and witnesses questioned to dis-



cover the identities of those who sang the forbidden song. The president of the school board, Mary Jo Rasmussen, said that disciplinary action was planned against returning students found guilty and that any district employee who joined in the singing would be punished.

Meanwhile, complainant Rachel Bauchman added additional complaints and contempt charges to her lawsuit against the choir director, the school, its principal, the school district, and its administrators. She asked for a permanent ban on performances of religious music by the choir.

In mid-September a federal judge dismissed the case, denying it represented a violation of the Constitution's prohibition on government establishment of religion. All of the named parties required legal defense, however, and will continue to need attorneys through Bauchman's promised appeal. (The Becket Fund for Religious Liberty entered the case on behalf of some of the students.)

Though few cases make their way into the national news, it's estimated that there are approximately 1,000 incidents every year in the United States similar to this one in Salt Lake City. (For more on the subject, including case histories, see Michael McConnell's feature article and the related sidebar on pages 67–69.)

A JEWISH CALL FOR THE BIBLE IN SCHOOL

As a Jewish survivor of six years of enforced school prayer, I am here to testify that it works. Reformers shouldn't merely tolerate it; nor should they stop at endorsing a timid, amoral moment of silence. They should bring the Bible back into the classroom and read it—out loud.

When I attended Teaneck, New Jersey's Longfellow Elementary School from 1945 to 1951, the day began with a student volunteer, or the teacher, reading five verses from the Old Testament after which we all said the Lord's Prayer. The selection suited Christians and the small Jewish contingent; I guess no one worried about atheists or Muslims. I never volunteered, but I loved to listen. Passages from the psalms, especially, still roll around in my mind.

It's not that I was devout. I went to Jewish Sunday school and afterschool Hebrew classes, but neither was a devotion. So it wasn't that school prayer let me practice my religion. It was better than that: The words and cadences of the King James Bible were soothing and inspiring and, though their meaning was a little elusive, they were my favorite part of the school day. It was like walking into a splendid cathedral in a foreign city.

Ah, but we were innocent then. Educators assumed that we shared a common

heritage and gladly promoted it. During Brotherhood Week (if it exists, the name has surely been revised), we sang the lyrics: "George Washington liked good roast beef; Chaim Solomon liked fish; but when Uncle Sam served liberty, they both enjoyed the dish."

Our town fathers weren't sociologically advanced enough to worry whether every ethnic group got equal time. With our common moral heritage, they were insensitive to the crippling effect that an infidel might suffer if he had to hear the words: "For thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory for ever and ever. Amen." We had no ACLU to protect us.

But we didn't need one. School prayer and such songs are not only good; they are necessary. They elevate young minds and spirits. Nothing better puts man in his place than the words and posture of devotion—and no one needs that more than the children of our age so proud of its reason and freedom.

Here's something schools can't go wrong on: Just read the Psalms and sing the songs, and kids will get it. We shouldn't feel handcuffed by the Supreme Court's misconstruction of the First Amendment, or worries about the Muslims and atheists. The chasm to fear is not between religions but between piety and arrogance. Any religion must welcome a turn toward piety. Any atheist is free to stare or mumble.

—**Sam Segal** recently retired from Cornell University. An earlier version of this article appeared in the Wall Street Journal.

PAROCHIAL SCHOOL MIRACLES

For a good example of how effective religious institutions can be at solving social problems, look at America's Catholic schools. Nationwide, 95 percent of all parochial students graduate from high school. Black kids in Catholic schools are actually less likely to drop out than white kids in government schools. Eighty-three percent of Catholic school graduates go on to college—versus just 52 percent of public school grads—where they are also more likely to finish their degree than comparable students from government schools.

Contrary to occasional claims, parochial schools don't get these superior results by skimming off all the good stu-

dents. Quite the opposite. Catholic schools, which are mostly located in old urban parishes, now educate very large numbers of inner-city and minority students—proportionately more than the public schools. About 60 percent of the students in Rochester, New York's Catholic schools come from families below the poverty line, for instance. Or take Hales Franciscan High School on Chicago's south side. You need only "C" public-school grades and average scores on a basic-skills test to be admitted, yet 90 percent of the school's nearly all-black population goes on to college.

