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- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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file Reagan

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 6, 1997

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT ANNUAL ECUMENICAL PRAYER BREAKFAST

The State Dining Room

9:59 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much, Mr. Vice President and Tipper and ladies and gentlemen. Hillary and I are delighted to welcome you to the White House. We look forward to these breakfasts. As Al said, we have been doing them on a regular basis now, normally around -- just after Labor Day as we sort of rededicate ourselves to the labor of the new year, but this year, we are doing it now for two reasons: one is, obviously, this is on the brink of the Inauguration and a new four-year term for the President and for our country; the other is, we were otherwise occupied last Labor Day. (Laughter.)

This is a wonderful day to be here. We asked Father Stephanopoulos to pray today because, as all of you know, this is the celebration of Epiphany in the Christian faith, a time of recognizing Christmas in the Orthodox tradition. I also wanted you to pray so that I could say that we were all very impressed with the size of the book contract that -- (laughter) -- that your son got, and we know we can depend upon you to make sure the Church gets its 10 percent of that contract. (Applause.) We are very proud of him and very grateful to have him here.

This is the day in the Christian tradition when the wise men came bearing gifts for the baby Jesus. And we have much to be thankful for and much to pray for, but I think what I would say today is that I asked you to come here to share with me your thoughts and to share with you some of ours in the hope that we might all become wiser.

I am very grateful for the progress that our country has made in the last four years, grateful that we have been given a chance to play a role in that progress, and mindful that whatever has been done which is good has been done by us together.

One of my college roommates, who I think is a really smart guy, said to me the other day when we were together and joking about our lost youth, he said, oh, and one other thing, as he was leaving, he said, don't ever forget that great presidents do not do great things, great presidents get a lot of other people to do great things. (Laughter.) And there is over 250 million of us now, so it's a lot of greatness if you can get us all to do the right thing, which I thought was an interesting way of saying in part what the magic and genius of democracy is all about.

So we're thinking a lot now about how we're going to build our bridge to the 21st century, what we're going to do in this next term. I've listened to all of these experts talk about how hard it is for presidents to be effective in the second term because, for all, they just got reelected because things went well in their first term not because they had actually thought through what they were going to do in their second term. But we've tried to overcome that disability.

There are a lot of particulars that we could discuss today, but what I'd like for you to think about a little bit, from your perspective and what you can do -- two things: what are we going to do; and secondly, and more importantly I think, how are we going to do it, in what spirit shall we proceed.

In any great democracy there are always differences about what are we going to do. There always have been, there always will be, and these are altogether healthy. It would be -- America wouldn't last very long, I think, if 100 percent of the people agreed 100 percent of the time on 100 percent of the issues. What keeps us going -- we all know that none of us has perfect and infinite understanding of these complex matters facing our country and facing the world. But we have devised a system -- we have nurtured and maintained it now for over 200 years -- in which people can reconcile their differences and come to a consensus and an agreement which will push the country forward. So we are enlarged when we come to agreement after honest debate in the right way; we are diminished if, in the way we treat each other, we preclude the possibility of resolution and going forward.

And at times like this, when things are changing so much, we need the right spirit more because we have more to decide, more to deal with. And yet, at times like this, we are in some ways put at risk by the absence of that spirit of reconciliation and respect.

There are several specific things I hope we can talk about later that I think we could reach broad agreement on. For example, some of you think I made a mistake when I signed the welfare reform bill, and I don't. But one thing that we all ought to be able to agree on is, the bill will not succeed -- the bill does nothing, it just changes the rules. It doesn't put anybody to work. In four years, we have reduced by 2.1 million the number of people on welfare, the biggest reduction in history, by doing the kinds of things that now this bill requires every state to do. We just went out and worked with the states and came up with innovative ways to get around old rules and regulations and do them anyway. Now, every state has got to try to do that for every person.

My objective here is, once and for all, to take the politics out of poverty and to treat all able-bodied people the same at the community level. What I long for is a system of community-based support for people who are out of work through no fault of their own, but a system of community-based norms that require people who can work to work when there is work.

Now, if you say that everybody who is able-bodied can only stay on welfare two years continuously unless the state decides to continue to support them for some other reason -- and we did give a fund so that hardship cases could be treated in that way -- then every community has to have a system for putting those people to work.

