

The Clintons speak of God often, with unusual ease

Bill Clinton is the most Catholic president since John F. Kennedy and the most openly religious since Jimmy Carter. In journals as distinct as *U.S. News & World Report* and the Washington diocese's *Catholic Standard*, Clinton is being credited with making the major media take religion seriously — something televangelists and evangelical presidential candidates, the Moral Majority and its heir, the Christian Coalition, have failed to do.

And Clinton is credited with being increasingly adept at inserting "religious values" into the national social debate. Clinton has accepted, as people such as writer Garry Wills argued in *Under God* and Yale law professor Stephen Carter explored in *The Culture of Disbelief*, that while separating church and state is a good idea, separating religion and society is not.

Since reading Carter's book last August, Clinton has been increasingly thinking aloud on the topic and having informal sessions devoted to the religion-in-society theme. But whose "religious values" does Clinton represent?

He is not where the U.S. Catholic bishops are on abortion. Not where his own Southern Baptists are on gays in the military, and not where his predecessor, Episcopal President George Bush, was on ordaining lesbians. (When, in 1991 the Rev. Elizabeth Carl, a lesbian, was ordained an Episcopal priest, Bush said, "Perhaps I'm old-fashioned, but I'm not quite ready for that.")

Three religious traditions shape Clinton: the Baptist, the Catholic and the Methodist. He was raised Southern Baptist, had two years of Catholic grade school and four years at Jesuit Georgetown. His wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, is a United Methodist. There is a seriousness to the First Lady's Methodism that should not be underestimated. (Methodism was the liberation theology of the Industrial Revolution.)

Clinton's appeal for religious values has to be placed in context, or rather, contexts, some created by his enemies, some by himself. Four areas suggest themselves: the 1990s social ethos, reaching out, Washington politics and Clinton's personal sexual conduct.

1. The 1990s. It might appear at times that the American hysteria over the rapidity of U.S. social disintegration is so high pitched only a dog — or a politician — could hear it. But the entire country seems headed for a nervous breakdown induced by the nightmares that are the daily news.

During the Vietnam War, the apex of opposition was reached — and change demanded — when practically everyone knew a family or was in a family that had lost a son. Today, virtually every American knows a family where a member has AIDS or is HIV-positive, or where a member has lost a job due to recession or the new corporate job butchery, "downsizing," or where a member has been mugged, raped or murdered.

None of this can be escaped, none of it minimized. The nation therefore is crying out for hope. Religion is hope. A president is hope — until proven otherwise.

2. Religious-values outreach. President Clinton has struck a responsive chord on religious values based on his

own intellectual curiosity and religious intuitions and beliefs. Clinton understood when Stephen Carter, writing about "The rise (again) of the Christian Right," stated: "Secular liberals have rarely appreciated and have never seemed sympathetic to what Falwell instinctively understood: the powerful sense of an America spinning out of control in ways that are, for many religious people, profoundly threatening."

he, like his predecessors, has taken to inviting members of various religious groups to the White House. After Clinton's meeting with religious representatives that included Catholic women religious, one, Sr. Maureen Fielder, stated: "This administration is not afraid of strong, intelligent women."

After another, his December meeting with a handful of religious journalists, it could be said the administration is not afraid of Catholic social

who attended that meeting. James Wall in the mainline *Christian Century* wrote: "While we must be somewhat skeptical of all political speech, we should still notice the new phenomenon inside the Washington Beltway: Bill and Hillary Clinton speak of God with great frequency and with unusual ease."

Larry Chesser of the Southern Baptist News Service wrote: "President Clinton says participation in the political process by people of faith does not improperly mix church and state. He's correct. The president is providing a fresh emphasis."

3. Washington politics. Clinton is experiencing what any president can expect after replacing a party that had held the White House for 12 years. Republicans, or rather conservatives and right-wingers, are aghast, appalled, at the way the White House back doors were held open for Clinton by Bush and Perot.

Conservatives are howling over big government getting bigger. They know — as E.J. Dionne smartly pointed out in the *Washington Post* — that if Clinton gets his health plan through, he will have as permanently reshaped American society as FDR did with Social Security. Clinton is also caught in Washington's normal throat-slitting politics. In the 1980s, for example, the "outs" unmercifully battered Ronald Reagan's Supreme Court nominee Robert Bork; the 1993 "outs" ran Clinton's nominee to head civil rights at the Justice Department, Lani Guinier, through the throat-slitter at high speed. All this is standard Washington fare. (Questions and answers on the Whitewater affair and Clinton relationships to failed Arkansas S&Ls are still being formulated.)

Meanwhile, if conservative columnists and liberal cartoonists are Bill- and Hillary-bashing, well, that's how they earn their daily bread.

Politically, with the health plan, Clinton has found a battle worth fighting. He seems to believe there's only enough money and, perhaps, congressional votes, to do one thing at a time. The health plan is that one thing. Much else may be on hold. On health care, too, he has the backing of people whose religious values begin with the poor (even if some of them flinch at his including abortion services).

4. Clinton's personal moral conduct. This truly is a religious values matter, and it would be irresponsible not to bring it into this discussion. The Moonie-owned *Washington Times* has dubbed this era "Fornigate." Arkansas state troopers seek to enter the "pander-philander" book business. Whatever the facts, the issue is real, serious and relevant. Those encouraged by the religious-values debate know this topic must be faced.

So who can Americans turn to for guidance in this last matter? One answer may well be Hillary Clinton. Her sense of what is important and what her husband's behavior means will provide the lead for most Americans. Given the almost desperate need to keep on hoping, it seems likely that most Americans — whatever is written or revealed — will respond as she responds.

On this, her values will become theirs. ■



This country dotes on God. No admitted atheist or agnostic has ever been elected president and all presidents use God as an ally. McKinley did to explain his decision to have America keep the Philippines ("to uplift, civilize and Christianize them"). Reagan wound up many a speech with variations on "Good night, and God Bless the United States of America." Bush had Billy Graham in to pray over the Gulf War ("We must fight for peace," said Graham). It was a war that presiding Episcopal Bishop Edmond L. Browning was urging Bush not to engage in ("Give sanctions a chance").

So Bill Clinton, too, wants God in the Oval Office. As a near substitute,

teaching, either. Clinton said he was much influenced by it; the Clintons quoted the Catholic bishops on families in their White House Christmas message. Is it all just image-building?

Of equal influence at these informal religious values White House meetings is the relaxed seminarlike tone. The intellectual component within Clinton's outreach ought not be discounted, for it cuts across partisan and ideological and religious lines.

Is the easy give-and-take also politics as usual, playing to the old audience in new ways? Slick Willy as the Rev. Bill? Possibly not. Quoting two journalists doesn't make anything true, but here are the observations of two from opposite ideological poles

February 1, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

FROM: Melanne Verveer, Anne Bartley, Nicole Rabner

RE: Remarks at the National Leadership Luncheon

We have attached the following materials for your review:

TAB A:

- the event memo

TAB B:

- background
- suggested remarks

TAB C:

- Remarks suggested by James Wall, editor, "Christian Century," and James Dunn, Joint Bishop Office
- your 4/7/93 speech at the University of Texas, Austin
- Peter Steinfels's 5/29/93 NYT "Beliefs" column, "Hillary Rodham Clinton talks about moral values, just like millions of Americans"
- President Clinton's Remarks at the 1993 National Prayer Breakfast
- President Eisenhower's Remarks at the 1st annual National Prayer Breakfast, 1953
- Norman Lear's remarks to the National Press Club, 12/6/93
- 1/31/94 Washington Times article "Religious broadcasters convene, snub Clinton"

NATIONAL LEADERSHIP LUNCHEON

DATE: February 3, 1994
LOCATION: The Washington Hilton
TIME: 12:45 p.m.
FROM: Melanne Vermeer, Anne Bartley,
Nicole Rabner

I. PURPOSE

To address participants of the National Prayer Breakfast at its annual luncheon.

II. BACKGROUND

The National Leadership Luncheon is one of a series of events connected to the National Prayer Breakfast.

The National Prayer Breakfast is sponsored by Congress and dates back to the Eisenhower administration. It is an ecumenical gathering begun by a Senate prayer group 41 years ago. The purpose of the gathering is, in part, to recognize the loneliness of the presidency and to invite the president to join with others in fellowship to reflect on the importance of faith. This year marks the 42nd annual prayer breakfast.

Over 3,000 participants from around the world and the 50 states convene for the National Prayer Breakfast. The events commence at regional dinners on Wednesday night, February 3rd, and end at an inclusive dinner Thursday evening. Following the breakfast on Thursday, the participants break up into smaller groups by geography for seminars to discuss faith and values. Approximately 2,500 will re-convene at the annual luncheon, where you will be the keynote speaker.

II. PARTICIPANTS

Traditionally, the National Prayer breakfast brings together 3500 participants from 150 countries and all 50 states.

At the afternoon luncheon there will be approximately 2,500 people present. There will be less officials than at the breakfast; the audience will be comprised largely of laypeople and clergy. The participants will be for the most part conservative and Republican.

Chuck Colson and James Dobson will be there.

IV. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- You will be met curbside by Linda Lader.
- Inside you will be met by Susan Baker, Congressman Tony Hall, Dr. Richard Halverson, and Dr. J. Phillip Wogaman.
- Proceed to the head table
- Opening remarks by Congressman Hall, who will moderate
- Opening prayer by Dr. Phillip Wogaman, Senior Minister at the United Methodist Church
- Lunch will be served
- Song performed by Miss Karen Dudley
- Introduction and Prayer by Susan Baker

- You will deliver the keynote address
[Approximately 30 minutes]

- Dr. Richard Halverson, Chaplain of the U.S. Senate, will make the closing prayer

NOTE: Congressman Tony Hall (D-OH) was recently in the hospital because of a torn neck ligament suffered in an ice fall.

V. PRESS PLAN

Closed press.

VI. REMARKS

See attached.

Context for the Audience

- Your remarks are an opportunity to correct misperceptions about yourself that may have been the result of distortions in the media.
- You can show yourself for the truly religious person you are.
- You can shatter misperception by talking as:
 - a woman whose religion has shaped her life
 - a woman whose family is central to her life
 - a woman whose religion helps her cope in the face of adversity and trial
 - a woman who is deeply concerned about others and acts from this caring.

Background to the Issue of Religious Involvement and Values

- On April 7, 1993, you spoke at the University of Texas, Austin. That speech caught the attention of the media and of citizens across the country. The vast majority of the media overanalyzed and overinterpreted your comments in the Austin speech as well as in subsequent interviews.
- Following are:
 1. Themes from your speech at Austin, Texas
 2. Articles that distorted your remarks
 3. Quotations from Peter Steinfels' NYT article which put your comments in proper perspective.