Consider, too, a program run by New York City's Catholic schools called the Student/Sponsor Partnership. It takes eighth graders floundering in New York's government schools and matches them with a sponsor willing to pay their tuition in a Catholic school. These kids are hardly natural academic types. Eighty-two percent come from a single-parent or no-parent home. The majority are on welfare. *None* has an income above the poverty level. Yet after shifting to parochial schools, more than 80 percent end up going to college.

In the early 1980s University of Chicago sociologist James Coleman and several colleagues compared results in more than 1,000 different public and private high schools. After factoring out variations in family and economic backgrounds, they found that Catholic school students earn significantly better scores on achievement tests than comparable public school students.

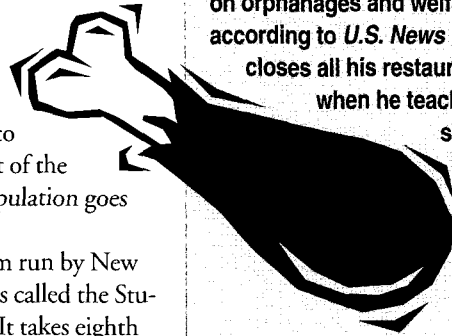
Poor students and black and Hispanic students are particularly likely to improve themselves in church-run academies. In public systems, the performance gap between black and white students widens during high school; within Catholic schools it actually narrows. Parochial education, built on a combination of nonsense teaching and tough love, seems uniquely able to thin the gap separating family-deficient kids from their classmates.

One secret to Catholic education's success: it places serious demands on students. The education establishment often claims that stiff requirements which encourage excellence will simultaneously force out low-

CHICKEN-FREE SABBATHS

In addition to running his 600 Chick-Fil-A restaurants, S. Truett Cathy also spends \$800,000 a year running eight foster homes in the Southeast. He advises his good friend House Speaker Newt Gingrich on orphanages and welfare reform and, according to *U.S. News & World Report*, closes all his restaurants on Sundays, when he teaches Bible class,

saying, "I can't be teaching kids how to keep the Lord's Day holy while my cash registers are ringing."



performers. Thus everything is dumbed down to avoid "harming" laggards. But Catholic schools enforce high standards while *also* maintaining a much lower dropout rate. Compared to public-school counterparts, parochial students are about one-fourth as likely to drop out of high school. This large gap remains even after statistical adjustments are made for the test scores, grades, disciplinary histories, absences, background characteristics, and religiosity of the children.

A massive nationwide study published by the liberal Brookings Institution in 1990 confirmed Coleman's findings. Even after factoring out differences in background, Brookings found that over the course of a four-year high school career, students in Catholic schools gain more than one full year in academic achievement over similar students in public schools. This led the report's authors to endorse government funding for Catholic and other privately run schools.

The RAND Corporation (another think tank with views that are mostly liberal) published a study a few months later that focused on 13 inner-city high schools in New York City and Washington, D.C. Researchers matched children from poverty-level, single-parent families attending Catholic high schools with counterparts attending neighborhood public high schools. They discovered that 95 percent of

the parochial kids graduated, compared with just 55 percent of the public school kids. Eighty-five percent of the parochial kids took the SAT test their senior year, compared to only a third of the public school kids, and yet this much broader Catholic school group scored 170 points above the public-school students.

And Catholic schools succeed inexpensively. Economic consultant Robert Genetski has calculated that, nationwide, privately run schools educate their K-12th graders at an average cost of \$1,900 per pupil, compared to \$4,800 for public schools. Even after adjusting for things like special-ed costs and differences in the way government schools and privately run schools handle things like transportation and book costs, the privately run schools do the job for about half what the public schools spend.

Better results at half the expense. Shouldn't this tell us something?