Now, let me pause at this and you can all think about this: This new law gives every state the right to give the welfare check to any employer, including a church, as an employment and training subsidy, who will hire someone from welfare. If every church in America just hired one family, the welfare problem would go

way down. If every church in America challenged every member of that church who had 25 or more employees to hire another family, the problem would go away and we would really have a system in which in times of recession we'd have more people unemployed at the community level, in good times we'd have fewer people, but we would always have a community-based commitment that crossed party lines and religious lines and every other line to give able-bodied people the dignity of work and support them in the most important work they do, which is raising their children.

The second thing I wanted to talk about a little bit is t's whole business of immigration. The things I don't like about welfare law have nothing to do with welfare and everything to do with the way we tried to save money, I thought unfairly, on legal immigrants.

Our administration has done a lot to cut down on illegal immigration, but we believe that legal immigration has served our country well. It has, however, made us more diverse. And so immigration is really the touchstone where we deal with not only what are we going to do, but how are we going to do it. I believe that we have learned a lot in 220 years -- really more than 300 years -- about how hard it is for people of different races to get along. We know that that is difficult in all societies and all times, and it's something you just have to keep working at.

But now America is not a white and black America. America is a country with scores, hundreds of different racial, ethnic, and religious groups. Our biggest county, Los Angeles County, now has over 160 different racial and ethnic groups within one county. But it's all over America. Wayne County, where Detroit, Michigan, is, has now over 140 different racial and ethnic groups. Detroit was a place where we used to think of where you basically had white ethnics who immigrated from Central and Eastern Europe and African Americans and white Southerners who immigrated out of the South because they couldn't make a living in places like my home state in the Depression and later. Now, 140 different racial and ethnic groups.

How are we going to deal with that? Against the background of what you see in Bosnia, Rwanda, Northern Ireland, the Middle East, all of these things, these destructive impulses people have, how can we prove in America that we can all get along -- without giving up our basic beliefs but in finding a ground of mutual respect? It seems to me that that may be the single most significant decision facing the United States. We have a lot of other things we have to deal with in the next four years, the whole question of the entitlements burden when the baby boomers retire and education initiatives that I intend to push and finishing the work of balancing the budget and all that, but if we can all find a way to hold up to the world not only the example of our freedom but the example of our freedom in the 21st century global interdependent world in which anybody from anywhere can live here, and if you show up for work or you show up for school and you do what you're supposed to do and you're a good citizen, you can be part of our country and we'll respect your faith, we'll respect your differences and we'll find a way to work together, then I believe the preeminence of the United States will be assured throughout the next century. And I think you have to think about it in long terms like that.

What causes a society to rise and fall? We, clearly, are proving that we're getting back to our basic values. The crime rate is going down. You saw the -- has gone down for several years now for the first time in 25 years. We have inequality among living people going down -- and I'm very proud of that -- for the first time in 20 years. We have a lot of our other social problems being ameliorated, the teen pregnancy rate dropping substantially for the first time in a good while -- that drugs, alcohol, tobacco are

still a problem for very young people. Drug use is going down in society as a whole but still going up among young people.

So, we're on the cusp here, maybe, of turning a lot of social problems around. We know what we ought to do. Can we do it in the right way, in a spirit of reconciliation? And can we recognize that in this exciting new world there's no way in the world for us to know the answer to all these questions that are out there before us?

And that's the last point I'd like to make. If we do things in the right way, we'll get enough of the right answers to moving our country forward and to keep doing the right thing for the rest of the world. And we won't be right all the time, but that's just because we're human. So that's the last thought I would like to leave with you.

The beginning of wisdom, I think, is humility and respect for what you may not know. Now, we were talking around the table here about the last speech Cardinal Bernardin gave in which he said that the precious gift of time should not be wasted on acrimony and division. And he said that knowing he had just a little bit of time left. The truth is, all of us just have a little bit of time left. He just knew it and we don't. And three weeks or 30 years, it's a little bit of time in the life of a country, the life of the world. So I say to you -- I ask for your guidance, for your prayers for our country, for the efforts that all of us are making. I ask for your specific involvement -- particularly in the two issues I've mentioned, on the welfare and immigration issues. But most important of all, I ask for your help in creating a sense of reconciliation, the right sort of spirit in which we can deal with these issues. As people of faith on this Epiphany, I think we should all ask that that be made evident to us. Thank you and God bless you.