1. Themes from your speech at Austin, Texas (see speech in Tab C)

- The United States, despite its wealth, is feeling undercurrents of discontent "and a collapse of community of which urban violence and teenage self-destruction are only the most dramatic symptoms."
- We must "address the lack, at some core level, of meaning in our individual lives and meaning collectively. We are experiencing "a crisis of meaning." We need "to speak to this spiritual vacuum at the heart of American society, this tumor of the soul ... what society is missing is a little heart, a lot of brotherhood."
- National renewal cannot be found simply by introducing government programs or relying on the marketplace. Rather, it would require "an ethos of individual responsibility and caring," a society that "makes us feel that we are a part of something bigger than ourselves" and the reinvigoration of "intermediary institutions" like families, local communities, and volunteer groups.

- "There is no debate -- or should be no debate -- that our family structure is in trouble" or that "our children need the stability, the predictability, of a family."

2. Overreaction from the Media

- One Washington pundit said, in a conversation with Anne Bartley, that only the elites on both coasts are concerned with such questions as the crisis of meaning. The average American knows what his/her values are and doesn't have to question.
- From Michael Kelly's NYT 5/23/93 "Saint Hillary" article:
"Awkward questions arise: If it is necessary to remake society, why should Hillary Rodham Clinton get the job? Can someone who helped lead the very generation that threw out the old ways of moral absolutes and societal standards now lead the charge back to the future?"

..."It is easy for social conservatives, who have been writing and debating for years about the moral values Mrs. Clinton is now addressing, to speak bluntly ... Conservatism is purposely, explicitly judgmental. But liberalism, as defined by Mrs. Clinton's generation and those who came after, has increasingly moved away from the entire concept of judgment and embraced instead the expansion of rights and the tolerance of diversity.

"Returning to moral judgment as a basis for governmental policy must inevitably mean curtailing what have come to be regarded as sacrosanct rights and admitting a limit to tolerance. And that will bring the politics of meaning hard against the meaning of politics."

3. Peter Steinfels 5/29/94 NYT "Beliefs" column entitled "Hillary Rodham Clinton talks about moral values, just like millions of Americans."

(see Tab C for article)

- "The media have blinked with astonishment, if not consternation. 'She sounded as if she's discovered spiritual truths that eluded Buddha and Jesus,' sniffed one columnist. Incoherent and didactic, sniffed others.
- "Seldom has a national figure stirred so much wonder and speculation in the news media by saying things that most of the American public consider unremarkable."
- "In her Austin speech, Mrs. Clinton praised her father's insistence that compassion for wrongdoers is not incompatible with firm standards of right and wrong."

- "[The press is demonstrating] no "familiarity with the weekly exhortations from a million American pulpits, exhortations about caring, searching for meaning, applying old values to new problems, transforming society, etc. Mrs. Clinton' talk of spirituality and moral values fits comfortably in this genre. It makes her neither incoherent nor an Orwellian Big Sister with New Age accessories."
- "Mrs. Clinton's soundest critics are not those who reflexively recoil at her talk about a spiritual vacuum and an ethos of individual responsibility and caring, but those who fear that it is only talk."

Suggested Themes for Your Remarks

(see 1st two pieces in Tab C -- suggested remarks for you written by Jim Wall and James Dunn)

Personal Anecdotes

- Through anecdotes, talk about your personal religious development:
 - within the United Methodist tradition
 - through your youth groups in Chicago
 - along with your intellectual development at Wellesley and Yale
 - within the Southern Baptist tradition of the President and in Arkansas
 - in D.C. as the First Family continuing to attend church
 - through church events and activities.
- Reflect on lessons you've learned from this past year as First Lady.
- Emphasize the importance of relationships -- with your husband, daughter, parents.
- Underscore the importance of faith for keeping the priorities of home and hearth in place.

Respect

- Underscore the fundamental importance of respecting one another. While we may never agree on politics or on policy, there are times when we can and should work together.
- But, where we cannot find common ground, let us at least agree to respect one another and be tolerant of each other's views -- without undermining our common heritage and the spiritual values that bind us together.
- Civility and authenticity in conversation are essential in a democracy. To be civil to others we must respect differences. To be authentic to ourselves, we must respect our own tradition, and make our own witness whenever and wherever we can.
- Set aside with me the goals of greet and personal privilege and let's try the noble experiment suggested so long ago: "Do unto others as you would that they would do unto you."
- Stress the importance of diversity.

Value of Religious Experience

- Stress that it is sad that people are often scared to talk about the importance of religious experience, and that there is no public forum for reflective dialogue.
- Religious faith often is the starting point for the realization that we have responsibilities beyond ourselves. Religious involvement is often the springboard to volunteerism and is at the root of the strength of our communities
- Churches are important vehicles for neighbor to help neighbor. Many churches play a vital role in the daily life of the community with programs for the homeless, the elderly, students, troubled women and children, etc. **However, they, like religion, have become marginalized in our society.**
- Faith must find action in this world. Our religious beliefs force us out of our comfortable, private lives to make a difference in the world through individual acts of charity, through our churches and synagogues, through business, non-profit organizations, and, yes, through government.
- But, as someone once said, "there is not a straight line from the Bible to the ballot box." People of good faith, believing in the same God and reading the same scripture, can and do disagree on who and what to vote for. I'm sure many of you disagree with me -- here and there (to be said tongue in cheek).

From James Dunn

January 25, 1994

Melanne Verveer
Office of the First Lady
Rm 100
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20500

•As Gary Willis in his book Under God, Bill Moyers and others have pointed out, the secular media -- including their craftsmen, reporters and editors -- have little understanding of religion.

•Hear my appeals for meaning and serious individual dedication to values; values based on the biblical principle of love for one's neighbors.

•One of the great chasms between right and left is their respective views on the role of government.

•Some want less government, others choose to use the state as an instrument of good.

•A more important question is "what will you and I do as individuals?" As people of faith we can not avoid the personal responsibility to look at society with a critical eye, redeem our culture, bridge the gaps.

•If we, those of us who take religious revelation seriously, fail to do our part, fail to muster what Martin Luther King Jr. called the "courage to love," no amount of government can build the bridge over troubled waters, no program can bring us back together again.

•The facts are: noble, well-intended programs have failed we as individuals have failed, the institutions of society, even the the home and the church have fallen short.

•We may have conquered measles but now violence kills more children than measles ever did.

•How we help the "least of these," the hurting and homeless, constitutes the challenge of welfare reform. Long term solutions have evaded us for a long time. We are all now seriously addressing the issue. Nothing short of constructive, conciliatory cooperation will produce the result we all seek.

•Help build community around our shared values.

•Let's search for the common goals and work for the common good.

•Justice William O. Douglas once observed that we Americans "are a religious people whose institutions presuppose a Supreme Being." He was right.

•Religion has flourished because the wise architects of our republic separated church and state and ensured freedom of conscience in the Bill of Rights. Still, I'm sure even they would be astonished to see the vigor of our piety and variegated contours of our religious landscape.

•But the separation of church and state does not require the divorcement of religion from politics, or keep religious ethics from influencing legislation.

•Precisely because we are as a people so thoroughly imbued with religious conviction we naturally and inevitably express those values in the market place of public policy.

•The very idea that all persons are made in God's image is a belief peculiar to the 3 great "religions of the book" Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

•Without that belief that all people are valuable because everyone is made in the image of God, the American experiment would never have taken place.

•Rodney King asked the right question: "can't we all just get along?" The answer is yes, but only in an atmosphere of love, a climate of mutual respect and an aggressive crusade for non-violence.

•We all want to do what the scriptures teach: "to do justice, to love mercy, to walk humbly with God." (Micah 6:8)

•Can we all envision "justice rolling down like water, and righteousness like an everflowing stream?" (Amos 5:24)

•We are all eager to be "salt of the earth" and a "light unto the world." (Matt. 15:13-14)

•Our religious beliefs force us out of our comfortable, private lives to make a difference in the world through individual acts of charity, through our churches and synagogues, through business, non-profit organizations, and, yes, through government.

•But, as someone once said, "there is not a straight line from the Bible to the ballot box." People of good faith, believing in the same God and reading the same scripture, can and do disagree on who and what to vote for. I'm sure many of you disagree with me -- here and there. (To be said with tongue in cheek.)

•Domestic disarmament now becomes a high priority since we have experienced an international arms reduction. The nations have begun to lay down their arms now its time to see to it that gangs in our cities are disarmed.

•Solid families come in many different configurations. We must

all affirm and support the qualities essential to our living together.

- The values of compassion, truth telling, non-violence, fairness, love for neighbor, peacemaking , faith in the future, freedom of conscience, hope and respect for others are not optional. These attributes are essential to any civilized society. No amount of law can make us good. No coercion can shape character. No government regulations can produce integrity. That is a job for every parent, every church, every ~~CEO~~, every elected official, even every person in our country.

- Every church has the challenge and duty to instill these values in our culture.

- We must never allow our disagreements to blind us to what binds us. Let us disagree when we must, but strive together when we can -- to build a more just, compassionate, and, yes, Godly land.

- The recent passage of the Religious Freedom Restoration Act is a good example of this. Sixty-eight vastly different religious and civil liberties groups worked side-by-side for 3 years to pass this all-important legislation to protect our religious liberty. The President was delighted to sign it into law last November. Groups as diverse as protestants and Catholics, Jews and Muslims, Latter Day Saints and Seventh-Day Adventists, the National Council of Churches and the National Association of Evangelicals

- even the American Civil Liberties Union and Concerned Women for America all put aside their deep political and theological disagreements to work for something that transcended their differences -- religious liberty for everyone.

•But, where we cannot find mutual ground let us at least agree to respect one another and be tolerant of each other's views - without undermining our common heritage and the spiritual values that bind us together.

•Set aside with me the goals of greed and personal privilege and let's try the noble experiments suggested so long ago" "Do unto others as you would that they would do unto you."

•"Love your neighbor as you love yourself."

Fax Transmittal Cover Sheet

To: Attention: Melanne Verveer, - Office of Hillary Clinton

From: James M. Wall, Christian Century

Fax Number: 312-427-1302

Date: Tue, Jan 25, 1994 • 2:04 PM

Transmitting (8) pages, including cover sheet.

If there is difficulty with this transmission, please call: 312-427-5380

FAX

To: Melanne Vermeer, office of the First Lady
From: Jim Wall, Christian Century
Date: January 25, 1994
Re: Prayer luncheon talk

What follows are some general points with some suggested language that the First Lady might consider using. As I indicated in our conversation, I spoke on this topic in Georgia recently to the state council of churches. Some of these thoughts were used there. I have shifted the language however, to apply to the First Lady speaking out of a religious tradition to a pluralistic nation.

I have also quoted from Vice President Gore's Richmond talk. I don't know how the First Lady feels about citing other administration sources. She may prefer to make her presentation uniquely her own; or she might like the idea of a united front from the administration in dealing with this topic.

