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Draft

June 27, 1983

FOR: BILL BARR

FROM: MIKE UHLMANN

I'd like you to review the enclosed material from the Catholic League and consider the following:

(1) Arthur Schlesinger was right years ago when he described anti-Catholicism as the intellectual's counterpart to anti-Semitism among the masses.

(2) With the exception of outfits like the League, RC's tend to take abuse lying down. Their reasons for doing so derive from a long and complicated sociology, but it remains the case that little attention is paid to anti-Catholic libels.

(3) Much the same can be said about the snide and casual canards leveled at Protestant fundamentalists -- how fashionable it is, e.g., for a President of Yale to attack Falwell and Co. as if they were preparing thumbscrews and racks for non-believers.

(4) Nevertheless, anti-Catholic and anti-fundamentalist attacks are offensive not only to the targets but to the principle of religious tolerance which lies at the heart of our institutions. Such prejudice should be treated in the same manner as anti-Semitic and anti-black prejudice.

(5) All of which leads up to a proposal to which I'd like your reactions: why not have the President deliver a major address on religious and racial bigotry in the U.S.? He would begin by invoking Jefferson and Lincoln on the meaning of the Declaration, thence to a brief history of racial and religious bigotry in the U.S. He would then take particular note of a half-dozen or so recent examples of nastiness -- e.g., the resurgence of the Klan in some areas; the viciousness of the so-called "Posse Comitatus" group; some particularly dastardly piece of anti-Semitism; vicious anti-Catholic items taken from the League's files, etc.

The speech would be high-toned, but stern, and at times angry.



Supplement to the Catholic League Newsletter, Vol. 10, No. 6 Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights 1100 West Wells Street • Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53233

## Anti-Catholicism in the U.S.A.

#### By Bill Lynch and Liam Quinlan

Among the many prejudices and bigotries that are present in the culturally and ethnically plural society of America, there is one that is much older and much less obvious than the others. This is the bigotry known as anti-Catholicism.

What is anti-Catholicism? Let us begin by stating what it is not. It is not a form if bigotry that is manifested by obvious socio-economic oppression, as is often the case with racism. It is true that many Catholics in America hold highpaying jobs, live in expensive and wellkept neighborhoods, and are among the most highly educated citizens. There are many Catholics who hold government offices and positions of influence and power in the business world.

Some would look at these statistics, and, on the face of things, declare that there is no such thing as anti-Catholicism in America. To do so is to display a naive understanding of the nature of prejudice. Socio-economic hardship is not the only criterion by which to detect discrimination and bigotry. The favorable conditions that are enjoyed by America's Catholics are also enjoyed by America's Jews, but I don't think anyone would be so blind as to state that there is no such thing as anti-Semitism in this country. Anti-Catholicism, then, is a different manifestation of social prejudice. Anti-Catholicism is ideological contempt for the teachings, doctrines, and practices of the Roman Catholic Church and her adherents. It is subtle, usually concealed under other forms, and many Catholics fail to recognize it because they tend to live in neighborhoods with predominantly Catholic populations and attend parochial schools.

Is there evidence that anti-Catholicism exists in America? Are there certain signs by which we can read the handwriting on the wall?

All we have to do is look at certain seemingly unconnected events happening on the American scene, to see the signs of the times.

One of the more popular off-Broadway plays in the last two years has been the Christopher Durang production, "Sister Mary Ignatius Explains It All For You." The play, an attempt at satire of the beliefs and practices of the Roman Catholic Church, features tasteless humor, crude language, offensive remarks on morality and sexuality, and sacrilegious parodies of the Nativity and Death of Jesus on the cross, with a crucified Barbie doll, that is supposed to pass as comedy.



Bill Lynch (left) and Liam Quinlan are associate editor and assistant features editor, respectively, of The Quandrangle, the student newspaper of Manhattan College in the Bronx, N.Y. Their article first appeared as a threepart Quandrangle series in February, 1983.



The play was hailed by drama critic Rex Reed in the New York *Daily News* as a "masterpiece of wit." He sneeringly hinted that Catholics would find the play offensive, "of course," but that it was recommended "for anyone with either a mind, a funnybone, or both."

The clergy and religious, it seems, make popular subjects for directors and authors to use, speculating on the worst side of human nature, and priests and nuns are often cast in the role of either incompetents, such as M\*A\*S\*H's Fr. Mulcahy, or villains to be hissed at, as in the Jesuit missionaries of "Shogun."

Rock musicians find elements in Catholic practice good inspiration for satirical songs, such as Billy Joel's fast-paced "Only the Good Die Young," and Frank Zappa's "Catholic Girls." Obviously, those who produce such songs are testifying that they do not care if Catholics are offended by their so-called "entertainment," and the fact that they find such a wide receptive audience for it shows us something of the public's attitude as well.

Aside from cinema and television producers using Catholic practices in seamy stories to make a plot more colorful, there are other people who find ridicule of Catholicism a lucrative business. A New York-based card company, calling itself "Nunsense, Inc.", features women dressed up in traditional Catholic nun habits in various ridiculous and compromising positions, ranging from the absurd to the obscene. In response to protests by Catholics against this sort of humor, the people of "Nunsense, Inc." contended that Catholics who couldn't find this card series funny must have some hangup with their own faith.

An Oregon-based game company, Omnidome, Inc., has recently released a game patterned on a go-for-broke format dealing with the Catholic teachings of sin and grace. Entitled "Redemption," this game's object is to commit as many mortal sins as possible in a given time. Before time is called, you must get to a priest in confession in order to get to heaven. There are "graces" and "indulgences" made of yellow plastic chips and "mortal sins" and "venial sins" made of red ones. Sin cards and grace cards are used also in the game, several with explicitly sexual acts described.

Such games, such plays, such movies and songs do well on the market. There is clearly good money in this sort of "entertainment" at the expense of Roman Catholic beliefs and practices.

The news media, both the printed and electronic word, have a tendency to sensationalize issues the Catholic Church is involved in. Certain issues in the news today are constantly being identified as "Catholic" issues.

Rarely do we hear about the large number of Americans opposed to abortion who belong to creeds other than the Catholic faith, or no creed at all. Politicians and scientists who are asked their views on the issue are almost always asked if they are Catholic. If they are, then they are evermore referred to as such, as if to imply that the opinion of a Catholic doctor or politician is naturally against abortion and cannot be otherwise, so that opinion is not to be taken as coming from an individual but from a monolithic structure.

The debate over tuition tax credits for parents who send their children to private schools is often seen as a clear breach of separation of church and state. The majority of private schools in this country are Catholic schools, so this too is often viewed in media coverage as the Catholic Church overstepping its constitutional boundaries. Catholic schools are still labelled as "elitist" and "racist," despite the fact that a nationwide survey found they offer education to minorities and lower-income families, regardless of religious affiliation, that is superior to public education.

#### **Deceptive article**

In a less subtle manner, a college publication last spring printed an incoherent, factually unfounded, libelous attack on the Roman Catholic Church, entitled "A Dissenting Jesuit's View of the Catholic Church." The magazine was *Wavelength* of the University of Massachusetts-Boston. The article was rife with the most outrageous distortions and accusations, but the real surprise lay at the end, when it was admitted that the priest who supposedly wrote the article, "Father Penn," was a fictitious being.

There are many publications that are privately-owned and make no bones about their feelings for Roman Catholicism. The fundamentalist Christian booklets of Chick Publications are notorious in their campaign against the Catholic Church, particularly in their "Alberto" series.

"Alberto" reads like one of the poorer propaganda vehicles of traditional fundamentalist diatribe. "Dr." Alberto Rivera claims to have been a Jesuit priest in Spain who was part of the Vatican conspiracy to infiltrate and destroy all the Protestant churches of Europe and America. The Roman Catholic institution, according to Alberto, is the whore of Revelation and the Pope is the anti-Christ. Roman Catholics are on the highway to hell and only the true Biblebelieving Christians (whom Alberto has happily joined) can be saved.