END

10:12 A.M. EST

Talking Points on Welfare-to-Work and the Faith Communities

- The President believes, and I believe, that the new welfare law offers those on welfare the opportunity to improve their lives and the lives of their children.
- Some of you may not have supported the new welfare law, but we all agree that if welfare reform is to succeed in helping families move from welfare to work and out of poverty, we have a great deal of work ahead of us. The law does not lift anyone out of poverty or move anyone to work, it just changes the rules.
- The nation needs your help, the help of your congregations, your communities, your colleagues. Even more help than you've already given us!
- Just last month at the annual prayer breakfast at the White House, the President asked religious organizations, as employers, to hire someone on welfare. But I believe there are many ways in which communities of faith can help move people on welfare to work and out of poverty:
 1. **Hire a welfare recipient and encourage others to hire welfare recipients.** As the President said at the White House prayer breakfast, hire welfare recipients. Besides hiring welfare recipients yourselves though, you might recruit others from your congregations and communities to hire recipients and organize nonprofits and businesses in your communities around the welfare-to-work goal.
 2. **Form a community partnership to create jobs or offer services to those making the transition from welfare to work.** I know many of you are probably doing this already, but you may think about working with the business, nonprofit, and educational organizations in your community to form partnerships. These partnerships may create jobs and offer other services welfare recipients need to successfully enter the workforce.

Riverside Church in New York City has just started such an effort. They call their effort "Partnerships of Hope," and they are bringing together business, government, and community service providers to stimulate economic development, offer job readiness and job placement services, provide child care, find housing, and help recipients invest in their futures.
 3. **Help welfare recipients build the assets they need to stay off welfare once they find a job.** You could help welfare recipients save, even very, very small amounts, in Individual Development Accounts -- an option under the new law. The law allows the disadvantaged to save for a first home, higher education, or start a micro business without counting these savings against their welfare benefits. You could offer to match what welfare recipients save as a way to encourage them to save. This sort of asset building can help the poor *permanently* climb out of poverty. *The Congress of National Black Churches is considering such an effort.*

File
Religion

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 6, 1997

REMARKS BY THE FIRST LADY
AT NATIONAL PRAYER LUNCHEON

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you very much. Tony is right -- I have had three free meals. (Laughter.) I'll be back later if you invite me again.

I am delighted to join you at this lunch. I was talking with Susan Baker because she and I were also on the program of the lunch in 1994. I had to ask her what year it was. I couldn't recall exactly, but I think that she was right. And so it is a particular pleasure to return.

I want to thank Tony and Janet Hall for their work and their example, their witness, and for the leadership that they both give in their own ways, bringing to our attention many issues and problems that people of faith need to address.

I'm always grateful to be anywhere that Whitley Phipps sings. I thought that note was going to go on forever. (Laughter.) And I am so pleased that you and your wife can be with us, and that you do stop people on airplanes or anywhere else to spread a word of grace and hope, and I am grateful for that.

I want to thank Mr. and Mrs. Dunham (phonetic) for your being here and for your word of prayer and support. And I'm particularly pleased that President Museveni and Mrs. Museveni can be with us. I've had the chance just today to talk particularly with Janet, and I know how much being here means to them. And I also want them to know how much their being here means to us. We are very grateful that you would join us. (Applause.)

I was originally invited to respond to the President's remarks. (Laughter.) And I am very pleased to do so by merely standing up and saying amen. (Laughter.) But I think that I have to do a little more for my lunch than that.

So let me, if I could, pick up where both Presidents ended -- our President, my husband, this morning and the President of Uganda at this lunch -- because in their ways, from their different perspectives, but bearing the burdens of leadership, they come before us to share what is on their hearts.

This morning I had no idea what my husband was going to say. I saw him early this morning flipping through some prepared remarks that had been given to him. And then in the car on our way here from the White House, I saw him discarding them page by page and, as anyone who is the spouse of anyone in public life -- a preacher, a member of Congress, a President or a business executive -- you know what it feels like when you watch your husband or wife stand up and you have no idea what is about to come out. (Laughter.) So you are as interested and sometimes as amazed as anyone else in the audience.