One way to begin her talk would be to testify to her own life's story. This should be an audience that would resonate to what would be essentially a "witness" of a journey. She could speak of her own personal religious development within the United Methodist tradition, as well as subsequent influences from the Southern Baptist tradition she encountered in Little Rock. And, depending on what she wants to reveal about her own faith, she might want to refer to the First Family's church attendance, first in Little

Rock and now in Washington, along these lines: "As a family we benefit from the sense of community and strengthened relationship to God that we experience in attending church. Even though it is often difficult to appear in public without attracting attention, we feel it is important for us to do so."

When I interviewed the President December 17, I asked him about the influence of the Catholic tradition he encountered in college. He spoke of the emphasis on social justice, the importance of intellectual discipline and the significance of repentance and forgiveness.

The First Lady would have her own personal experiences, which could include references to intellectual development of her faith in college, meshing tradition with activism. I also think references, where they apply, might be made to such matters as faith sustaining one in time of personal loss, i.e., the death of a parent; the challenge of raising a child, and the need to be respectful of diversity even as they holds to her personal faith.

With this in mind, I suggest that a theme to follow would be to acknowledge the importance of honoring diversity in a society with many faith traditions and no faith tradition (secularity), and contrast that with the challenge of personally exercising leadership in society while remaining faithful to her religious tradition.

To accomplish this, I would begin by noting that the perspective from which we view reality shapes that reality.

(We now shift to her own language)

If we have a religious faith, we view reality from the

perspective of that faith. This is what Paul Tillich meant by his assertion that the Christian stands within the "circle of faith". It is from within that circle that as a Christian I am called to view existence. The fundamental problem, however, for those of us in public life who respect diversity but who also have a strong personal faith is that we are too often tempted to to honor diversity by denying our own faith. Instead of finding our guiding perspective from the scripture, tradition and experience of our particular tradition, we too often confront diversity by yielding the arena to what Houston Smith has termed, the modern western mindset (MWMS).

[The First Lady needs to be cautious at this point, for nothing frightens elites as much as the possibility that their "religion" of no-religion is under attack. I believe that is what disturbed guardians of the MWMS like the New Republic when the First Lady spoke of the "politics of meaning". Not wanting to admit the secular bias of their perspective, the MWMSers fall back on making light of any reference to ultimacy. The perspective of the secular elite is that any public expression of religious faith is "moralistic", a term that carries the pejorative assumption of the imposition of one's beliefs on others.

The secular elites find it much easier to attack the "politics of meaning" than to attack a particular religious tradition, because the "politics of meaning" has no identifiable constituency, while specific religious traditions do have constituencies. And "moralism" is an easy target because it implies rigid imposition, while the

term "values" has a more neutral tone because not even the secular elites would deny that we "share" values in a diverse society.]

But, to continue. . .

Since the Enlightenment, the dominant mindset of western society has treated reality as a body of data available to us only through our human senses. The awesome reality of God does not compute in a secular world that demands tangible proof for all that is. It becomes easier to accept this neutered notion of no-faith since it is the dominant mindset of society. The result of this capitulation to secularity is that we soft-pedal our own beliefs and enter the public debate on values with little passion and commitment to offer in the conversation. We yield the stage of public conversation and leadership to no faith, thereby accepting secularity as the perspective with which we function.

Consider the experience of a young man portrayed in a film made some years ago by Australian Director Peter Weir, The Last Wave. The young man encounters a group of Aborigines, who introduce him to some of the aspects of their religion. In so doing, they share with him the deep sense of mystery that permeates their faith. The young man goes to see his father, a minister, and says to him, "Dad, why didn't you ever show me this mystery." To which his father replies, "I did; I preached about mystery every Sunday." His son slams his hand on the table, stands up and responds: "No Dad, you explained it away."

In a time when many of our classrooms have become armed camps, when children walk to school through streets of fear, when greed and glory are held up as national goals, our schools feel that the most they can say about values is to "clarify" them. Ours is a

pluralistic nation with a great diversity in religious traditions, but we also have a tradition of civil conversation about our core values. This means we must be willing to speak openly about values, which in our pluralistic society are derived largely from the rich variety of our religious traditions.

Speaking recently on the theme of religious freedom in Richmond, Virginia, Vice President Al Gore addressed the issue of modern anti-religious attitudes that drive religion from public life (source, *Richmond Times Dispatch*, January 15, 1994). Thomas Jefferson, Gore said, 'was adamantly opposed to the forced imposition of a particular form of religious faith. But this tolerant man of the 18th and 19th centuries would have been surprised that 200 years into this experiment in democracy we would experience a subtle form of intimidation against those who speak in the public arena out of a faith tradition.'

Gore added: "The intimidation is not just against the use of the traditional faith language, but against any suggestion that our various religious traditions have something to say about the importance of core value systems shaping how we live together as a people. The answer does not lie in promoting any single faith tradition, but in our willingness to speak frankly of our belief in agreed upon values that, among other principles, honors honesty, rewards discipline, advocates truth-telling, and believes that responsibility means responding to the needs of others."

During a recent press briefing attended by nine religious journalists, in the White House (December 17), President Clinton paid the nation's religious communities a high complement, and at the same time, laid on them a heavy responsibility when he said, "In our inner cities, suburbs and rural communities, the local

church [mosque and synagogue] may be the last place available to our young people trying to find alternatives to gangs and drugs."

The irony of our history, as I believe Reinhold Niebuhur was so eager to remind us, is that while we live in a secular culture driven by secular values and goals, we are nevertheless a people who want to celebrate religious traditions and reach out for a meaning to life that transcends secularity.

The American secular elites do not believe this, which is the point that Stephen Carter makes in his book, *The Culture of Disbelief*, a book, by the way, promoted with considerable enthusiasm by President Bill Clinton. Carter's effective metaphor is that in our society religion is seen as a "hobby", sort of a model train escape on the weekends when the real business of life is put aside. (I also like University of Chicago theologian David Tracy's metaphor, which makes the same point: to our modern elites, religion is something which should be confined to a "sacred reservation", driven there by a mindset which wants religious faith out of sight.)

The challenge for those of us who are religious and who have public responsibilities in a diverse and pluralistic culture is to speak boldly in the language of core values derived from the rich traditions of our culture. But as we enter that conversation we should feel free to acknowledging the source of our own value system and the importance of the spiritual tradition that motivates us.

Our American tradition of tolerance has two important ingredients: we should not use a particular religion to impose on society a particular political solution; but, at the same time, we should be free to confront political problems and enter into civil

political conversation from the base line of our personal faith. The richness of our various religious traditions must not be excluded from our public dialogue.

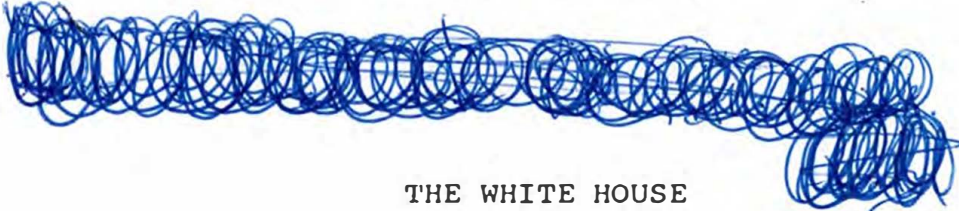
Civility and authenticity in conversation are essential in a democracy. To be civil to others we must respect differences. To be authentic to ourselves, we must respect our own tradition, and make our own witness whenever and wherever we can.

end of suggested presentation for the First Lady

from Jim Wall, Chicago

Voice: 1-312-427-5380

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 7, 1993

REMARKS OF THE FIRST LADY
AT LIZ CARPENTER'S LECTURESHIP SERIES

University of Texas
Austin, Texas

3:00 P.M. CDT

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you so much. I am reminded, in following Anne Richards, of that old story of the fellow who died in one of the early Arkansas floods and makes his way to heaven and is met at the gates. And St. Peter says, "Well, you're just in time for our monthly seminar. What do you want to talk about?" The man said, "I want to talk about the most important experience that I have ever encountered. I want to talk about what it is like to be in a flood. I feel like I can make a real contribution to that dialogue." St. Peter says, "Fine. You'll go on after Noah." (Laughter.) So, here we are after Noah. (Applause.)

You know, it is not a common experience for me to be in any Texas athletic facility and feel good about it -- (applause) -- but I must say that now that we're no longer in the same conferences, my state and yours, that I am honored to be -- (laughter) -- in the arena where the Lady Longhorns play. (Applause.) And I also have to say -- and I hope that you feel the same way I did -- I was mighty proud of Texas Tech, too. I thought that was a great victory. (Applause.)

You know, when Liz Carpenter asked me to come speak at her little seminar -- (laughter) -- it was one of those conversations that you have with Liz -- those of us who are lucky enough to know her and call her a friend -- where her enthusiasm just kind of takes over. She said, I'm going to have some of my friends in, we're going to do this lecture. You know, it will be fun. I'll get Anne to come over and Mrs. Johnson will come over, and we'll just have a good old time.

And I had this sort of mental image of being over in one of the small rooms at the LBJ School and sitting with a bunch of my friends, maybe with some students around a table. And then I just

MORE

put it out of my mind. And over the last two weeks, as Liz knows, it's been kind of touch-and-go for me whether I thought I could be here, and I told Liz that I would certainly try. And when it became clearer that I could, I renewed contact with the people who were helping her put this on and was then told that there were going to be thousands, maybe 14,000 people at this event.

And my first response was no, no, no, you must have read it wrong, there's an extra zero in there somewhere. But my second was why would I doubt Liz Carpenter on anything? If she's going to put on a lectureship that's like Anne says, it's going to be a big one and besides it's in Texas. So what do we expect? And I'm just pleased to be part of it. (Applause.)

I also want to say a special word of appreciation to Mrs. Johnson. You know, there is that wonderful old saying about you never quite know what it's like until you've walked in another person's moccasins. Well, I don't know if you've ever worn moccasins, Mrs. Johnson, but I'm getting a sense of what it is like to try to walk in the footsteps of you and the other women who have been in the position that I now find myself in. And every day that goes by, I am more impressed by the kind of qualities that you and other women in this position have brought to taking care of your personal business on behalf of your family and your husband, and also trying to make your contribution to the country. And all of us in this arena are grateful for the grace and beauty by which you carried out both of those functions and as a wonderful example, not just for me, but for all of us. And I very much wanted to say that to you publicly. (Applause.)

You know, after you hear what I have to say, you'll think that Governor Richards and I not only coordinated outfits but coordinated comments. And I suppose the only thing left for me is to get a hair-do like that. (Laughter.) You know, I'm actually due for a new one and I figure that if we ever want to get Bosnia off the front page, all I have to do is either put on a headband or change my hair and we'll be occupied with something else. (Laughter and applause.)

But what Anne Richards talked about is what I want to expand on in my remarks leading into the panel discussion with all of these distinguished panelists and with questions from many of you that I understand were submitted. Because the problems that she alluded to are not just American problems, they are not just governmental problems. We are at a stage in history, I would suggest, in which remolding society certainly in the West is one of the great challenges facing all of us as individuals and as citizens.