The officials of the Society of Jesus in Madrid checked into their records to find out who this supposed ex-Jesuit is and what his case history might be. Like the bogus ex-Jesuit of the Wavelength article, Fr. Alberto Rivera, S.J., is a fabrication. The charlatan fundamentalist who goes by the same name was as much a Jesuit as Billy Graham and Oral Roberts are. In response, Chick publications claimed that the Vatican had destroyed the records to conceal their diabolical conspiracy. They continue to distribute their literature (despite condemnations from various Protestant churches) and have also put out a book that claims the assassination of Abraham Lincoln was done by a papal hit man.

#### Who believes it?

We, as Catholics, might laugh at such literature and ask who could believe it. The next time Jehovah's Witnesses ring your doorbell, you will have your answer. The Jehovah's Witnesses, as well as the Seventh-Day-Adventists, and other widespread religious groups, have one thing in common: they believe that the Catholic Church is evil and the enemy of God and the truth.

Of course, a lot of mainstream Americans consider these organizations offbeat anyway, and not to be taken seriously. But a lot of people read contributing columnist Alexander Cockburn of *The Village Voice* and consider him an intelligent, sophisticated and avant garde man. In a June, 1979, issue of *The Voice*, Mr. Cockburn wrote how lovely it would be to strangle the Pope as a symbol of liberty triumphing over oppressive forces in the world.

Here we have factual evidence of the unusual bigotry known as anti-Catholicism that exists in America. Catholics often fail to recognize it because it is far less obvious than the prejudices of racism and anti-Semitism. Yet it is not only here, it appears to be quietly growing across the nation, especially since few Catholics have raised a voice against it.

Although the presence of Roman

Catholics in America dates further back than the 1776 Declaration of Independence (Spanish missionaries came to Florida with Ponce DeLeon in the 16th century), life for Catholics in the United States has not always been a bed of roses.

America has always been a land where the majority of the settlers are of Protestant religious affiliation. The early Puritans and Pilgrims had a dream of this new, unexplored continent as being the second Promised Land, a land God had ordained for the creation of a truly Christian civilization free from the errors and abuses of European Christianity. The other Protestant sects that settled here all shared this dream as well.

#### **European background**

The churches of Europe—the largest and most powerful being the Roman Catholic Church—were involved in politics, wars and the possession of land and wealth. In the Puritan eye, such dealings had tainted the Christian religion, and the hands of Christian leaders were stained with blood and sin. The rituals and practices of these churches, especially the Roman Catholic Church, struck them as idolatrous and sorcerous (due to the use of images and sacramental formulas).

The Puritan ideology considered the Pope to be the anti-Christ, the Beast of Rome warned about in the Book of Revelation. The new Promised Land, if it was to truly develop into the perfect Christian civilization, must suffer no contamination from the satanic and worldly Church of Rome with its pagan rites. The idea gradually developed that the Pope was only waiting for his chance to extend his domination to America as well as in Europe. Thus a peculiar paranoia became part of popular Protestant thought, which was that the Vatican was planning to launch an invasion.

Catholic settlers were generally met with suspicion and hostility in the early colonies. Many colonies refused them admittance, and in others Catholics suffered severe legal disabilities. During the period of the American Revolution against England, any connection with European powers was suspect. Therefore Catholics, who owed their allegiance to a foreign prince (for the Pope was then temporal ruler of the Papal States), were not the most popular of citizens.

American democracy, once established, was often reflected in the structure of many Protestant churches, where pastors and ministers were elected by the congregation. This was the exact opposite of the Catholic churches, which had an administration and clerical system which was obviously monarchical in structure.

Although there was suspicion and hostility towards Catholics in the young United States, anti-Catholicism did not really reach a substantial pitch until the mid-19th century. The waves of immigrants in the 1840's and '50's spurred on fears of Yankee elites about the large numbers of Germans and Irish who were swarming into the country. A movement called Nativism was born, which wanted to preserve and safeguard the United States against foreign conspirators. Political parties sprang up such as the Know-Nothings that were rabidly anti-Catholic. The work of these fanatical groups consisted of spreading paranoia and panic among Americans as to the presence of Catholics as spies and threats to national security.

In the 1840's, Pope Pius IX, as a gesture of goodwill and friendship to the young government of the United States, sent a block of marble for the construction of the Washington Monument. A frenzied mob threw the block into the Potomac River as a gesture of contempt and distrust. In 1844, in the city of Philadelphia, a Protestant mob attacked the Catholic section of the city and burned down two churches and one school in the course of several anti-Catholic riots. Earlier, in the Charlestown section of Boston, another Nativist Protestant mob stormed and burned down an Ursuline convent and school.

#### **Nativist preachers**

Many times these mobs were whipped into fury by the preaching of Nativist and fundamentalist polemicists. One such anti-Catholic demagogue was the Rev. Lyman Beecher, father of author Harriet Beecher Stowe of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* fame. (His was the sermon that sparked the mob to storm the Ursuline convent in Boston.) Samuel F.B. Morse, inventor of the telegraph, was convinced that Catholic organizations such as the Society for the Propagation of the Faith were planning to take over the Mississippi Valley for the Pope's new headquarters.

Catholic clergy and societies, first and foremost the Jesuits, were constantly under the surveillance of Nativists and fundamentalists as being agents of Rome out to undermine the American government and place the country under papal domination.

The Ku Klux Klan harrassed Catholics as well as Jews and blacks. A plethora of unfounded, sensationalistic literature penned by fanatical evangelists popped up all during the 19th century claiming to expose the "truth" behind the Catholic Church in America. Books such as "Maria Monk" claimed sexual atrocities went on behind convent walls. *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome* claimed the Civil War and the assassination of President Lincoln were part of a Jesuit conspiracy.

After the Civil War, Catholics were better accepted by their Protestant neighbors, largely due to the loyalty they had shown during the war. The fanatics and extremists, of course, lingered on, but Nativist prejudice did not surface strongly again until the early 20th century, when a Catholic candidate ran for President of the United States.

It was the 1928 presidential election: Alfred E. Smith, presidential candidate, was a New Yorker, a Democrat, and a Roman Catholic. It was his religious affiliation that brought out a storm of press attacks and stirred virulent anti-Catholic sentiment. To many non-Catholic Americans, the idea of a Catholic in the White House was synonymous with longrange rule from the Vatican. When Smith lost the election to Herbert Hoover, the general consensus was that he did so because of his creed.

To demostrate his sense of humor, even in his unjust defeat, Smith said he contemplated sending a one-word telegram to Pope Benedict XV: "Unpack!"

#### The Kennedy campaign

In 1960, John F. Kennedy faced the same kind of suspicion in his campaign for president. For the first time in American history, a presidential candidate had to face a body of ministers to answer their questions about how he would deal with separation of church and state. The meeting was held in Houston, Texas, and 150 clergymen of various Protestant denominations guizzed Kennedy. The confrontation went well for Kennedy, obviously, because he won the election. However, Kennedy was still careful not to be too friendly with Catholic prelates, lest accusations be raised against him.

Many optimistic voices claimed that since a Roman Catholic could be elected president, anti-Catholicism must be gone from American society. Many would echo this with the more recent example of Pope John Paul II being greeted so favorably in this country during his 1979 visit, even to being welcomed at the White House by President Carter.

In truth, the Nativist kind of anti-Catholicism is largely dead. There are, of course, odd outbreaks of it, such as in the "Alberto" fundamentalist comic books, or in the 1978 declaration of the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod that the Pope is the anti-Christ. However, mainstream American Protestantism is much more tolerant, friendly and cooperative with the Catholic Church today. Partially due to Catholics assimilating more with American culture, partially due to the changes in the post-Second Vatican Council Church, and also in part due to the ecumenical movement of the late '50s and '60s, relationships between Catholics and Protestants are better now than they have ever been in history.