And I felt this morning that when our President talked about the breach and what it meant to repair that, that certainly I felt he was talking directly to me. And I hope others in the audience felt the same way, particularly after we had heard Dr. Carson's challenge and learned something of his life and his faith journey. I think each of us could in the quiet of our own heart consider breaches we had caused, that we had seen and left unrepaired, and to recognize how important it is for all of us to be repairers.

I thought about it particularly because in addition to the groups that my husband asked us to think about as being in the breach -- the poor, those in other countries, on great continents like Africa, and those who are officially in public life and in the media -- I would add all the rest of us in a great, large, encompassing group.

And speaking just for myself, I know that since I was last here at this lunch in 1994, I have felt often as though I were thrown into a breach and I have felt on other times, I wish to push someone into a breach. (Laughter.) And on both types of occasions, it didn't take long for me to realize what great damage I would do to myself were I either to slip in or to push toward that breach; and that instead, part of the challenge of living any life -- but particularly a life in the public arena -- is constantly to ask oneself, what can I do to repair -- not to tear down, not to give in to one's worst impulses, not to turn one's back on every Biblical injunction and Sunday school lesson that one had been taught -- but to pick oneself up and get about the business of repairing.

And then today at lunch, we heard some points about how that repair can be done -- in thinking about what President Museveni told us, thinking about what really are very simple, timeless lessons -- how do we love our neighbor? I occasionally taught Sunday school back in Little Rock. I used to teach a class of adults -- a lot of whom had different points of view and experiences and all kinds of backgrounds to bring to this class. And every year, we used to revisit what it meant to love one's neighbor. And I remember very well how we suddenly realized that that was something you had to think about every single day and how it was practically impossible even to imagine if one did not also love oneself. And as I was listening to the litmus test about loving all people, I have to confess that I was running through in my mind some of those whom I find very hard to love.

Last night when I was at the dinner with Tony and Janet and others who are here, where we spoke with one another about some of the differences that people of faith have in the political arena, I had a man say to me, Mrs. Clinton, I want your forgiveness because for the last four years I have worked very hard to destroy you. And I was taken aback. And he went on to say,

then I realized that my faith in my head was not connected to my heart.

And I said to him, you know, I very much appreciate your saying this, and I certainly will remember forever that you have, and of course I forgive you.

I walked away from that and visited the other people in the room and I went home and thought about it. And I thought, you know, I don't know this man. I had never met him before. But what I should have said is, I don't know you and I don't know anything about you, but I want you to forgive me also, because I am sure that in my moments of frustration and anger, I have said terrible things about people like you and I've thought even worse. But I didn't say that. So I say it now.

If he's here or if anyone else is here, because we have, in our country, spent a lot of time in the last several years demonizing people with whom we do not agree politically. I've heard Tony Hall say a dozen times he was often told he could not be both a Democrat and a Christian. He says it with his good humor, but I know how much that can hurt. And, of course, I have to confess that it's crossed my mind that you could not be a Republican and a Christian from time to time. (Laughter.)

But I hope that that breach, as wide as it has been, is beginning to close because of leaders like Tony and others. We all need to be reminded of the parables from the New Testament and particularly the Good Samaritan, which I think can always be looked at from so many different perspectives because, after all, every one of us walks away from somebody nearly every day who is hurting because we don't have time, we don't want to be involved, we don't think we can help. And it doesn't have to be someone lying in a ditch. It can be a young child who needs your time and you say you don't have it. It can be someone who works for you and you know is going through a hard time, but you don't want to get involved. It can be an aimless person whose plight comes to your attention, but you're not the person to help.

Because I travel so much, I see many people like that. And I have to confess, some I try to help and others I, too, walk away from. But it's another one of those reminders that our faith is best evidenced by what we do.

Then the President talked about how so many of us in act in ways that we justify to ourselves and others because we are absolutely convinced we are doing whatever we believe in on behalf of God. People of faith, I think especially, have to be humble whenever we think that, to catch ourselves and be honest enough to say, I think that what I'm doing is on behalf of God; I believe this is what I am called to do; but to know that that is a human judgment, and always to be open to looking at it from a different perspective.