MORE

And we have to begin realistically to take stock of where we are, stripping perhaps away the romanticism that Governor Richards referred to, to be able to understand where we are in history at this point and what our real challenges happen to be.

And I say that it is not just an American problem because if one looks around the Western world, if one looks at Europe, if one looks at the emerging democracies, at Asia, if one looks certainly here in North America, you can see the rumblings of discontent, almost regardless of political systems, as we come face to face with the problems that the modern age has dealt us.

And if we take a step back and ask ourselves, why is it in a country as economically wealthy as we are despite our economic problems, in a country that is the longest surviving democracy, there is this undercurrent of discontent -- this sense that somehow economic growth and prosperity, political democracy and freedom are not enough -- that we lack at some core level meaning in our individual lives and meaning collectively -- that sense that our lives are part of some greater effort, that we are connected to one another, that community means that we have a place where we belong no matter who we are. And it isn't very far below the surface because we can see popping through the surface the signs of alienation and despair and hopelessness that are all too common and cannot be ignored. They're in our living rooms at night on the news. They're on the front pages; they are in all of our neighborhoods.

On the plane coming down I read a phrase in an article in the newspaper this morning talking about how desperate conditions are in so many of our cities that are filled with hopeless girls with babies and angry boys with guns. And yet, it is not just the most violent and the most alienated that we can look to. The discontent of which I speak is broader than that, deeper than that. We are, I think, in a crisis of meaning. What do our governmental institutions mean? What do our lives in today's world mean? What does this economic global event that Governor Richards spoke of mean? What do all of our institutions mean? What does it mean to be educated? What does it mean to be a journalist? What does it mean in today's world to pursue not only vocations, to be part of institutions, but to be human?

And, certainly, coming off the last year when the ethos of selfishness and greed were given places of honor never before accorded, it is certainly timely to ask ourselves these questions. (Applause.)

One of the clearest and most poignant posings of this question that I have run across was the one provided by Lee Atwater as he lay dying. For those of you who may not know, Lee Atwater was

MORE

credited with being the architect of the Republican victories of the '70s and the '80s. The vaunted campaign manager of Reagan and Bush. The man who knew how to fight bare-knuckled in the political arena, who was willing to engage in any tactics so long as it worked and he wasn't caught at it.

And yet, when Lee Atwater was struck down with cancer, he said something which was reprinted in Life Magazine, which I cut out and carry with me in a little book I have of sayings and Scriptures that I find important and that replenish me from time to time that I want to share with you.

He said the following: "Long before I was struck with cancer, I felt something stirring in American society. It was a sense among the people of the country, Republicans and Democrats alike, that something was missing from their lives, something crucial. I was trying to position the Republican Party to take advantage of it. But I wasn't exactly sure what it was. My illness helped me to see that what was missing in society is what was missing in me. A little heart, a lot of brotherhood.

The '80s were about acquiring -- acquiring wealth, power prestige. I know. I acquired more wealth, power, and prestige than most. But you can acquire all you want and still feel empty. What power wouldn't I trade for a little more time with my family? What price wouldn't I pay for an evening with friends? It took a deadly illness to put me eye-to-eye with that truth, but it is a truth that the country, caught up in its ruthless ambitions and moral decay, can learn on my dime.

I don't know who will lead us through the '90s, but they must be made to speak to this spiritual vacuum at the heart of American society, this tumor of the soul."

That to me will be Lee Atwater's real lasting legacy, not the elections that he helped to win. (Applause.)

But I think the answer to his question -- "who will lead us out of this spiritual vacuum" -- the answer is all of us. Because remolding society does not depend on just changing government, on just reinventing our institutions to be more in tune with present realities. It requires each of us to play our part in redefining what our lives are and what they should be.

We are caught between two great political forces. On the one hand we have our economy -- the market economy -- which knows the price of everything, but the value of nothing. That is not its job. And then the state or government which attempts to use its means of acquiring tax money, of making decisions to assist us in

MORE

becoming a better, more equitable society as it defines it. That is what all societies are currently caught between -- forces that are more complex and bigger than any of us can understand. And missing in that equation, as we have political and ideological struggles between those who think market economics are the answer to everything, those who think government programs are the answer to everything, is the recognition among all of us that neither of those is an adequate explanation for the challenges confronting us.

And what we each must do is to break through the old thinking that has for too long captured us politically and institutionally, so that we can begin to devise new ways of thinking about not only what it means to have governments that work again, not only what it means to have economies that don't discard people like they were excess baggage that we no longer need, but to define our institutional and personal responsibilities in ways that answer this lack of meaning.

We need a new politics of meaning. We need a new ethos of individual responsibility and caring. We need a new definition of civil society which answers the unanswerable questions posed by both the market forces and the governmental ones, as to how we can have a society that fills us up again and makes us feel that we are part of something bigger than ourselves.

Now, will it be easy to do that? Of course not. Because we are breaking new ground. This is a trend that has been developing over hundreds of years. It is not something that just happened to us in the last decade or two. And so it is not going to be easy to redefine who we are as human beings in this post-modern age. Nor will it be easy to figure out how to make our institutions more responsive to the kind of human beings we wish to be.

But part of the great challenge of living is defining yourself in your moment, of seizing the opportunities that you are given, and of making the very best choices you can. That is what this administration, this President, and those of us who are hoping for these changes are attempting to do.

I used to wonder during the election when my husband would attempt to explain how so many of the problems that we were confronting were not easy Democratic-Republican-liberal-conservative problems. They were problems that shared different characteristics, that we had to not only define clearly, but search for new ways of confronting.

Then someone would say, well, you know, he can't make up his mind, or he doesn't know what he wants to say about that. When instead what I was hearing and what we had been struggling with for

MORE

years is how does one define these new issues. How do we begin to inject some meaning? How do we take old values and apply them to these new -- for many of us -- undreamed of problems that we now confront? And that is what all of us must be engaged in in our own lives, at every level, in every institution with which we interact.

Let me just give you some examples. If we believe that the reconstruction of civil society with its institutions of family, friendship networks, communities, voluntary organizations, are really the glue of what holds us together; if we go back and read de Toqueville and notice how he talked over and over again about the unique characteristics that he found among Americans and rooted so many of those in that kind of intermediary institution of civil society that I just mentioned, then we know we have to better understand what we can do to strengthen those institutions, to understand how they have changed over time, and to try to find meaning in them as they currently are.

That's why the debate over family values over the last year, which was devised for political purposes, seemed so off-point. There is no -- or should be no debates that our family structure is in trouble. There should be no debate that children need the stability, the predictability of a family. But there should be debate over how we best make sure that children and families flourish. And once that debate is carried out on honest terms, then we have to recognize that either the old idea that only parental influence and parental values matters, or the nearly as old idea that only state programmatic intervention matters are both equally fallacious.

Instead we ought to recognize what should be a common-sense truth -- that children are the result of both the values of their parents and the values of the society in which they live. And that you can have an important debate over how best to make sure parental values are the ones that will help children grow and be strengthened, and how social values equally must be recognized for the role they play in how children feel about themselves and act in the world. And then we can begin to have what should be a sensible conversation about how to strengthen both. That's the kind of approach that has to get beyond the dogma of right or left, conservative or liberal. Those views are inadequate to the problems we see.

Any of you who have ever been in an inner city, working with young people as I have over the years, will know as I do the heroic stories of parents and grandparents who, against overwhelming odds, fight to keep their children safe -- just physically safe; and who hold high expectations for those children; whose values I would put up against any other person in the country, but who has no

MORE

control over the day-to-day violence and influence that comes flooding in the doors of that housing project apartment; and who need a society that is more supportive of their value than the one they currently have. (Applause.)

Equally, all of us know the contrary story of families with enough economic means, affluent enough to live in neighborhoods that are as safe as they can be in our country today, so they have the social value structure of what we would hope that each child in America could have in terms of just basic kinds of fundamental safety and physical well-being, but whose parental values are not ones to promote a childhood that is a positive one, giving children the chance to grow up to achieve their own God-given potential. So that the presence of values of society are not enough, either.

There are so many examples of how we have to think differently and how we have to go beyond not only the traditions of the past, but unfortunately for many of us, well-held and cherished views of the past; and how we have to break out of the kind of gridlock mentality which exists not just in the Congress from time to time, but exists as well in all of us as we struggle to see the world differently and cope with the challenges it has given us.

Yet I am very hopeful about where we stand in this last decade of the 20th century, because for all of the problems that we see around us, both abroad and at home, there is a growing body of people who want to deal with them, who want to be part of this conversation about how we break through old views and deal with new problems. And we will need millions more of those conversations.

Those conversations need to take place in every family, every workplace, every political institution in our country. They need to take place in our schools, where we have to be honest about what we are and are not able to convey to our children; where we have to be honest about the conditions with which are confronting so many of our teachers and our students day in and day out; where we have to be honest that we do have to set high expectations for all children and we should not discard any because of who they are or where they come from. (Laughter.)

And where we need to hold accountable every member of the educational enterprise -- parents, teachers and students. Each should be held accountable for the opportunity they have been given to participate in one of the greatest efforts of humankind, passing on knowledge to children. And we have to expect more than we are currently getting. (Applause.)

We also need to take a hard look at other institutions. As Governor Richards said we are in the midst of an intensive effort

MORE

of trying to determine how we can provide decent, affordable health care to every American. (Applause.) And in that process we have had to ask hard questions about every aspect of our health care system. Why do doctors do what they do? Why are nurses not permitted to do more than they do? Why are patients put in the position they're in? (Applause.)

And we have with us today Bill Moyers, who has helped to enlighten all of us about how what we currently have is a system for taking care of sickness. We do not have a system for enhancing and promoting health. (Applause.) And what we need to do is recognize how each of us, whether we are a care giver or a care receiver -- and that role may change from time to time as we go through life -- will have to think differently about health care. And we will have to come up with a system that promotes wellness, promotes health and provides care for us when we are sick that we can afford.

But to give you just one example about how this ties in with what I have said before about how these problems we are confronting now in many ways are the result of our progress as we have moved toward being modern men and women: Our ancestors did not have to think about many of the issues we are now confronted with. When does life start; when does life end? Who makes those decisions? How do we dare to impinge upon these areas of such delicate, difficult questions? And, yet, every day in hospitals and homes and hospices all over this country, people are struggling with those very profound issues.

These are not issues that we have guidebooks about. They are issues that we have to summon up what we believe is morally and ethically and spiritually correct and do the best we can with God's guidance. How do we create a system that gets rid of the micromanagement, the regulation and the bureaucracy, and substitutes instead human caring, concern and love? And that is our real challenge in redesigning a health care system. (Applause.)

I want to say a word about another institution and that is the media, because it is the filter through which we see ourselves and one another. And in many ways the challenge confronting it is just as difficult as those confronting any other institution we can imagine. How does one keep up with the extraordinary pace of information now available? How do we make sense of that information? How do we make values about it even if we think we have made sense? How do we rid ourselves of the lowest common denominator that is the easiest way of conveying information? How do we have a media that understands how difficult these issues are and looks at itself honestly because the role it must play is so critical to our success in making decisions about how we will proceed as a society?