However, there is another kind of anti-Catholicism present in American society that has nothing at all to do with the Nativist history. Call it "new wave" anti-Catholicism if you will, the present form of the old prejudice is much more subtle than the ravings of demagogues, much more acceptable than storming mobs, and much more sophisticated than paranoid literature.

It is the anti-Catholicism that comes from the secular, intellectual and liberal mentality that has become dominant in American culture today. And it is much more dangerous and likely to grow because it wears such a charming exterior.

#### The acceptable bigotry

Modern anti-Catholicism in America has been dubbed by sociologist Fr. Andrew Greeley as the "acceptable bigotry" among our country's intellectuals because it does not have the same results of economic hardship and social oppression as does the bigotry of racism. Unlike the naive Nativist hatred and suspicion of the 19th century, much of the anti-Catholicism of today is an animosity toward certain moral teachings of the Roman Catholic Church on the part of leaders of the intelligentsia.

The values of American society have undergone some drastic changes in the past 20 years. There has been a shift from the traditional Protestant ethic to a more secularized humanistic outlook. Popular attitudes toward certain moral issues are very different now from what they used to be. In the pendulum swing of general opinion, the Catholic Church has been left in the position of representing values and obligations which are considered outmoded and archaic by the "Me" generation.

The Catholic Church has been adamant in its official position on the issues of divorce, abortion and birth control. While widespread American opinion has shifted to the more liberal interpretation of the morality of these issues, the Catholic Church has retained its traditional stance. Since the Church has been outspoken in its position on these issues, the media and public opinion have come to identify these issues as "Catholic issues."

The result is a conflict of value emphasis between the secular, "enlightened" outlook and the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church on several highly controversial moral issues. This is not to lay at the door of secular humanists all blame for anti-Catholicism. Secular humanism in and of itself is no threat to Catholicism. Active, compassionate humanism is a common denominator between Catholics and humanists that safeguards mutual respect among persons of integrity.

However, there is an undeniable tension between "pop" secularity and organized religion. The Catholic Church, due to its long history, impressive size, accumulated property holdings, and unflinching moral stance, is the most conspicuous example of organized religion. To the detractors of organized religion, the Catholic Church is an available and handy scapegoat.

In addition, the authoritarian structure of the Church irks the progressivist mentality, which places a high premium on individualistic opinion and dissent. Anti-authoritarianism sees the Church as a medieval structure; a mentally and emotionally oppressive institution that warps its members with guilt and fear.

Many organizations in America, noted for their liberal and secular modes of thought, are imbued with this underlying bias that reveals itself at times in ugly outbursts.

In 1972, the Xerox Corporation published a booklet for high school students entitled, "Population Control? Whose Right to Live?" This booklet was the work of two independent university professors who implied that the teaching of Pope Paul VI on birth control sanctioned the starvation of millions, and suggested that he be brought before a world court to face trial for crimes against humanity.

#### **Defamatory cartoons**

In 1977, the Chicago chapter of the Planned Parenthood Federation sent a mailing to college newspapers all over the country that featured a comic strip of a Roman Catholic bishop who is making a confident speech of how legalized abortion will not prevail in this country. The strip progresses to show the bishop going from holding a Bible and crozier to his breast, to holding a matchbook and gasoline can, concluding with the statement that the faithful will be out burning down the abortion clinics.

This secularized, anti-religious attitude is not found only among the middleaged intelligentsia of our country. The presence of anti-Catholicism is found also on college campuses. In certain medical and law schools, applicants are questioned on moral issues that are decisive for acceptance to such schools. These questions deal specifically with the moral issues of abortion and divorce, and the only acceptable answer is one in favor of both. Naturally, Catholics who are opposed to such things as abortion and divorce cannot opt for "conscientious objection," and invariably must either respond in the affirmative or suffer the consequences.

These manifestations, however, are but one side of the two-faced coin that makes up contemporary anti-Catholicism. There is another source from which it springs, far more vehement and vitriolic. This is anti-Catholicism that comes from people who are of the Roman Catholic background themselves.

This may strike some as surprising and paradoxical, but the facts are painfully obvious. One need only look at the people who were mentioned earlier in connection with productions offensive to Catholics: Christopher Durang ("Sister Mary Ignatius"), Billy Joel ("Only the Good Die Young"), Omnidome's game "Redemption," and the originators of the card series Nunsense, Inc. All these people are of Catholic background.

#### Some joke

Perhaps we can sum up the reasoning of these people in the words of Dan Goggin, a member of the Nunsense card company, who corresponded with us after inquiries into the nature of the card series.

"The Nunsense greeting card line started out as a joke between four people, all Catholic, all taught by nuns, poking fun at the old days," said Mr. Goggin, who was generous enough to send us some samples of the Nunsense card line. In response to our negative reaction to his wares, Mr. Goggin wrote us the following:

"Anyone who cannot enjoy humor about themselves is in big trouble." Since when is ridiculing nuns laughing at ourselves, lay people? "We find our biggest problem with people who are seriously questioning their own faith or are afraid to question it because they fear what answers may come to them."

Such blanket statements thoroughly skirt the issue, as is common among producers of such material. Rather than face the possibility that they have sunk beneath professional and tasteful standards, they prefer to place the blame on those who find offense with such attempts at humor.

Such remarks are symptomatic of the prevalent attitude among people of Catholic background who ridicule their own church as if they are demonstrating an *avant-garde* broadmindedness by being able to laugh at their own religion. They feel Catholics who cannot join them in such mirth are prudish and insecure in their faith. After all, they argue, they are Catholics themselves and aren't offended. Why should you be?

There is a fine line between laughing with one's faith and laughing at it. There are some harmless good-natured puns Catholics make among themselves about elements of their faith, but these are "inside jokes"—made in much the same way family members might make friendly jokes about each other at a communal gathering. Clearly, you would not ridicule your parents in front of strangers unless there was something seriously lacking in your upbringing and manners. In the same way, ridicule of Catholicism by these present sensationalists has crossed the line between what is no-harm-intended humor and repugnant trash, especially since widespread publicity and lucrative interests are introduced.

Harmless, inside jokes don't bring in cash-paying customers; obviously, therefore, fear of being offensive is submerged under making a quick buck.

These sophisticated and "enlightened" ones, for all their alleged broadmindedness in respect to Catholic ridicule, display a persistent myopia by implying that all Catholics should immediately identify with their taste in humor. To think that Catholics who find such things offensive are reactionary and dullwitted is to hypocritically deny them the right to dissent—a right which is apparently reserved only unto themselves.

These little-recognized, subtle, and up-to-now generally acceptable manifestations of a snivelling little bias should not leave Catholics in a downtrodden or despairing state of mind. There are many signs in American society today that lead one to believe that Catholicism, for so long a sleeping giant in the face of thinly veneered prejudice, is beginning to rise from its slumber.

#### **Catholic response**

The sneering diatribes of anti-Catholic intelligentsia and embittered apostates have found the gauntlet picked up by organizations such as the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights. Fighting American bigotry on all fronts (including anti-Semitism and racism) and working side by side with the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the Catholic League has emerged as an important group of concerned citizens seeking to rid this great country of the ugly sins of prejudice. Contrary to accusations that the League is made up of pro-Catholic fanatics, League members have marched against the Ku Klux Klan and protested anti-Jewish propaganda in the course of their campaign against anti-Catholicism.

The existence of any form of bigotry in American culture stands as an indictment against the ideals of our Constitution. However, as long as we have the right to freedom of speech—and as long as groups that suffer prejudice, Catholics, Jews, or any ethnic groups—exercise that right, and work towards ridding our land of such bigotries, then we all have the opportunity to make this country what our Pledge of Allegiance holds before us: one country, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

## Vol. 10, No. 6 CATHOLIC LEAGUE NEWSLETTER June, 1983

## inside ...

A student newspaper at a New York state university has apologized for publishing a blasphemous cartoon which substituted a nude woman for the Lord in a depiction of The Last Supper (page 2).

On page 3 is a report of the Missouri legislature's efforts to ensure that state taxes will no longer be use to subsidize anti-Catholic theatrical productions.