UNSELFISH CATHOLICS

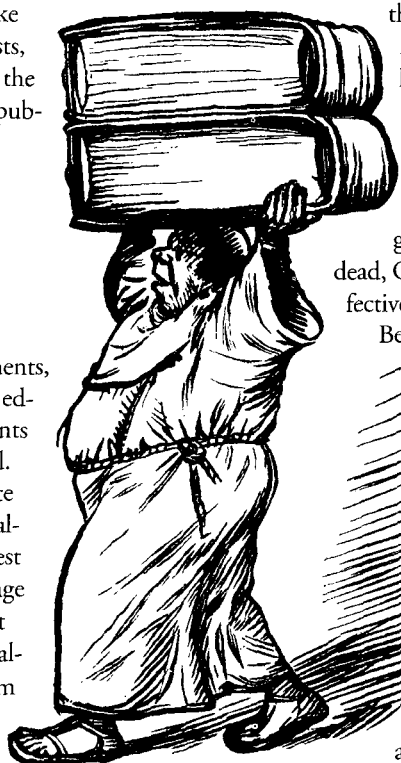
As the previous item documents, Catholic schools succeed in educating the inner-city students that government schools fail. Yet teachers' unions and state bureaucrats resist efforts to allow parents to choose the best schools for their kids (see page 83). The educrats claim that school-choice plans merely allow the selfish to retreat from society's problems.

The history of Catholic schools, however, is anything but selfish. They were first founded in large numbers earlier this century to reach out with the powerful hand of the nun to raise immigrant families of Sweeneys, Rzepinskis, Gardettos, and Schmidts up from peasantry. Now these families have moved onward and outward to the suburbs, leaving the old parochial schools largely without Catholic kids to educate.

Yet rather than follow their constituents as one might expect, hundreds of these schools have stayed, thanks to the financial support of parishioners in neighborhoods

far removed, and now provide an alternative to the child-dooming nightmare of urban public schools. Far from retreating to selfish insularity, urban Catholic schools have chosen to serve the poor, the Protestant, and the minority.

Do Catholic schools succeed because of innovative programs? No, the basic approach hasn't changed dramatically since the Middle Ages. Because paying parents take a more active interest? Not particularly—the schools don't charge much, thanks to diocesan subsidies; if the parents are more involved it's because the schools are communities worthy of involvement. Is the secret to Catholic schools that they can kick out disruptive students? Well,



they could, but they rarely do. They don't have to—because *someone is in charge*. The schools' good order is intimately connected to their religious aspect. When not dead, God is enormously effective in righting the world. Because of Him, Catholic schools are not upside down. Each is a community under God, and so the children learn that *they* are not gods. They're not told they are naturally brilliant, needing only "facilitators" to draw out their creative genius. They aren't taught they are

naturally good, needing only provocative discussion to "clarify their values." They are approached as kids—children of a species that requires an education of mind and conscience that can only be received from those who are already educated.

As the children are liberated from dumbness by rules of grammar that enable them to communicate, so are they liberated from sin and disorder by rules of behavior that allow them to participate in a community. So also are they freed from the prison of ignorance by proper demands on their attention and effort.

However many fuzzy-thinking teachers and administrators urban Catholic schools may have, they possess a distinct advantage over government schools: they have authority to teach. This authority runs from God to parents to teachers; it doesn't flow from social scientists in federal, state, and local bureaucracies. It makes teachers people to be listened to—adults who have knowledge to impart and Mom's approval to impart it. It makes schools a family-friendly bond linking parents and children, rather than an alien authority coming between them.

Government-school employees are right to worry about what will happen if parents are ever allowed to exercise their God-given right and responsibility to choose how, where, and by whom their children will be educated.

—*Michael S. Joyce, president of the Bradley Foundation, was a pupil of the ever-patient Sisters of the Incarnate Word and the always-challenging men of the Society of Jesus.*

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URBAN RENEWAL

The Urban Relocator Movement has brought an estimated 5,500 (and rising) middle-class white, black, and Latino evangelical Protestants into deteriorated inner cities to carry out social ministry—as permanent residents. In some cases, whole churches have relocated, like the New Heritage Christian Center in Chicago's Englewood neighborhood. By serving as role models and connecting the neighborhood to outside friends and family who can offer job leads, tutoring, and donated services, these individuals hope to help seed troubled areas with good neighbors. The movement also aims to alleviate racial tensions. According to *Religion Watch*, "the presence of middle-class evangelical families in such cities as Atlanta, Washington, D.C., Chicago, and Los Angeles is bringing structural and personal changes to declining neighborhoods."

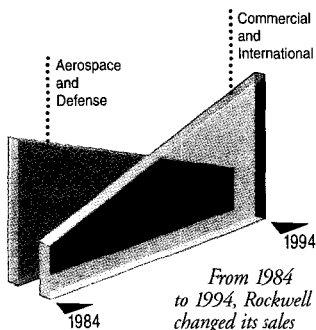
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BY KARL ZINSMEISTER

Indicators

IS AMERICA AFRAID OF RELIGIOUS CONSERVATIVES?