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I remember in the beginning of the campaign being asked a question at an editorial meeting in South Carolina that my husband was at to meet a lot of the editors and reporters from a lot of the small-town papers. These were not folks who you'll see on a TV station anywhere; these are people who got up every day and did the best they could to put out the paper that covered their community or their region. And one of the men, after hearing my husband speak, said, "Now, you've talked about how we have to change. How we have to change government, how we have to change society. But as a journalist, how do I change to be able to understand and report on those changes?" My husband said, "You know, I can't answer that. That's something you have to answer. But I'm really glad you asked the question, because every institution in our life has to ask those hard questions about who we are, what contribution we make to dealing with our problems and to injecting meaning again in the lives of us all."

So every one of our institutions is under the same kind of mandate. Change will come whether we want it or not, and what we have to do is to try to make change our friend, not our enemy. But probably most profoundly and importantly, the changes that will count the most are the millions and millions of changes that take place on the individual level as people reject cynicism, as they are willing to be hopeful again, as they are willing to take risks to meet the challenges they see around them, as they truly begin to try to see other people as they wish to be seen and to treat them as they wish to be treated, to overcome all of the obstacles we have erected around ourselves that keep us apart from one another, fearful and afraid, not willing to build the bridges necessary, to fill that spiritual vacuum that Lee Atwater talked about.

You know, one of my other favorite quotes is from Albert Schweitzer. And he talks about how you know the disease in Central Africa called sleeping sickness; there also exists a sleeping sickness of the soul. The most dangerous aspect is that one is unaware of it's coming. That is why we have to be careful. As soon as you notice the slightest sign of indifference, the moment you become aware of a loss of character or a serious longing of enthusiasm, it is best, take it as a warning. You should realize that your soul suffers if you ~~can't~~ live superficially. Not just your soul, but your society. Being here on this great campus, with so many thousands of people who care about learning and are committed to making a difference. Let us be willing to remold society by redefining what it means to be a human being in the 20th century, moving into a new millennium. Let us be willing to help our institutions to change, to deal with the new challenges that confront them. Let us try to restore the importance of civil society by committing ourselves to our children, our families, our friends; and to reaching out beyond the circle of those of whom we know, to the

MORE

many others on whom we are dependent in this complex society; and understanding a little more about what their lives are like and doing what we can to help ease their burdens.

Our greatest opportunities lie ahead, because so many of the struggles of the Depression and the World War and the other challenges posed by the Cold War and communism are behind us. The new ones are equally threatening. But we should have learned a lot in the last few years that will prepare us to play our part in remolding a society that we are proud to be a part of.

Thank you all very much. (Applause.)

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Remarks by Vice President Al Gore
Religious Freedom Day
Richmond, VA
January 14, 1994

Thank you. I am honored to be here; we join this afternoon in gratitude to be part of the legacy of freedom that has made our country what it is, and that has brought us here together to honor a principle.

We celebrate both vision and reality--the vision of Religious liberty that Thomas Jefferson wrote into the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom, the reality of the America created by the First Amendment of the United States Constitution.

"Religion," Jefferson once wrote to a friend, "is a matter which lies solely between man and his God." On that ground, Jefferson held to the unshakable conviction that no government could compel any of its citizens to worship against the consent of their own minds and hearts.

Nor did he believe that government should give to any one religion a special privilege that might grant it any advantage over other faiths. Jefferson was not opposed to religion. He did not believe in the complete isolation of religious life from the public life of the nation.

In 1822, long after he had left politics and retired to Monticello, he wrote to a friend that there was no church building in Charlottesville. There were, however, four Christian denominations. "The courthouse," he told his friend, "is the common temple, one Sunday in the month to each. Here, Episcopalian and Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist, meet together, join in hymning their Maker, listen with attention and devotion to each other's preacher, and all mix in society with perfect harmony." Jefferson heartily approved.

All of us, whatever religion we profess -- or even if we claim no formal religion at all, dwell together today in a great house. It is the earth itself, and the heavens are our roof.

On a clear winter night we walk out under the stars and look up, and all our knowledge of astronomy, the wonders of our ventures into space, and our vast, modern understanding of science are not enough. We gaze heavenward in awe, and the sublime questions of the ages pour over us in a rush of feeling.

We look up together to contemplate in wonder and thanksgiving the divine power that gives us our being.

In a world jaded with novelty, unsurprised at the power of science and technology, in moments beneath the starry heavens above, we sing with the ancient Psalmist, "Oh Lord, our Lord, how excellent is thy name in all the earth? who has set thy glory above the heavens....When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and the stars, which thou hast ordained, What is man, that thou art mindful of him?"

None of the great religions claims to solve all the mysteries of eternity. This humility before the unknown mystery of God is the common spiritual property of all religions. It is expressed by the Buddhist monk, chanting in a hillside monastery, the Hindu pilgrim washing in the Ganges, the Muslim prostrate in the direction of Mecca at the call to prayer, the Jewish suppliant at the temple wall in Jerusalem, the country priest elevating the host at dawn in an isolated church in France, the prayer meeting in a Southern Baptist church on Wednesday night, the ritual

dancing of Native American's to honor the Great Spirit, the prayer of a child at bedtime, the religious wonder of an Einstein before the miraculous symmetry of space and time, and in thousands and thousands of other forms throughout the world.

Jefferson said God is a spirit, and if we worship God truly, we worship spiritually. Different spirits worship in different ways. In spiritual worship, there is no room for hatred, and there is no room for religious tyranny.

Jefferson knew history. He could look back on centuries of religious war in Europe--on massacre, burning, rape, pillage, and hatreds that tore nations apart and soaked the earth in blood. He knew from history and human nature how easy it is to arouse mass, murderous passion when religious demagogues cry that God wills it. He was resolved that religious war should not tear his beloved America apart.

The only way to avoid religious war was to allow religious freedom. The history of the United States has proved Jefferson's wisdom. No religious war has ever scorched our land with its fires. Instead, from the beginning of our history, refugees from religious persecution have come here for safety.

My mother's people, the Lafon's, were French Huguenots, driven out of their homeland because of their religious faith, Protestantism. They found a new home in America. So have multitudes of others. One of my forebears, the 1st Gore in America, came to Jamestown, here in Virginia.

No one knows exactly how many religious groups we have in the United States. They number in the many hundreds. The variety is often surprising. For example, we now have more Muslims in the United States than we have Episcopalians. And of course millions of Americans profess no formal religion at all.

We have had narrow escapes. American's are human beings, subject to the same temptations and the same pride and the same fears that afflict people of all nations. Puritans in Boston hanged dozens of Quakers in a grim public ceremony on the limbs of the Great Elm on Boston Common. Baptists under Roger Williams had to flee Massachusetts to Rhode Island for the freedom to worship God according to their consciences.

Joseph Smith, founder of the Church of Latter Day Saints, the Mormons, was murdered by a mob. His disciples made the perilous trek West and colonized the region that became the State of Utah because they were not safe in the East.

Anti-Semitism is a stain on our history. For many decades Jews could not buy houses in some parts of town. They were banned from many organizations, refused at some universities and restricted to quota systems in others. They were scorned in jokes. Their innocent children suffered the thousand daily humiliations that prejudice could heap upon them and some suffer still.

Yet always in America bold spirits have followed the lead of Thomas Jefferson and challenged religious discrimination. I am proud of one of the former Governors of my own State of Tennessee, a former President of the United States, Andrew Johnson. Johnson had his flaws. He was not the most tactful man who ever lived. But when it came to the principles of liberty, he was as bold as a lion.

When he ran for governor in 1852, the Know-Nothing Party had sown the dragon teeth of prejudice against Catholics all over Tennessee. Most Tennesseans were Baptists and Methodists, living

in relative isolation. Few Catholics lived within the State. Johnson could have won votes by whipping up religious hatred. But he did nothing of the kind. In speech after speech, he stood in dusty little squares in small towns in my state, and he hammered home an uncompromising declaration: American Catholics were American citizens. None of their rights could be taken away, including their right to worship God as they chose. I am proud of his courage; I am also proud of Tennesseans who had the sound common sense to give him victory in that election. Thomas Jefferson's legacy endures today. Deep within our hearts, whatever our creed, we know that to despise someone else because of a religious difference is not only bad religion. It is unamerican!

Even as we celebrate religious liberty today, killing in the name of religion goes on all around the world. At this moment the Muslims of Sarajevo are being shelled by artillery from the supposedly Christian Serbs in the mountains above the helpless city. The peaceful, inoffensive adherents to the Baha'i faith in Iran are imprisoned and murdered by the Iranian government. Their crime? The Baha'is believe in the spiritual unity of humankind.

Saddam Hussein carries on a campaign of terror against the Shiite Muslims in his Iraq. Muslim fundamentalists in Egypt machinegun tourists. Hindus and Muslims in the Indian subcontinent are at each other's throats. Northern Ireland blazes with gunfire between opposing sides who claim to worship the same Christ, as we pray for the success of the new initiative to bring them peace.

Throughout history, religious wars have always been the most brutal and cruel and merciless. Yet here in America some people sometimes seem intent on bringing religious strife to our own free land.

Claims to exclusive access to the truth about God's wishes in an elections are poisonous to America's soul.

The evil consequence of religious bigotry for religion itself is inevitable, even if the persecutors win a temporary victory. Young people growing up in such a world of forced religious practice recognize its hypocrisy. The monolithic religious system may use the power of government to compel obedience to its orthodoxy. But it cannot compel the assent of the mind and the heart.

Enforced orthodoxies soon become a joke. Once that happens, a system that suppresses conscience by force is doomed to collapse. Communism was a state religion without God. Its broken fragments scattered across Eastern Europe should be a lesson to anyone who imagines that beliefs are strengthened by force.

International polls regularly show that religion is important to more American's than it is to citizens of any other industrial nation.

I believe the reason for the influence of religion in the United States is easily explained: In other industrial nations, an established religion of one kind or another withered religious feeling. When people are free to worship as they please, they choose to worship. When they are compelled to assent to what they do not believe, they rebel. That, too, is human nature. Alexis de Tocqueville, writing of his travels in America in 1830, said this: "The religious atmosphere of the country was the first thing that struck me on arrival in the United States....My

longing to understand the reason for this phenomenon increased daily. To find this out, I questioned the faithful of all communities; I particularly sought the society of clergyman, who are the depositories of the various creeds and have a personal interest in their survival...all thought the main reason for the quiet sway of religion over their country was the complete separation of church and state. I have no hesitation in stating that throughout my stay in America I met nobody, lay or cleric, who did not agree about that."

And who can say that religious variety is not part of God's purpose for the world? Many religious people have believed that God, the Creator of the magnificent variety of nature, must be pleased to be worshipped in a variety of religions.