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This month's Docket column, on page 4, summarizes recent Senate testimony by League General Counsel Patrick Monaghan on the right of public high school students to meet voluntarily for praver and religious discussion on school

property during off-school hours.

In a guest column on page 5, Marilyn Lundy, president of Citizens for Educational Freedom and a member of the League's Board of Directors, advocates educational reforms which would restore "true educational freedom and justice in America."

Newspapers across the country have received copies of a new Catholic League publication which documents the institutional anti-Catholicism of a major American newspaper, *The Boston Globe*. See the article on page 6.

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*Newsday*, the leading daily paper on Long Island, provides selective coverage of religious prejudice in political campaigns, according to a comprehensive report prepared and distributed by the League's Long Island Chapter (page 7).

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In his regular column on page 8, League President Rev. Virgil C. Blum, S.J., discusses the failure of Catholic voters to cast their ballots on the basis of the candidates' positions on vital issues.

# University of Illinois sponsors anti-Catholic 'art' exhibition

The Catholic League has urged the University of Illinois, Chicago Circle campus, to withdraw its sponsorship of an exhibition of anti-Catholic paintings titled "Lady of Babylon" by Douglas Van Dyke.

Of the 40 paintings in the exhibit, 34 have been described as blatantly anti-Catholic. Among the images in the display are the pope as the devil, priests as Nazis, Christ on a cross with the head of a pig, the Blessed Virgin Mary on a toilet seat, and the Blessed Sacrament in various disgusting situations. The title and content of the exhibit are purportedly derived from Van Dyke's interpretation of the biblical book of Revelation.

#### 'Hateful' paintings

In a letter to Chancellor Donald Langenberg, the Catholic League's director of public affairs, Michael Schwartz, said the League is "outraged because the paintings are so grossly hateful toward the Catholic Church" and "embarassed because the University's sponsorship of the exhibit is so clearly contrary to the public interest, intellectual integrity, and even common decency."



A central image from one of Van Dyke's paintings is the figure of Christ on the cross with the head of a pig. Other examples of his work are shown on page 2.

Despite protests by the Catholic League, the University Newman Center and hundreds of Chicago-area Catholics, University spokesmen insist that they are obliged, under the First Amendment's guarantee of freedom of expression, to provide a public forum for Van Dyke's anti-Catholic exhibition.

As Schwartz explained to Langenberg, however, the issue is not freedom of expression. "No one denies the right of Van Dyke and those of his stripe to parade their various prejudices," said Schwartz. "We recognize that part of the price of living in a free society is that we have to suffer would-be storm troopers marching through Skokie, racial epithets scrawled on walls, and similar public expressions of incivility."

The real issue, said Schwartz, is whether Van Dyke's incivility is to receive the "endorsement, approbation, protection and sponsorship of a university supported by the public for the welfare of the public."

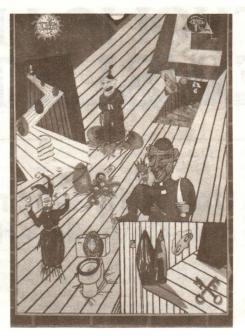
#### No right

Elaborating on the meaning of the First Amendment, Schwartz advised Langenberg that Van Dyke has absolutely no claim of right to have "his daubings" displayed under the auspices of the University of Illinois. "The selection of this exhibition is a matter at the discretion of University officials, and ultimately of you, as chief administrative officer of the University," he said.

Schwartz said Langenberg, by permitting the exhibition to be sponsored by the University, has "shown a contemptuous disregard for the sensibilities of the Catholic citizens of Illinois and all others who are disgusted by such religious bigotry, and you have committed the state of Illinois to a policy of condoning and encouraging the public expression of anti-Catholic hatred."

Schwartz told Langenberg that he could permit the exhibition to remain on campus and thus ratify a dishonorable and irresponsible decision, or he could have the paintings removed from the University, thus taking a step toward decency and integrity. The Blessed Sacrament floats in a toilet bowl in a painting from the exhibit sponsored by the University of Illinois— Chicago Circle campus.





### Protests spur reforms at student paper

Anthony Mangano, president of the League's Westchester Chapter, has been instrumental in eliciting assurances that *The Load*, student newspaper of the State University of New York at Purchase, will not repeat its earlier mistake of publishing material which gratuitously offends the religious sensibilities of many of its readers.

Last Nov. 17 *The Load* published a blasphemous cartoon rendering of The Last Supper in which Christ was replaced by a nude woman saying, "Take, eat, this is my body."

The cartoon prompted a barrage of protest letters from, among many others, Mangano, State Senator Joseph Pisani, Margaret Gilmore of the National Conference of Christians and Jews (NCCJ), the Post Roads Area Council of Priests, and Sister Brigid Driscoll, president of Marymount College in Tarrytown.

At the urging of the NCCJ's Gilmore, Univeristy President Sheldon Grebstein hosted a Jan. 31 meeting at which issues raised by *The Load* publication were discussed. In attendance were university officials, members of *The Load* staff and such local religious leaders as Gilmore, Mangano, Sister Driscoll, Sister Mary Dympna Haber of St. Joseph's Rectory in Bronxville, and Rev. Thomas J. McCaffrey, secretary of the Post Roads Area Council.

The meeting began with a statement of apology from *Load* Editor David Schwartz. Noting that freedom of expression is not an issue, Schwartz said: "What is at issue is a serious lapse in judgment on my part about the effects of a cartoon. A newspaper has no business publishing what is needlessly offensive...If something is offensive, and has little other value, then we lose no freedom by not printing it, and we have, in fact, a responsibility not to print it."

Schwartz told those at the meeting that *The Load* has already printed six letters to the editor complaining about the cartoon, as well as an apology from the cartoonist, student Eileen Arnow, and the paper's own apology, which stated in part: "To those who questioned our judgment and our taste, we apologize to whomever we've offended..."

Moreover, said Schwartz, the letters of protest prompted *The Load* to reexamine its editorial policy. He said the paper is expanding and reorganizing its editorial board and that it plans to add a faculty adviser who "would question us and force us to be responsible and aware about what we print." To illustrate that *The Load* has learned its lesson, Schwartz said "in the Dec. 22 issue we refused to print two articles which made fun of the origins of Christmas and Chanukah."

#### New course suggested

Several students at the meeting expressed regret that our society has produced a generation so bereft not only of personal values but also of respect and understanding for the values and beliefs of others. Liz Gross, president of the Student Senate, suggested that a course or seminar be instituted to foster understanding and respect for the right of people to hold religious beliefs and values without being ridiculed or defamed.

Schwartz later wrote to Mangano and to the other religious leaders present at the meeting, thanking them for their concern. "The whole incident was a valuable education for me, and I believe (it) has been responsible for improving the quality of the paper," he said.

### Christians blamed for Holocaust

The Catholic League has refuted a recent *Des Moines Register* column by Donald Kaul which blamed Christianity for the Nazi Holocaust.

Ruminating on the Holocaust in his April 17 column, Kaul said he was reminded of Pope John Paul II's statement that atheism is the chief cause of evil today. "What can he have been thinking of?" asked Kaul, who then asserted "that the two great sources of evil in the modern world are love of God and love of country..."

#### **Christianity maligned**

In what the League described as the epitome of witlessness or malice, Kaul then went on to say: "I do not think that Germans killed Jews *in spite* of the fact that they, the Germans, were Christians, but *because* they were." (Kaul's italics)

In reply, League Director of Publications Orlan Love wrote: "Even someone as unfamiliar with Christianity as Kaul seems to be should know that Christians regard racism and murder as grievous sins, and that Nazism, which was founded on the premise that the state takes precedence over the laws of God, is clearly antithetical to Christianity."

#### Atheism fuels holocausts

Noting Kaul's apparent pique at the Pope's statement on atheism, Love continued: "Someone as familiar with atheism as Kaul seems to be should know that atheism fueled the Nazi Holocaust, just as it is fueling the abortion holocaust in the United States today."