Last year, People For the American Way, the liberal advocacy group founded by Norman Lear, commissioned Democratic pollster Peter Hart to conduct a scientific study of U.S. public opinion on "the challenge of the religious Right." More than 1,000 registered voters were surveyed, and when the results were published late in 1994, Hart summarized them this way: "It is important to recognize at the outset that Americans, by and large, do not fear the religious Right or its influence.... **The public feels strongly that most of the criticisms leveled at the religious Right are exaggerated.**" Some details:

Q: 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 bias against religious people?

| | |
|------------------------------------|-----|
| Legitimate concerns | 21% |
| Exaggerated and biased fears | 61 |

Q: Please tell me how serious a problem you feel this is for the country today:

The increasing influence of conservative religious groups in the political process.

| | |
|----------------------|-----|
| Very serious | 15% |
| Fairly serious | 13 |

Source: Peter Hart Research Associates, fall 1994.

In September of 1994, Gallup pursued a similar line of inquiry in a national survey. Researchers first asked subjects whether they had ever "heard or read anything about the Christian Right in America," and then followed with this question:

Q: Which one of these two statements comes closer to how you would describe the Christian Right...?

| | |
|---|-----|
| Conservative Christians concerned about the country | 60% |
| Extremists with narrow views | 34 |

Source: Gallup Poll, September 1994.

WORRIED ABOUT MORAL DECLINE, AMERICANS MOURN THE PASSING OF RELIGIOUS VALUES

Americans now rate "a decline in moral values" as the "most serious problem" facing the U.S.—more critical by far than any economic, political, or foreign dilemma. The main source of our violence, welfare, education, and even economic ills, the public believes, is declining values. This attitude shows up in politics:

Q: I'm going to mention some things you could find out about a candidate for political office in your area. Please tell me if this is something that would make you more likely or less likely to support that candidate...

Put top priority on returning to traditional moral values

| | |
|------------------------------|-----|
| More likely to support | 74% |
| Less likely to support | 7 |

Source: Peter Hart Research Associates, fall 1994.

The public thinks that a central part of our national values problem is religious decline.

Q: Please tell me how serious a problem you feel this is for the country today:

The declining role of religion in our society.

| | |
|------------------------------|-----|
| Very or fairly serious | 63% |
| Not serious | 17 |

Source: Peter Hart Research Associates, fall 1994.

And government hostility to religious practice is perceived as a prime culprit.

Q: The Supreme Court and Congress have gone too far in keeping religious and moral values like prayer out of our laws, our schools, and many areas of our lives.

| | |
|-----------------------|-----|
| Mostly agree | 68% |
| Mostly disagree | 28 |

Q: If a candidate for political office stated that we have gone too far in forcing religion out of the public schools...

| | |
|---|-----|
| I would be more likely to support him ... | 47% |
| I would be less likely to support him ... | 29 |

Sources: Yankelovich Partners, January 1993; Peter Hart Research Associates, fall 1994.

Hart researchers find that only a small portion of Americans are dismissive of the concerns of religious conservatives. By cross-tabulating voters who *don't* worry about national religious decline with those who *do* worry "about people using government to impose religious viewpoints," they identify voters who are "very hostile to the religious Right." Such individuals, they report, total 18 percent of the electorate.

IS RELIGIOUS PRACTICE WAXING OR WANING IN THE UNITED STATES?

A recent *U.S. News* poll found that 62 percent of Americans say the influence of religion in their own lives is increasing. Yet data from Gallup show weekly church attendance fluctuating only slightly (at around 40 percent of the U.S. population, versus 45 percent in the 1950s).

There is no reason to assume the modern trend in religious observance must be downward. At the time of the American Revolution, only 17 percent of our adult population belonged to a church. By Civil War days the figure had risen to 37 percent. It passed 50 percent in the early years of the 20th century, and reached 73 percent in the 1950s and 1960s. Today, church membership is just under 70 percent.

Whether religious observance is rising, falling, or holding steady, one thing is clear: worship continues to be a central part of life for millions of Americans.

Total attendance at U.S. religious services was 5.6 billion in 1993—54 times the total admissions for all professional baseball, football, and basketball games that same year.