In 1805 Chief Red Jacket of the Seneca tribe of the Iroquois Confederacy was approached by Christian missionaries. They wanted to baptize him and his tribe. Chief Red Jacket responded, "Brother, we do not understand these things. We are told that your religion was given to your forefathers and has been handed down from father to son. We also have a religion which was given to our forefathers and has been handed down to us, their children. We worship in that way. It teaches us to be thankful for all the favors we receive, to love each other, and to be united. We never quarrel about religion...."Brother, we do not wish to destroy your religion or take it from you. We only want to enjoy our own."

I am a Baptist Christian. But I want to say firmly that I believe that Chief Red Jacket had the right idea.

Jefferson's tolerance in religious matters is much in evidence in his famous observation (notes on Virginia, 1783) : "It does me no injury for my neighbor to say there are 20 gods, or no god. It neither picks my pocket nor breaks my leg."

Earlier this week, I was in Los Angeles speaking about something called the information superhighway. When I was writing a speech about it last week, it occurred to me that it could serve as a metaphor for our nation's respect for religion. The data highway connects us with an immense vital treasury of information. We can tap into it with our modems and our computers and soon even with our television sets from all over the country.

But in speaking of the data highway, experts use a term, "the last mile," the final, intimate link that connects data from this almost infinite treasury "out there" to the screen in the house where you sit, waiting to receive it and respond to it.

And it becomes critical to prevent a government-sanctioned monopoly by one provider of that last link. If anyone's service had a monopoly over the last mile the broad data highway would be squeezed into a bottleneck. And whoever controlled it would control what we see and hear, and the nation would be the poorer for it.

If any one religion in this country should rule the last link from God to the human heart and seek to exploit it to control our interpretation of the world, we would all be the poorer for it. Like Jefferson, I believe that God is too powerful and too mysterious to be contained within the rigid orthodoxy of any religious faith. That being so, all religions must be allowed to give to our national spiritual lives their own unique richness. In November, the Congress under the leadership of President Clinton passed the Religious Freedom Restoration Act of 1993. Sixty-eight groups supported it, and what variety there was at

the White House! We had the National Association of Evangelicals and the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Islamic Prison Foundation and B'nai Brith all on the same side! With an array like that, we know the age of miracles is not past! That act aims at keeping the state out of religious practice where government has no business meddling. That act is in the spirit of Thomas Jefferson's desire for America.

But like Jefferson, we do not want to put religion in a lead box like some radioactive material dangerous to the nation's health. No, we want people of all religious faiths to express themselves in the forum of ideas. We want religious civility and mutual respect, not silence and withdrawal of religious concern from public life.

In Jefferson's day, the greatest need was to protect the unbeliever from religious coercion; today, we need also to assure that believers in a variety of religious traditions are free to engage in and help shape public dialogue without feeling they ought to hide their religious beliefs.

Jefferson was adamantly opposed to the forced imposition of a particular form of religious faith. But this tolerant man of the 18th and 19th Centuries would have been surprised that 200 years into this experiment in democracy, we would experience a subtle form of intimidation against those who speak in the public arena out of a faith tradition. The intimidation is not just against the use of the traditional faith language, but against any suggestion that our various religious traditions have something to say about the importance of core values systems shaping how we live together as a people.

The answer does not lie in promoting any single faith tradition, but in our willingness to speak frankly of our belief in agreed upon values that, among other principles, honors honesty, rewards discipline, advocates truth-telling, and believes that responsibility means responding to the needs of others.

Our national identity is not shaped solely by Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Muslim or Hindu traditions. But we are a people who believe that these, and other faith traditions, contribute to the formation of values with which we agree to live out our common lives together.

We want people to practice their faith, to use religious insights in a spirit of conciliation in public meetings to illuminate the questions that all our society is asking: how do we establish values that allow us to respect one another and live in peace and safety in our neighborhoods, in our cities, in our institutions? How do we preserve the family? How do we teach our children to live together? How do we make our cities safe again? How do we allocate our national resources to do the greatest good to the greatest number? How do we preserve the environment? How do we protect the weak? How do we teach restraint to the strong?

These are urgent social and political questions. They should also be religious issues. A dry secularism, devoid of mystery and passion, cannot breathe life into the values of our nation. Our religious consciousness with its universal sympathy for the afflicted and its reverence for the earth has within it the power to lift up the fallen and give us harmony amid the matchless wealth of our religious diversity.

I suppose that I know Virginia best for my lifelong journeys up and down the great Shenandoah Valley, where my great-great-great

grandfather was born -- in New Market -- in the 1700s. To the east of the Great Valley lies the mountain range known in Jefferson's day and in ours as the Blue Ridge. Many of the peaks bear the same names that they had when Jefferson saw them -- Sanutten Mountain, North Mountain, Lewis Mountain, Flat Top, Sharp Top, Stony Man, Mount Pleasant, the Peaks of Otter, and many more.

They are all unique, their individual shapes readily recognizable as different from their neighbors. They all reach towards the sky, and they exist in a harmony of sublime grandeur.

In looking at the Blue Ridge clothed in its mysterious haze on a sunny day, I can understand the ancient belief that God dwelt in the mountain heights. And I can sing to my own tune the distant song of the Psalmist: "I will lift up mine eyes to the hills from whence cometh my help. My help cometh from the Lord who made heaven and earth."

I like to think that the mountains are a natural metaphor for the religions of earth. They are different, each one of them carved by the aspirations of human beings and by their experience with God in their own times and places. A harmony beyond words, a harmony of the spirit, joins them to one another in the deep foundations of earth.

Above that foundation, the peaks rise, each in its own way, towards the heavens, carrying our eyes upward to the glory of the divine and giving to this world a beauty that would be unimaginable without them.

We enjoy it, we praise it, we celebrate it because we are free.

by the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim February 4, 1993, as National Women and Girls in Sports Day. I urge all Americans to observe this day with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this third day of February, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and seventeenth.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:11 p.m., February 4, 1993]

NOTE: This proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on February 4, and it was published in the Federal Register on February 8.

Memorandum on Delegation of Authority Concerning Reports on Russian Military Exports

February 3, 1993

Memorandum for the Secretary of State

Subject: Delegation of Authority With Respect to Reports Concerning Russian Military Exports

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States of America, including Section 301 of Title 3 of the United States Code, I hereby delegate to the Secretary of State all functions vested in me by Section 599B of Title V of the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, Fiscal Year 1993 (Pub. L. 102-391). These functions shall be exercised in consultation with appropriate departments and agencies.

The Secretary of State is authorized and directed to publish this memorandum in the *Federal Register*.

William J. Clinton

NOTE: This memorandum was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on February 4.

Remarks at the National Prayer Breakfast

February 4, 1993

Thank you very much. Congressman Emerson and distinguished guests at the head table; to my friend Reverend Billy Graham and Ruth; and to all those who have given such moving presentations. This has been a wonderful morning, I think, for all of us.

When I heard Wentley Phipps recounting our first, rather awkward meeting, I thought that I would admit to being Governor of Alabama just to hear him sing. *[Laughter]*

My mind has been full of memories this morning. I helped to start the first Governor's prayer breakfast in my State; it became a very important part of our life there. And every year I had the pleasure of delegating two Arkansans, one a clergyman or -woman and one a citizen, to come to this wonderful event.

I thought about the first time I ever saw Billy Graham—appropriate to mention now. He came in the 1950's, in the heat of all our racial trouble, to Arkansas to have a crusade. And the white citizens council tried to get him, because of the tensions of the moment, to agree to segregate his crusade in the fifties in the South. And he said, "If I have to do that, I'm not coming."

And I remember I got a Sunday school teacher in my church—and I was about 11 years old—to take me 50 miles to Little Rock so I could hear a man preach who was trying to live by what he said. And then I remember, for a good while thereafter, trying to send a little bit of my allowance to the Billy Graham crusade because of the impression he made on me then.

I am honored that all of you are here not for a political purpose. We come here to seek the help and guidance of our Lord, putting aside our differences, as men and women who freely acknowledge that we don't have all the answers. And we come here seeking to restore and renew and strengthen our faith.

In this town, as much as any place on the face of the Earth, we need that. We need faith as a source of strength. "The assurance of things hoped for, the conviction of things unseen," the Scripture says. What it means

to me is that here, if we have enough faith, in spite of all the pressures to the contrary, we can define ourselves from the inside out, in a town where everybody tries to define you from the outside in.

We need our faith as a source of hope because it teaches us that each of us is capable of redemption and, therefore, that progress is possible—not perfection, for all the reasons Reverend Graham said, but progress. We need our faith as a source of challenge because if we read the Scriptures carefully, it teaches us that all of us must try to live by what we believe or, in more conventional terms, to live out the admonition of President Kennedy that here on Earth God's work must truly be our own.

But perhaps most important of all for me, we need our faith, each of us, President, Vice President, Senator, Congressman, General, Justice, as a source of humility, to remember that, as Bishop Sheen said, we are all sinners. St. Paul once said in an incredibly moving Scripture in the Bible, "The very thing which I would not do, that I do, and that which I would, that I do not." And even more, not only because we do wrong but because we don't always know what is right.

In funerals and weddings and other important ceremonies, you often hear that wonderful verse from Corinthians cited: "Now abideth faith, hope, and love, but the greatest of these is love." But the important thing is often left out, which is the verse above. Why is the greatest of these love? Because, now I see through a glass, darkly . . . now I know only in part. None of us know all that we need to know to do what we need to do.

I have always been touched by the living example of Jesus Christ and moved particularly by all the religious leaders of His day who were suspicious of Him and always trying to trap Him because He was so at ease with the hurting and the hungry and the lonely and, yes, the sinners. And in one of those marvelous attempts to trick Christ, He was asked, "What is the greatest Commandment?" And He answered, quoting Moses, "You shall love the Lord, your God, with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your mind." And then He added, as we should add, "This is the great and foremost

Commandment. And the second is like it: You shall love your neighbor as yourself."

Just 2 weeks and a day ago, I took the oath of office as President. You know the last four words, for those who choose to say it in this way, are "so help me God." And the Chief Justice was giving me the oath, and I was trying to remember the words. And I said, you know, when I get to the end I'm going to think of the ringing voice of Washington and Jefferson and Lincoln and the Roosevelts and Kennedy and all the other great Presidents through the ages, and I will say "so help me God" with all the strength at my command. And I did. But deep down inside I wanted to say it the way I was thinking it, which was, "So, help me, God." [Laughter]

So today my prayer for you as we begin this great new adventure, and I pray that your prayer for me, will be that God will help us to have the strength to define ourselves from the inside out, not the outside in, to have the hope that it takes never to give up and the determination it takes always to make progress in an imperfect world and the humility to walk by faith and not by sight.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:30 a.m. at the Washington Hilton.

Exchange With Reporters During a Luncheon With the Vice President February 4, 1993

The Economy and Job Creation

Q. Mr. President, with productivity soaring and factory orders up, does this mean it's a strong recovery and you might have to adjust your economic plan?