Love then quoted Rev. James T. Burtchaell, C.S.C., who observed in his book *Rachel Weeping and Other Essays on Abortion* that "the putrid decay in the open pits at Babi Yar and the sacrificial smoke that rose from Auschwitz were the effluvia of a spirit that now leaves like offerings in the pails of Pre-Term and the incinerators of the Center for Reproductive and Sexual Health."

#### A different spirit

Although nominal, former and failed Christians may have participated in the Nazi Holocaust and may be participating in the abortion holocaust, Christianity is not the spirit to which Burtchaell refers, said Love, concluding:

"I do not think that Americans kill their unborn babies in spite of the fact that they, the Americans, are atheists, but because they are."

## **Missouri moves to halt theater funding**

In the wake of the "Sister Mary Ignatius" controversy in St. Louis, the Missouri legislature is taking steps to ensure that state tax funds will no longer be used to subsidize theatrical productions which vilify and ridicule religion.

Last year the Missouri Council on the Arts allocated \$12,000 to the Theatre Project Company of St. Louis, which expressed its gratitude to taxpayers by producing the virulently anti-Catholic play "Sister Mary Ignatius Explains It All For You."

Neither the theater company nor the arts council expressed the slightest remorse for the abuse of public funds, leaving the legislature with only one way to protect the religious freedom rights of Missourians.

#### **Theater funding ban**

On May 7 the Senate Appropriation Committee, under the leadership of Chairman Edward Dirck, submitted an appropriation bill which cut \$60,000 from the Missouri Arts Council's annual budget. The committee also added language to the bill which would prohibit arts council funding to theater projects in general.

Sen. Dirck and Sen. Richard Webster, the senate minority leader, said the ban on funding theater projects stemmed from the Missouri Arts Council's refusal to halt funding to the Theatre Project Company—a refusal they described as "pretty arrogant."

State aid and facilities, they said, should not be used to assist plays that are anti-religious, just as state aid should not be used to promote religion.

#### University may be next

Sen. Webster said that the University of Missouri—St. Louis, which went out of its way to host productions of "Sister Mary Ignatius," might also suffer budget restrictions. "We want to send them a message to be careful who they do business with," he said.

Resentment of the Theatre Project Company's abuse of public funds appears to be widespread. On April 28 the Missouri House, by a 98 to 46 vote, rejected an effort to increase the arts council's budget. A legislator from Springfield polled his constituents about which of 13 state programs should be the first to suffer budget cuts, and 90 percent of them responded that the Missouri Council on the Arts should be first. And Rep. William R. O'Toole of St. Louis reported that he has received numerous complaints from constituents about state funding of a theater group which would produce an anti-Catholic or anti-religious play.

Opposition to the Senate appropriations bill has come, predictably, from Fontaine Syer, artistic director of the Theatre Project Company, and from the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, which consistently defended the anti-Catholic play throughout the recent controversy.

Syer described the Senate Appropriations Committee's action as "an ominous omen," and the *Post-Dispatch*, in a May 10 editorial entitled "Senator Dirck's Shabby Revenge," which was sprinkled with words such as "spiteful," "vindictive," "perverse" and "extremist," persisted in its allegation that St. Louis Archbishop John L. May is pulling Senator Dirck's strings.

#### Noonan comments

According to Frances Noonan, president of the League's St. Louis Chapter: "The Missouri State Legislature is perfectly capable of determining how state revenues should be allocated. State revenues are far exceeded by demands for funding, and I am confident that the legislature will do its best in setting priorities."

## *Time* discounts Reagan's essay

*Time* magazine's May 9 report of President Ronald Reagan's recent antiabortion essay (see accompanying article) was so obviously biased that it may help to dispel the myth of media neutrality, the Catholic League said in a letter to *Time*.

Time began its article with an attempt to discount the President's commitment to the pro-life cause. According to Time, Reagan "pays lip service" to the right to life, while his Administration works "only half-heartedly" to end abortion. The essay, which Time described variously as "rambling but passionate," filled with "high-pitched earnestness," and "harrowingly explicit," was little more than an empty gesture to "farright special interest groups," the news magazine said.

After pointing out the article's obvious bias, League Director of Communications Stephen Settle said he was pleased that *Time* quoted the following "harrowingly explicit" passage from the President's essay: "The abortionist who reassembles the arms and legs of a tiny baby to make sure all its parts have been torn from its mother's body can hardly doubt that it is a human being."

"Such is the nature of blunt truth," said Settle. "Abortion kills babies in the womb. Mr. Reagan's 'high-pitched earnestness' reflects this reality."

## League lauds Reagan's pro-life essay

The Catholic League has commended President Ronald Reagan for giving the pro-life movement much-needed encouragement with his recent anti-abortion essay published in the Spring, 1983 edition of *The Human Life Review*.

"Make no mistake, abortion on demand is not a right guaranteed by the Constitution," the President wrote in his essay entitled "Abortion and the Conscience of the Nation."

The Supreme Court's verdict against the preborn "has by no means settled the debate," he said, noting that *Roe v. Wade* remains "a continuing prod to the conscience of the nation."

Encouraging pro-lifers to remain steadfast, President Reagan reminded them: "This is not the first time our country has been divided by a court decree that denied the value of certain human lives. The *Dred Scott* decision of 1857 was not overturned in a day, or a year, or even a decade. At first, only a minority of Americans recognized and deplored the moral crisis brought about by denying the full humanity of our black brothers and sisters; but that minority persisted in their vision and finally prevailed."

The President reaffirmed his pledge of support for all pending human life legislation. "My administration," he said, "is dedicated to the preservation of America as a free land, and there is no cause more important for preserving that freedom than affirming the transcendent right to life of all human beings, the right without which no other rights have any meaning."

In a letter to President Reagan, League President Rev. Virgil C. Blum, S.J., observed that when condemnation of the Supreme Court's abortion decision issues from the President of the United States, the head of a co-equal branch of government, pressure on the Court to correct its past abuse of power grows immeasurably.

"It is my cherished hope," wrote Father Blum, "that in the not-too-distant future history will record that your essay gave the American people the impetus they needed to redress one of the greatest evils ever to befall mankind." DOCKET 'Free speech' includes free expression of faith



By Patrick Monaghan, General Counsel

In the recent Lubbock Independent School District case, the U.S. Supreme Court declared unconstitutional a school policy that allowed students to meet voluntarily to pray. Likewise in the Brandon case, the Court let stand an appeals court ruling that "nothing could be more dangerous" than an adolescent seeing the football captain, the student body president or "the leading actress in a dramatic production participating in communal prayer meetings in the 'captive audience' setting of a school..."

Senators Jeremiah Denton and Mark Hatfield have introduced in Congress an "Equal Access" Bill which would prohibit any school which received federal funds from discriminating against individuals or groups for religious speech. Those policies which the school extended to extra curricular non-religious groups would have to be extended to religious groups as well.

#### **ACLU argument**

Although the American Civil Liberties Union contends religious speech does not have the constitutional protections of other speech, there is absolutely nothing in the First Amendment to the United States Constitution that would in any way prohibit or interfere with the "Equal Access" concept for human beings to freely express their religious commitment while on school property or



Kenneth Collins of Chaminade High School receives "The Most Outstanding Catholic League Student Award" from Long Island Chapter President William Lindner at the Chapter's fourth annual communion breakfast.

in school. In fact, if anything, the First Amendment would mandate opportunities for such openness in furtherance of a true pluralism in American society.

Any arguments implying the unconstitutionality of something so moderate, so fair, so just and so simple as "equal access" for religious speech are mere exercises in a form of popularly practiced deceit. This deceit, coming from persons committed to secularizing society, takes the form of a statement, "It's in the Constitution," rather than an honest statement, "we don't want anything to do with God." Such "Constitutionalism" is totally spurious.

#### **Religious suppression**

Prohibition of school children's voluntary prayer is religious suppression. Enforcement of such a prohibition or a position that religious speech is prohibited or confined to churches or synagogues is *in fact* to equate America's First Amendment rights to the Soviet Union's guarantees of freedom of religion.