The President. Well, we haven't—it could mean that more evidence will come in the deficit will be smaller. But there's no—it could mean that we'll have more jobs, which is the real issue. But we don't see it yet.

I think the real issue—what appears to be the case is that American productivity is up and that a lot of Americans are refinancing

your armed forces rushed up; by their utmost exertions, toiling day and night on the inundated lands at the risk of their own lives under the most unfavourable weather conditions, they saved victims and their cattle and helped in plugging the innumerable breaches in the dykes. All those who did their utmost to help us have earned our deep-felt gratitude because they have proved that human solidarity does not stop at frontiers. On behalf of the vic-

tims and all my compatriots I address myself to you and, in doing so, to the American people to express what can hardly be expressed in words: our heart-felt thanks for everything you did when the sea—our faithful friend and eternal enemy—held our country in its crushing grip.

I seize this opportunity to convey to you, Mr. President, my sincere wishes both for the prosperity of the Republic and for your personal well-being.

JULIANA

Remarks by

President Dwight D. Eisenhower

8 ¶ Remarks at the Dedicatory Prayer Breakfast of the International Christian Leadership.

February 5, 1953

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

This has been a wholly enjoyable occasion for me except for the one second when I opened the little blue slip and found that it said there would be an address by the President. I assure you, both for your sakes and for mine, there will not be.

There are a few thoughts, though, that crowd into my mind. With your permission I will attempt to utter them in a very informal and homely way.

First, there is a need we all have in these days and times for some help which comes from outside ourselves as we face the multitude of problems that are part of this confusing situation. I do not mean merely help for your leaders or the people in Congress, in the Cabinet and others in authority, because these problems are part of all of us. They face each one of us because we are a free country. Each of us realizes that he has responsibilities that are equal to his privileges and to his rights.

So, as he approaches them at times, he says: "If we only had

the simple, the good old days, how easy all this would be. What a nice life."

Once in a while it might be a good thing for us to turn back to history. Let us study a little bit of what happened at the founding of this Nation.

It is not merely the events that led up to the Revolutionary War. All of the confused problems that we were then called upon to solve were as difficult as those we face now. Did you ever stop to think, for example, that the first year of that war was fought in order that we might establish our right to be free British citizens, not to be independent. From April 1775 until July 4, 1776, there was no struggle for independence. It was a struggle to make people understand that we were free British citizens. So you can understand the confusion of thought that was going on.

So when we came down to the Declaration of Independence, our forefathers had difficulty in meeting their problems which was probably as great for them as we feel our problems today. In the Declaration they acknowledged the need to respect public opinion. They said, "When in the course of human events"—and they went on to say a decent respect for mankind impelled them to declare the decisions which led to the separation. They realized that the good opinion of the whole world was necessary if this venture was to succeed. At least they felt that an understanding of this venture should be abroad in the world.

They went on to try to explain it. What did they say? The very basis of our government is: "We hold that all men are endowed by their Creator" with certain rights.

When we came to that turning point in history, when we intended to establish a government for free men and a Declaration and Constitution to make it last, in order to explain such a system we had to say: "We hold that all men are endowed by their Creator."

In one sentence we established that every free government is imbedded soundly in a deeply-felt religious faith or it makes no sense. Today if we recall those things and if, in that sense, we

can back off from our problems and depend upon a power greater than ourselves, I believe that we begin to draw these problems into focus.

As Benjamin Franklin said at one time during the course of the stormy consultation at the Constitutional Convention, because he sensed that the convention was on the point of breaking up: "Gentlemen, I suggest that we have a word of prayer." And strangely enough, after a bit of prayer the problems began to smooth out and the convention moved to the great triumph that we enjoy today—the writing of our Constitution.

Today I think that prayer is just simply a necessity, because by prayer I believe we mean an effort to get in touch with the Infinite. We know that even our prayers are imperfect. Even our supplications are imperfect. Of course they are. We are imperfect human beings. But if we can back off from those problems and make the effort, then there is something that ties us all together. We have begun in our grasp of that basis of understanding, which is that all free government is firmly founded in a deeply-felt religious faith.

As we sympathize with our great friends in Holland and Britain today in this distressing disaster that has overtaken them, it is good to know that the American soldiers, the American Navy, the American airmen, are sharing those disasters and are moving in as units and as individuals to help. I have had messages from both of those countries expressing their great thanks to America for the work they are doing. They, to my mind, are part of this understanding that a government such as ours hopes to produce people who are moved by sympathy, by all of those wonderful qualities that are implicit in a deeply-felt religious faith. They are living up to what we hope for our government, both as units and as individuals.

I think my little message this morning is merely this: I have the profound belief that if we remind ourselves once in a while of this simple basic truth that our forefathers in 1776 understood so well, we can hold up our heads and be certain that we in our

time are going to be able to preserve the essentials, to preserve as a free government and pass it on, in our turn, as sound, as strong, as good as ever. That, it seems to me, is the prayer that all of us have today.

It has been very wonderful to meet you. Until I started over I had the picture, which Frank Carlson gave me last summer, of a small Congressional group of Congressmen and Senators who met on a morning each week. I had an idea of coming over to see 20 or 25 or maybe 50 people. I had no idea that our host had such a party as this. I do hope I may speak for all of you in thanking him for such a breakfast, the like of which I have not had in 10 years. As long as you feed me grits and sausage, everything will be all right.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington. His opening words "Mr. Chairman" referred to U.S. Senator Frank Carlson of Kansas.

9 ¶ Message to the Boy Scouts of America on Their 43d Anniversary. February 7, 1953

[Released February 7, 1953. Dated February 4, 1953]

To the Boy Scouts of America:

It is with great personal pleasure that I extend to you my warmest congratulations on your Forty-third Anniversary and greet you on the occasion of Boy Scout Week 1953.

Your present crusade "Forward on Liberty's Team" is proving to be most effective. Americans everywhere must be proud to know that the Boy Scouts of America registered its three-millionth active member during the past year. I understand that the present membership has now reached a new high of 3,200,000 Scouts, Explorers, and leaders, and that since 1910 there have been 20,200,000 American boys and men enrolled.

This birthday message is addressed to every Scout and leader

LEVEL 2 - 2 OF 2 STORIES

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LENGTH: 997 words

HEADLINE: Beliefs

BYLINE: By Peter Steinfels

BODY:

Seldom has a national figure stirred so much wonder and speculation in the news media by saying things that most of the American public consider unremarkable.

In an April 6 speech in Austin, Tex., and several interviews since then, Hillary Rodham Clinton talked about the Golden Rule and the Ten Commandments and "common-sense truth." She borrowed the Presidential bully pulpit from her husband, and here is what she declared:

*That the United States, despite its wealth, was feeling an "undercurrent of discontent" and a collapse of community, of which urban violence and teen-agers' self-destruction were only the most dramatic symptoms.

*That the dying Lee Atwater, the impresario of bare-knuckled Republican campaigns, was right to warn of a "spiritual vacuum at the heart of American society."

*That national renewal could not be found simply by shoring up Government programs or relying on the marketplace but would require "an ethos of individual responsibility and caring," a society that "makes us feel that we are a part of something bigger than ourselves" and the reinvigoration of "intermediary institutions" like families, local communities and voluntary groups.

*That "there is no -- or should be no -- debate that our family structure is in trouble" or that "our children need the stability, the predictability of a family."

Sometimes Mrs. Clinton sounded like Vaclav Havel, sometimes like Martin Luther King Jr., and sometimes, well, like George Bush with his "vision thing" and a thousand points of light.

The media have blinked with astonishment, if not consternation. "She sounded as if she's discovered spiritual truths that eluded Buddha and Jesus," sniffed one columnist. Incoherent and didactic, sniffed others.

In her Austin speech and in the interviews that followed, Mrs. Clinton praised her father's insistence that compassion for wrongdoers is not incompatible with firm standards of right and wrong. She talked of her inextinguishable conviction that people can be evil, not just socially conditioned. She suggested that the nation had become too tolerant of deviant behavior.

The New York Times, May 29, 1993

But she also rested her vision of social renewal on, yes, the Golden Rule and a personal change of heart. She imagined that lots of individual acts could add up to a big change, beginning with something as simple as not telling a racist or sexist joke and building to a larger awareness of economic hardships and inequities.

Children, cover your ears.

In 1976, Jimmy Carter rattled the press by explaining that he actually listened for God's guidance when facing important decisions. Apparently unfamiliar with the processes of prayer that most Americans take for granted, some pundits wondered whether the Baptist Mr. Carter was having apparitions.

Their successors are showing no more familiarity with the weekly exhortations from a million American pulpits, exhortations about caring, searching for meaning, applying old values to new problems, transforming society, etc., etc. Mrs. Clinton's talk of spirituality and moral values fits comfortably in this genre. It makes her neither incoherent nor an Orwellian Big Sister with New Age accessories.

Her actual words were far more Girl Scout than goddess worship, more concerned with strengthening non-governmental groups than expanding the state.

Michael Kelly may have been severe with Mrs. Clinton in parts of his revealing interview last Sunday in The New York Times Magazine, but he was on target when he wrote that Mrs. Clinton's liberalism is derived from her religious faith. Her politics combine, he wrote, "a generally 'progressive' social agenda with a strong dose of moralism, the admixture of the two driven by an abundant faith in the capacity of the human intellect and the redeeming power of love."

Admittedly Mrs. Clinton is a complex, political woman who zig-zags across stereotypes, both naturally and by calculation. But she has also become a kind of national Rorschach test where commentators project their own fears and weaknesses.

Her recent critics appear divided between conservatives who suspect she does not mean what she is saying and liberals who fear that she does. They include people who are wary of any political figures talking about values and spirituality and people who are just wary when Mrs. Clinton starts talking that way.

Convinced that the real meaning of her words must be couched below the surface, the commentators are poring over the ideas of Michael Lerner, the editor of the Jewish journal Tikkun, whose phrase, "the politics of meaning," Mrs. Clinton echoed in Texas. And they are trying hard to link Mrs. Clinton's remarks to her roots in the youthful movements for social change of the 1960's.

But Mrs. Clinton's remarks actually reflect almost nothing of Mr. Lerner's quite specific, highly psychological theory of "the politics of meaning" (which constitutes, by the way, a critique of 1960's liberal and radical politics). She seems to have borrowed no more from him than from any number of other thinkers whom the Clintons mine for ideas.

The New York Times, May 29, 1993

It is not whether the First Lady's outlook is some rare political departure but whether it will have any impact on the policies of her husband's Administration that ought to be the focus of attention. What is being called her moral crusade may be more compatible with the standard liberal agenda than either her conservative or liberal critics recognize.

But if she is enunciating a viewpoint that sees national renewal more in strengthening families and communities and less in claims of individual rights and entitlements, if she is trying to marry social conservatism with an economically interventionist government, sooner or later some policy difference should emerge.

Mrs. Clinton's soundest critics are not those who reflexively recoil at her talk about a spiritual vacuum and an ethos of individual responsibility and caring, but those who fear that it is only talk.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: May 29, 1993

file
prayer

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 2, 1994

THE FIRST LADY'S REMARKS
TO THE NATIONAL PRAYER LUNCHEON

MS. CLINTON: Thank you. Thank you very much, and thank you, Susan, for that prayer and for the spirit that imbues you every day, that enables you to reach out to so many of us.

I must confess I am here with some trepidation. The last time I spoke in public about spirituality, around the time of my father's death, I was astonished to realize that there were many people for whom spirituality should be confined to events like this, and not brought out into the public arena. I was amused when one commentator wrote that my critics were divided between conservatives who suspect I did not mean what I said and liberals who feared that I did.

And I have become accustomed over the past year to living between those kinds of poles and trying as best I can to navigate what is for many of us uncharted terrain. Because as my husband said this morning, freedom of religion does not mean, and should not mean, freedom from religion. And striking the appropriate balance, and being able to witness in a public role what one feels and lives through one's own spiritual journey, opens one up to misunderstanding and criticism.

But it is my very firm conviction that there is a growing awareness of the need for a spiritual renewal in our country and a willingness on the part of many to act and work in good faith together to fill that sense of emptiness with the Word and with an outreach that is grounded in real Christian values.

I am indebted, as I stand here before you, at the end of my first year in this city, to many, many people: I am indebted to a new church home, which is an inner city church, struggling as part of a social gospel to minister to

MORE

the many needs that one finds in any of our cities and struggling also to deal with the personal needs and demands that come through a congregation's individual search for salvation. I am indebted to the many friends who have been supportive and understanding of what it is like to make the kind of transition that my family has made.

But I am particularly indebted to the group of women that Susan referred to, women who have reached out to me, not only by praying for me, but also by being my friend, who knew often just the right moment to call or to drop a note, to send a book, to let me know that they were thinking about me. I have received many gifts in the year that I have been here, wonderful gifts, but none meant more to me than the intangible gifts that were given to me at The Cedars a year ago by these women.

And what I would like to do with all of you today is to convey to you the same intangible gifts. They are gifts that have stayed in my heart, have kept me going, have served as both balm and spur, and have helped enrich greatly my own sense of what we all mean when we use words like "values," "spirituality," "renewal." I am so grateful for these gifts that I want to share them with you.

The first gift is the gift of compassion. This was given to me with the warning that I would be called upon to show compassion to endless lines of suffering ones. And the prayer that came with that gift of compassion was that I would never try to rely on my own reserves, but to draw freely and regularly from the One whose storehouse is always full.

The other part of the gift of compassion was the scriptural reference that came along with it. Mark 6:34: "As He went ashore he saw a great throng and he had compassion on them because they were like sheep without a shepherd, and he began to teach them many things."

We all need compassion. It is not only a gift that I have tried to give; it is a gift I have gratefully received.

The second gift was the gift of courage -- courage to stand strong in the midst of criticism, to give in when necessary, to take a risk when it's right, and, above all, to fear God alone, for the fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge.

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Courage is needed in our everyday life. Everyone of us in this room needs the gift of courage. Sometimes we don't recognize when we need it. Sometimes we reject its offering, because it is frightening to use the gift of courage. But courage is not rooted in the day-to-day, but, instead, again, comes from the Word of the Lord.

I can't say I have necessarily needed courage in the last year to face risks that were public and large, where the enemies that were arrayed against me were visible, but I have certainly needed courage on many days just to keep going, to feel supported, to know that, even in the face of misunderstanding, there were risks that I felt called upon to take, and that I could never have done it without the courage that comes from God alone.

The third gift, and one of Susan Baker's favorite words, is discernment, a word I had never really paid much attention to before, not a word that I really associated with scripture. And I'm very grateful to have that word and its meaning now as part of my life.

The gift of discernment, to seek wisdom that should come, to know that it is through our Father that the spirit of revelation gives us an insight into a person, an experience, an event that would not otherwise be available, has enriched and enlarged my life immeasurably.

When one learns a new word, one sees and hears it all the time. The Old Testament scripture this morning, if you remember, referred to the understanding to discern wisdom. So it's one of those words that I now take with me and incorporate into my life with gratitude.

The next intangible gift, the greatest gift in many ways for all of us, is faith. "God is utterly faithful, and it is He who has called you into fellowship with his son Jesus Christ our Lord." That, from First Corinthians and one of my friends.

Faith is something I take very seriously. I do not believe I am a very good Christian. I think it is extremely hard to be a Christian. I think every day is a challenge to one's Christianity, and that by growing in faith, minute by minute, hour by hour, faith becomes stronger and deeper and bigger and opens one's eyes to greater possibilities and further challenges.

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One of my husband's former pastors, a great Southern Baptist preacher, W.O. Vaught, used to preach often about "baby Christians." And, yes, you move through stages of maturation, but most of those whose Christian work I most respect are open always to learning more about their own faith, and knowing that there is no final answer until the end of one's life, and that part of what we must do is to grow in our faith and exhibit it. Faith is for me a great gift and a great challenge.

I remember the first time I ever spoke in front of a religious group was in my church as a child, when, during confirmation, each of us were to stand and read our essays, "What Jesus Means to Me." I recently re-read that essay of my 11-year-old self, and there was much that was very simple about my beliefs, but much that was also as profound as any theology I have read since. One's faith journey is really for me a continuing effort to grow in both wisdom and stature as a Christian.

The next gift was fellowship, and I am so grateful for that. The scripture that was used to convey that gift was from Proverbs, "A friend loves at all times and a brother is born for adversity." The prayer that went with it was for a sister to walk with me through adversity, to hold me up when the burdens are heavy, and to encourage and love me without condition.

I have been blessed with many brothers and sisters who have been there for me, and I always hope that I can be as good a friend to others as they have been to me. Because it is through fellowship and relationship in Christ that one grows and sees what is possible with the human condition. Without fellowship one's faith becomes too inward, too isolated.

The next gift is one I have needed on a daily basis. It is the gift of forgiveness. This gift came with this description: that forgiveness is the most powerful expression of love we can give or experience. It is also the most costly. For the Lord, it was the cross; for me, it cost my pride. Forgiving is hard. Forgiving those who seem determined to destroy, to tear down, those who seem to have a political or financial or personal agenda; forgiving those who bear false witness, who delight in spreading stories, gossip, rumor.

It is hard to forgive. But it is also essential, not only to live, but to grow in Christ, to forgive.

MORE

Remember when Jesus was asked, "Lord, how many times must I forgive my brother? Up to seven times? Jesus answered, "I tell you not seven times, but seventy times seven." I must confess that some days I think I must have exhausted that number and look for a way to avoid any more calls on my spirit for forgiveness.

I have always believed that Christ wanted us to be joyous, to look at the face of creation and to know that there was more joy than any of us could imagine. Or as Mother Teresa told us this morning, to see the joy on the face of a homeless beggar, who is picked up off the street and brought in to die, and says joyously, "Thank you."

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And the gift of vision, seeing things which are often invisible to others, knowing that Jesus provided the ultimate vision of being the Way, the Truth and the Life, and that each of us, not only should have a vision, but inspire others by our vision.

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Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 2, 1994

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And what I would like to do with all of you today is to convey to you the same intangible gifts. They are gifts that have stayed in my heart, have kept me going, have served as both balm and spur, and have helped enrich greatly my own sense of what we all mean when we use words like "values," "spirituality," "renewal." I am so grateful for these gifts that I want to share them with you.

The first gift is the gift of compassion. This was given to me with the warning that I would be called upon to show compassion to endless lines of suffering ones. And the prayer that came with that gift of compassion was that I would never try to rely on my own reserves, but to draw freely and regularly from the One whose storehouse is always full.

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The third gift, and one of Susan Baker's favorite words, is discernment, a word I had never really paid much attention to before, not a word that I really associated with scripture. And I'm very grateful to have that word and its meaning now as part of my life.

The gift of discernment, to seek wisdom that should come, to know that it is through our Father that the spirit of revelation gives us an insight into a person, an experience, an event that would not otherwise be available, has enriched and enlarged my life immeasurably.

When one learns a new word, one sees and hears it all the time. The Old Testament scripture this morning, if you remember, referred to the understanding to discern wisdom. So it's one of those words that I now take with me and incorporate into my life with gratitude.

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Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 2, 1994

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

03 AUG 11 PM : 47

August 11, 1993

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JOHN D. PODESTA
R. PAUL RICHARD *per*

SUBJECT: DR. JOYCELYN ELDERS' NOMINATION AND THE PAPAL VISIT

I. SUMMARY

Remarks delivered by Dr. Elders while she was Director of the Arkansas Department of Health have been interpreted by some as evidence of her bias against Catholics and the Roman Catholic Church. Although the topics for your meeting with the Pope relate primarily to foreign affairs, the issue may come up during your discussions with him, or in questions from the press.

II. DISCUSSION

In January 1992, the Christian Fellowship Church in Arkansas ran a TV advertisement that in effect, equated abortion with the enslavement of African-Americans, mistreatment of Native Americans, and the Holocaust. The ad sparked much controversy in the Little Rock area.

As part of the observance of the anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*, Dr. Elders was invited to speak at a rally at the Arkansas State Capitol sponsored by the Arkansas Coalition for Choice. During that speech, Dr. Elders specifically mentioned the ad before saying: "for 400 years, black people had their freedom aborted, and the church was silent. The way of life for the Native American was aborted, and the church was silent. We attempted to eradicate a whole race of people during the Holocaust, and the church was silent." This portion of Dr. Elders speech has been quoted out of context as evidence of her anti-Catholic bias. However, a review of the speech transcript reveals that her remarks were not directed at the Catholic Church, but rather at the "church" generically and the church that sponsored the TV ad specifically.

In the same speech, Dr. Elders went on to castigate the opponents of the pro-choice, whom she characterized as "a

celibate, male-dominated church, a male-dominated legislature, and a male-dominated medical profession." In this instance, Dr. Elders' remarks were meant to make the point that institutions composed primarily of men were making decisions that rightly should be left to women, the people most directly affected. Dr. Elders later met with the Roman Catholic Bishop of Little Rock, and told him that her description of the Catholic Church was overdrawn, and assured him that she would not use that description in the future. She also apologized if her remarks had caused any offense.

You have received correspondence from Archbishop Keeler, President of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, in which he mentions his distress at the reports of bias on Dr. Elders' part. During the debate on Dr. Elders' nomination last week, Senator D'Amato mentioned that Cardinal O'Connor had also sent him a letter criticizing Dr. Elders' comments.

Should the issue of Dr. Elders arise, we believe that you should respond by mentioning Dr. Elders' strong personal faith, and your knowledge that she harbors no bias or ill-will toward Catholics or the Catholic Church.

cc: The First Lady