In analyzing the Court's present attempt to outlaw the voluntary prayer of public school students, one cannot escape the apparent connection between the Court's attack on religious speech and its earlier creation, by judicial fiat, of a "right" to kill unborn children.

A court that legalized killing understandably would not be comfortable with the people freely proclaiming their faith in God. The abortion ethic is incompatible with free speech. Evil does not care for public exposition.

A government by judiciary which is based on the notion that man is a measure of all things, like Poland's government by martial law based on the same premise, has an eroding base of moral legitimacy.

#### Free expression of faith

And here, as there, it will be the free expression of faith in God, freely proclaimed and lived, that will reform and redeem society. Believers know that Rome once fell about them, but they stood, and God was with them.

For Congress, the question now is whether it will use its rightful power to uphold the natural rights of citizens to acknowledge their Creator. It was that same power that enabled Congress in the 1860's to repeatedly ignore the *Dred Scott* decision in which the Supreme Court held that blacks were "beings of an inferior order" who could never be citizens under the Constitution.

The failure of Congress to act in this matter could well mean the undermining of our government. Nations have often abolished God, Who has fortunately shown Himself more tolerant in His response. But we dare not be presumptuous of grace.

## League backs voluntary prayer

The Catholic League has testified in support of proposed U.S. Senate legislation that would permit students to hold out-of-class religious discussions in public high schools.

The bill, introduced by Sen. Mark Hatfield and 14 other senators, would require secondary schools permitting students to meet during non-instructional periods of the school day to also permit such student meetings with religious content.

Not only would the bill prohibit school or state officials from influencing the form or content of any prayer or other religious activity; it would also ban the officials from forcing any students to participate in such activity.

In supporting the proposed bill, League General Counsel Patrick Monaghan, at an April 28 meeting of the Senate Judiciary Committee, said that government prohibition of religious meetings such as those specified in the bill violates the free speech, free assembly and religious freedom rights of high school students. Monaghan said the proposed legislation is needed to reverse the pernicious effects of recent federal court decisions in the *Brandon* and *Lubbock Independent School District* cases.

In Brandon, Catholic League attorneys represented a group of high school students from Guilderland, N.Y. The Students for Voluntary Prayer, as they were known, wanted to meet voluntarily for prayer during off-school hours in an unused classroom. In late 1981, however, the U.S. Supreme Court announced that it would let stand an appeals court ruling that denied the students' right to pray on school property.

In the Lubbock case, in which the League submitted a friend-of-the-court brief, the Supreme Court ruled earlier this year that a school policy allowing students to meet voluntarily to pray is unconstitutional.

(Monaghan's testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee is summarized in this month's Docket column on page 4.)

## **Report highlights the need for educational reforms**

By Marilyn Lundy

The National Commission on Excellence in Education has just concluded a study on public education in the United States. Fortunately for the nation, it has had the perspicacity to speak bluntly as did the boy in the fable of "The Emperor's New Clothes."

The commission has basically stated that our education system has suffered such a decline over the past 20 years so as to be a threat to the development and security of the nation, and to such a degree that if this decline had been imposed by an unfriendly foreign power, we might well consider it an act of war.

#### **Fable recalled**

If we remember the fable of "The Emperor's New Clothes," the emperor bought from a tailor, at a very high price, clothes made from magic cloth which, according to the slick salesman, was invisible to all except the pure in heart. Afraid of being marked as unworthy, the emperor, his courtiers and all his loyal subjects raved about the beauty and style of the clothes—except the boy who had the integrity to say it "like it was."

For many years we have been sold the

story that public schools are the magic backbone of democracy, a guarantee of quality education for all children, and the integrating social force necessary for the betterment of the nation. Thus it was our first responsibility to provide a good government school system for all children, and then if any person or group wanted something different, they must expect to pay for it.

#### System violates freedoms

The problem is that this monolithic public school system has been failing before our very eyes, and in the process has mired our children and our nation in mediocrity. The truth is that the cause of our educational malaise is sewn into the very fabric of the system because the system itself violates the basic principles of democracy and freedom: 1)the basic human right of parents to choose their children's schools; 2) the free market system; 3) religious and civil rights; and 4) social justice.

And the added tragedy is that the children most adversely affected by this malaise are those of minority and lower income families—children who most need excellence in education, yet children whose parents are least able to exercise

### **Anniversary commendations continue**

The Catholic League has received many commendations and congratulations in recognition of its tenth anniversary, among which are the following:

"The service which the Catholic League...has given during the past decade well deserves particular recognition," wrote Apostolic Delegate Pio Laghi.

"Congratulations on reaching this significant milestone in the history of your organization," said President Ronald Reagan. "You have my best wishes for continued success in the future."

Very Reverend Pedro Arrupe, S.J., Father General of the Society of Jesus, wrote: "We at the Curia of the Society of Jesus certainly share your concern about the rights of Catholics in the United States in general, and especially as these apply to the question of Catholic education. And, of course, we share your concern about the trend toward arbitrary destruction of the unwanted, be they unborn children, the old, the insane, or anyone else that those in power might want to put away."

"Congratulations on your 10 years of service in support of the religious freedom rights of Catholics and others," wrote the Very Rev. Joseph J. Labaj, S.J., Provincial, the Wisconsin Province, the Society of Jesus.

Sir Alfred K. Blasco, vice governor general of the Equestrian Order of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, wrote: Commendations to the Catholic League for its dedication to the principles of religious freedom as set forth in the Bill of Rights and as articulated by Pope John Paul II in his letter to the signator nations of the Helsinki Accords."

"The 1.4 million members of the Knights of Columbus and their families join with me in offering warm congratulations and best wishes to the Catholic League on the occasion of its 10th anniversary celebration," said Virgil C. Dechant, the Supreme Knight.

"In the struggle for dignity and decency," wrote U.S. Congressman Henry Hyde, "the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights plays an indispensable role...It is not censorship to combat bigotry — it is an essential element of self-respect. I salute Father Virgil Blum and his organization. I am continued on page 6... their rights and to shop for quality education in nongovernment schools or in another school district.

Hopefully, now that the truth has gained respectability, the problem can be more honestly addressed and true reform sought. We applaud the members of the commission, but we beg them not to go back to the same magic clothes salesmen for all their answers. Reform is not more of the same-more money and more days in the same government assigned schools. (The average per pupil public school cost was \$911 in 1970, as compared to \$2,553 in 1980-which equates to a 280 percent increase in cost while the number of students decreased 11 percent and teachers increased by 5 percent.)

#### **Reforms needed**

Reform is recognizing that public education must encompass the education of every child, regardless of the school attended.

Reform is promoting the primary rights and responsibilities of parents (not government) in education.

Reform is allowing the poor, as well as the wealthy, to choose a public or nonpublic, a secular or God-oriented school.

Reform is encouraging freedom, diversity and consumer choice, not conformity and monopoly. The figures show that where there is freedom, diversity and consumer choice, there is higher achievement and greater accountability at a far lower cost.

#### **Financial reform**

The first step in educational reform then must be a reform in all educational financing so that there is justice in the collection of educational taxes and justice and freedom in their distribution. It is the consumer power of the people, and especially parents, along with the good intentions of the educational establishment, that will renew education in the United States.

We urge all "loyal subjects" to work diligently to provide the "emperor" (U.S. education) with new clothes visible to all. And we urge all the emperor's courtiers, tailors and salesmen to care not only for their vested interests, but for the education of all children, for the primary rights of all parents and for true educational freedom and justice in America.

(Marilyn Lundy is president of Citizens for Educational Freedom and a member of the Catholic League's Board of Directors. Reprinted with permission of Our Sunday Visitor.)

## **Booklet spotlights Globe's bias**

In a predominantly Catholic major metropolitan area, the dominant news medium carries on a systematic denigration of Catholicism.

This paradox is documented and analyzed in Keeping Catholics in Their Place: The Boston Globe's Cultural Imperialism by Robert P. Largess, which has just been published by the Catholic League.

After examining the Boston Globe's coverage of Catholics and Catholicism from 1979 to 1981, Largess concludes that "the Globe's coverage and depiction of Catholics today is simply a continuation of the cultural pressures New England society has brought to bear on Catholics for a century.

A prime example cited by Largess is the Globe's response to a pastoral statement on abortion issued by Boston's Humberto Cardinal Medeiros in September, 1980, shortly before the primary elections. In an 18-day period, the Globe carried 38 articles and editorials on this incident, nearly all opposing the Cardinal's views on abortion, his right to speak out, or both. The Globe's coverage of this issue, says Largess, was not reporting so much as it was "a campaign to propagandize...views hostile to the Cardinal and his stand, and to create by innuendo and smear an atmosphere...in which the Cardinal's action is seen as immoral, possibly illegal, and certainly highly dangerous."

The Globe's anti-Catholic prejudice is by no means limited to political controversy. Largess charges Globe writers with "frequent use of direct ridicule against Catholics, their beliefs and their customs." A characteristic anti-Catholic technique is the lionization of ex-Catholics:

Essentially, the same article appears week after week, a portrait of an attractive, prominent personality who has supposedly happily and wholeheartedly rejected the stifling prison of traditional Catholic superstitions and morals and found fulfillment, espeecially sexual fulfillment, in the liberation.

On occasion, the Globe goes beyond ridicule, making direct attacks on the religious beliefs of Catholics, as in a Holy Saturday, 1980 editorial which recommended downplaying the Resurrection of Jesus in favor of a "spiritual, perhaps psychological" interpretation of that central event in Christian belief.

Largess notes that "the Globe's war with Catholicism has both a philosophical and political-economic aspect, but it cannot be reduced to either. Rather, it is a "cultural conflict" between a dominant minority in New England and the Catholic majority which threatens its hegemony in the major institutions of the society of that region. The result is the daily re-creation of a "climate of verbal, psychological violence against Catholics" who are made to feel that their Faith is "evil, false and contemptible."

Largess is a teacher in the Boston Public Schools and vice-president of the Massachusetts Chapter of the Catholic League.

The 75-page book is available at \$2.00 per copy from the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights, 1100 West Wells St., Milwaukee, Wis. 53233.

## Anniversary commendations (continued from page 5)

#### a proud supporter."

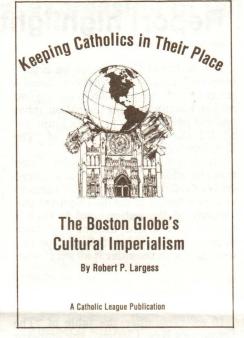
According to Dr. Bernard Nathanson. the author of Aborting America: "The Catholic League is a remarkable civil rights organization that was long overdue. Anti-Catholicism was a basic component of the pro-abortion movement and remains to this day part of its stock in trade. Your efforts are truly needed now more than ever before.'

Mother Angelica, foundress of the Eternal Word Television Network, wrote: "It is essential that the Catholic Church have a vehicle of expression that reaches the entire nation. We need to teach those who question, inform those who doubt, and stand tall before those who tear down and misrepresent the truths we hold so dear."

"In fighting for religious freedom rights in a politically secular society, the Catholic League has been the standard bearer, often the only one, for the freedom of religion guaranteed all Americans under the First Amendment to the Constitution," said Richard McMunn, editor, Our Sunday Visitor.

"The Catholic League has done more than any other organization to alert the American people of all faiths to threats that would undermine the precious value of human freedom and human life," said Ann O'Donnell, former vice president of the National Right to Life Committee.

"We at the National Catholic Education Association (NCEA) office are deeply grateful for all the work the Catholic League has done, and we hope that it will grow and prosper in the years ahead," wrote Msgr. John Meyers, president of the NCEA.



### **Booklet notice**

To all those members whose special contributions financed the publication of new booklets on The Boston Globe's anti-Catholicism and on the recent "Sister Mary Ignatius" controversy in St. Louis, the Catholic League would like to express its gratitude. Thanks not only for the contributions but for your patience in awaiting delivery of the promised books.

By now, donors to the special appeal should have received their copies of Keeping Catholics in Their Place: The Boston Globe's Cultural Imperialism. (If you have not, please notify League Director of Publications Orlan Love.) The second book, Kicking the Habit: A City Confronts Religious Prejudice, is now in the final stages of production, and it will soon be in the mail to those who contributed to the special fund.

"As an organization deeply involved in the struggle against bigotry and religious prejudice and committed to interreligious cooperation and dialogue, the American Jewish Committee congratulates the Catholic League...on the occasion of its 10th anniversary," wrote Maynard I Wishner, AJC president.

"In combating the evil of anti-Catholicism, the Catholic League is not only being truly Catholic but also truly American," said Father Sean McManus, national director of the Irish National Caucus.

"I salute and applaud the League on this, the tenth anniversary of its existence, and commend you and urge you to continue the tasks you have undertaken. We have all been the beneficiaries of your efforts," wrote Eugene W. Linse, executive secretary of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod.

## Newsday charged with inconsistent and unfair coverage

Newsday, the leading daily newspaper on Long Island, is inconsistent and unfair in its coverage of religious prejudice in political campaigns, according to a recent report prepared and distributed to local news media by the Catholic League's Long Island Chapter.

The extensively documented report is the result of five months' study by a committee established to evaluate evidence pertaining to Newsday's coverage, or lack of coverage, of a series of religious and ethnic slurs in two recent Long Island political campaigns.

#### Anti-Catholic slur

The slurs began Oct. 27, 1981, when Robert J. Mrazek, then minority leader of the Suffolk County Legislature, made the following statement at a legislative session: "Someone suggested that if a certain priest in the Archdiocese of Rockville Centre told certain members of (the Right to Life) party to drink Kool-Aid, that they would drink Kool-Aid." Mrazek's slur-which strongly implied that Catholics are as fanatically subservient to their leaders as were the victims of the Jonestown tragedy-was officially recorded by the County Clerk's office, and Mrazek himself at the time privately acknowledged the offensive nature

## Chapter announces winning essayists

The Catholic League's Brooklyn-Queens Chapter has announced the winners of its junior high essay contest on Tuition Tax Credits and the First Amendment.

Top prize went to John Sondey, an eighth grader at St. Anthony-St. Alphonsus in Greenpoint, who wrote that public financial support should be available to "parents who want their children in parochial schools for the sake of having religious experiences not permitted in public schools."

Second place winner Proculo Arzaga, also an eighth grader at St. Anthony-St. Alphonsus, said there is no reason for discrimination against families who send their children to non-public schools in order to have their faith reinforced. Appreciation of religion, he said, "helps

Catholic League Newsletter is published the Catholic League for Religious and Rights, 1100 W. Wells St., Mil., Wis, 53233	Civil
James Hitchcock Chair	man
Virgil C. Blum, S.J Presid	dent
John Hansen Treas	urer
Ann Brosnan Secre	tary
Orlan Love Director of Publicat	
Annual membership dues: \$15	
Contributions are tax deductible.	

of his remark.

Both the Long Island Chapter and the Knights of Columbus promptly reported Mrazek's slur to Newsday, which said on Oct. 30 that it would not report the incident because such coverage might influence the outcome of the Nov. 3 election.

On the very day before the election, however, Newsday published a halfpage article publicizing the charges of Barbara Blumberg, a candidate for the North Hempstead Town Council, that her opponent had distributed anti-Semitic literature.

Chapter leaders then protested Newsday's apparently two-faced approach to coverage of religious prejudice to the paper's director of communications, Sam Ruinsky, who said he would refer the complaint to all Newsday editors.

#### No improvement

"The implication," said Chapter Vice President Frank Russo, "was that coverage would be fairer in the future." Such, however, was not to be the case.

A year later (Oct. 28 and 29) Newsday published a lengthy article on religious and ethnic slurs and alleged slurs in the U.S. congressional race between challenger Mrazek (the eventual winner) and incumbent John Le Boutillier.

the student to be a better person."

Third prize went to Kerry Hickey, a

seventh grader from St. Francis de

Sales in Belle Harbor. No matter what

opponents of tuition tax credits may say.

she wrote, "People are denied the right

to attend Catholic schools because the

government says it's unconstitutional to

provide tax credits help. Many families

can't afford to follow their choice with-

an eighth grader at St. Fortunata's in

East New York, focused on the quality

of education in private schools in his

essay. Referring to the student-teacher

relationships he observes in his own

school, he wrote: "Teachers care more

about what the kids know. They care

about their lives now and their future.

Kids who realize that know they can get

The winning essayists were honored

at a communion breakfast at Stella

Maris High in Rockaway Beach, where

they heard Msgr. Vincent Breen, super-

intendent of the diocesan office of Catholic

education, describe contributions of lav

leaders to the American Church.

a better education in Catholic schools."

Fourth-place winner Richard Wyatt,

out that help.

According to the League chapter's analysis of that article, Newsday gave "disproportionate coverage" to Mrazek's undocumented allegation that Le Boutillier had engaged in ethnic slurs "and gave meaningless coverage to a confirmed episode of anti-Catholicism by a prominent politician."

#### **Disparate treatment**

Although Newsday devoted about 90 lines to Mrazek's charges (which the chapter later ascentained to be without foundation), it devoted just eight lines to Mrazek's earlier slur, and half of those lines contained Mrazek's denial that the remark had been anti-Catholic. The slur was not quoted, and the story gave readers no basis for judging the anti-Catholic nature of Mrazek's statement.

On Oct. 30, 1982, the Long Island Chapter issued a press release to Newsday detailing the anti-Catholic nature of Mrazek's slur and demonstrating that Mrazek's "ethnic slur" allegations against Le Boutillier were unfounded.

Newsday Editor Anthony Marro agreed that the League report was newsworthy but expressed concern "over the timing"-that is, its nearness to the election.

#### Still no coverage

Russo then reminded Marro that Newsday had published Blumberg's charge of anti-Semitism the day before the election, that the timing in this instance stemmed from Newsday's Oct. 28 and 29 stories, and that publication of the League report would clarify misrepresentations and false allegations of vital interest to Long Island voters. Again, Newsday refused to cover the story, prompting the chapter to conclude in its recently released report:

"Charges of anti-Semitism are reported promptly, and covered fully, as they properly should be (while) charges of anti-Catholicism are not reported at all...or are reported in such a way that the charges appear unsubstantiated or trivial."

The Chapter said it is unclear "whether the difference in treatment is attributable to an insensitivity to the issue of anti-Catholicism... or to a reluctance to publish something potentially harmful to a candidate it has endorsed (Mrazek). What is clear is that the inconsistent coverage cannot be attributed to any lack of awareness of the facts, since these were carefully and completely brought to Newsday's attention in a timely fashion."

### The President's Desk

by Virgil C. Blum, S.J.



## **Catholic voters and the issues**

Some time ago the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights mailed to its members an article by pro-life presidential candidate Ellen McCormack entitled "Abortion Politics: A Catholic Problem." Mrs. McCormack's analysis revealed that virtually all Democrats in the U.S. Congress regularly vote pro-abortion.

This revelation prompted a storm of protest. How could Democrats—most of whom are elected by Catholics concentrated in the big cities—vote to support the killing of unborn children?

I told my inquirers that the answer was not all that complicated. I gave two reasons. First, Catholics have in the past overwhelmingly voted Democratic. Poor immigrant Catholics were welcomed by the Democratic Party, often given jobs, and provided welfare programs.

#### Party loyalty

Catholic loyalty to the Democratic Party continues to this day. Catholics cast more than 75 percent of their votes for Kennedy and Johnson, and they cast nearly 50 percent of their votes for McGovern and Carter who lost in landslide votes to their Republican opponents.

The second and more important reason is that even today most Catholics do not vote on the basis of the economic, social or moral positions of the candidates, but rather on the basis of the religion, ethnicity or party affiliation of the candidates. That is, they do not vote the issues; they vote appearances and allegiances.

#### **Taken for granted**

For this reason, the Democratic Party can and does take Catholics for granted. So, even if Democratic candidates support the killing of unborn children ( a disqualifying political stance), or oppose a fair tax break for private school parents, Catholics will, overwhelmingly, vote for them—notwithstanding that Republican candidates may as strongly support other social programs that are consistent with Catholic moral and social values.

The Democratic Party's understanding of Catholic voting behavior was recently clearly demonstrated in Wisconsin, which is 34 percent Catholic. Although the Wisconsin Democratic Party had adopted planks in convention supporting abortion and abortion funding and opposing tax assistance for private school parents, Catholics gave their overwhelming support at the polls to help elect as governor an Irish Catholic Democratic candidate who is strongly committed to abortion and strongly opposed to tuition tax credits for private school parents.

#### **National politics**

The same Catholic voting behavior occurs at the national level of politics. In a crucial pro-life vote in the Senate in 1982 that lost 47 to 46, of the 26 senators in the 13 states in which Catholics are most heavily concentrated all 15 Democrats voted pro-abortion. In other words, in an area of the country where between 35 to 40 percent of the people are Catholics, all Democratic senators voted to support the killing of unborn children.

In a crucial vote on a tuition tax credit bill in 1978, 43 of 62 Democratic senators voted against giving this minimum assistance to private school parents.

The 13 states in which the Catholic population is concentrated control one-

half of the total electoral votes. Nothing seems to deter the majority of Catholics from voting the Democratic ticket. Not even life and death issues. A 1974 study by the National Opinion Research Center reported that "neither suburbanization nor economic and educational advancement seems to have had much impact on Catholic loyalty to the Democratic Party."

As long as this party loyalty endures, the Democratic Party will persist in rejecting the Catholic agenda, in supporting abortions and abortion funding, and in penalizing Catholic school parents for sending their children to Godcentered schools.

There is, however, evidence that younger Catholics are repudiating the simplistic party loyalty of their parents. A recent Gallup Poll revealed that, while 58 percent of Catholics over 50 years of age identify themselves as Democrats, only 39 percent of Catholics under 30 years of age so identify themselves.

If this trend continues, the Democratic Party will no longer be able to take Catholics for granted: It will have to pay attention to Catholic values and interests, if it is to continue to get the Catholic vote.

### Action Line UIC needs a new chancellor

The University of Illinois at Chicago's sponsorship of an exhibit of explicitly and obscenely anti-Catholic paintings is surely one of the most brazen acts of official anti-Catholicism in recent memory.

Chancellor Donald Langenberg had the power to prevent that exhibit from being invited onto the campus.

Once the exhibit opened and it became apparent that the Catholic community was deeply offended, Chancellor Langenberg had the power to close it.

At a minimum, Chancellor Langenberg had the power to apologize.

But Chancellor Langenberg did not have the honor to do any of these things. Instead, he treated the reasonable and respectful protests of Catholics with contempt, and persisted in committing the full prestige of his institution behind a disgusting display of hatred.

Chancellor Langenberg has insulted the Catholics of Illinois and the nation. He has abused a public trust. He has disgraced the reputation of a state university.

If he had invited the Ku Klux Klan onto campus, under official University sponsorship, to spew its race-hatred, there is no doubt that by now he would be ex-Chancellor Langenberg.

A man who condones and extends formal public approbation to religious bigotry has no place at the head of a state university.

Illinois' Governor James Thompson has the power to remove Chancellor Langenberg from that position.

Write to Governor Thompson and urge him to restore the integrity of his state's university system by replacing Chancellor Langenberg with a more responsible administrator.

It is time Donald Langenberg learned that publicly insulting the Catholic Faith is not acceptable behavior.

Send your letter to:

Hon. James Thompson Governor of Illinois State Capitol Complex Springfield, Illinois 62706