And, finally, the examples of transformation -- thank heavens for them. It's always interesting to me as I read the Bible, and I can remember from years ago being in Sunday School classes, and wondering, of all the people in the world, why would God choose some of those who He chose to carry out His mission on this Earth? Even heroes of the Bible -- people like David -- hardly led a blameless life. Even heroes of the New Testament, like Paul -- we know

what he did as Saul. We know how hard he struggled even after he was transformed to quell his pride and his ambition in the service of Christ.

It's a lesson to all of us, but, yes, faith and following the example of Christ can lead to transformation. But even after transformation we have to be humble, and we have to work hard to make sure we don't elevate ourselves now that we have been transformed.

When I was writing my book, *It Takes A Village*, I wanted very much to write about the role that religion plays and that I think should play in raising children. And it was a struggle because the editors with whom I was working said to me, you know, most people in America are just not very religious and it would just take too long to try to explain why for you this is an important part of raising a child and having been raised yourself. And I struggled away to write something down anyway, and I would send pages of the draft in and comments would come back, and very often the comments were along the lines, you can't refer in this passage where you're talking about the effects of divorce to King Solomon because very few people who read even will know who King Solomon is. You can't throw in this aside about David or talk about this parable because most people won't know what you're talking about.

And I would struggle along and labor along and come back with another draft and I'd say, well, how about this? And we eventually worked it out so that I could say what I wanted to say. But what struck me then, forcefully, is that if indeed we are living in a country where very few people even know who King Solomon or King David is, and don't know the story of Saul's transformation into Paul, then a lot of us who argue with one another over matters of faith or politics are really wasting a lot of time and energy, because there are millions and millions of people right here in America who have not heard the word and who have not even, more importantly, seen us act in such a way that opens their hearts to wanting to hear the word.

So what I hope is that as we work to be repairers of the breach we take to heart what two Presidents have told us -- two men who in their own ways have tried to do just that -- and that we do more on behalf of the poor, because we all know that Jesus spoke more of the poor than anything else; that we do more to connect ourselves with people around the world, to see them as God's creations, to respect them and work with them; and that we lift up our political leaders and members of the press, hoping that by our prayers they, too, will be repairers of the breach; but that ultimately we take responsibility for all the breaches in our own lives; and that we do pray for guidance and strength, courage where needed, to repair the breaches in our own hearts and minds.

That's what I think we are called to do, and it is the hardest task of all.

I thank you for coming together, on this national day of prayer, to pray for those in authority. And I hope you will join me in praying for all the rest of us as well. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

Foundry pastor cites errors made by syndicated columnist

—Sees criticism as Presidential political attack

By DALE FLANAGAN
Connection Staff Writer

A recently published account of community mission giving by Foundry United Methodist Church in Washington underestimated the total amount by nearly \$200,000, according to the Rev. J. Philip Wogaman, pastor.

Cal Thomas, a nationally syndicated columnist, had suggested in a late April column that the church gave just \$35,000 a year to local mission causes. An actual conservative estimate, Wogaman said, is about \$221,000.

According to the pastor, that misstatement was just one of many errors included in the article, which was critical of Foundry's ministry.

Wogaman said he believes the criticism was not intended for him alone. "I think much of this was a political attack aimed at getting at President Clinton through the practice of his religion," he said.

The Clintons frequently attend services at Foundry. On April 30, with First Lady Hillary Clinton seated in

"I think much of this was a political attack aimed at getting at President Clinton through the practice of his religion."

—Rev. J. Philip Wogaman

the second pew and daughter Chelsea participating in the opening procession, Wogaman made references to the printed criticism of himself and the church during the worship service.

He thanked those in the congregation and people across the country who had been supportive after he was targeted by the columnist, describing the negative commentary as "part of the climate of the times in which we live."

In addition to the Thomas column, Wogaman mentioned an article by Mark Tooley in the spring 1995 issue of "Faith & Freedom," published by the Institute on Religion and Democracy (IRD). The Thomas column drew heavily from the IRD report.

The two accounts cast Wogaman as a liberal theologian and made much of his association with President Clinton and his family. Wogaman was cited for denying biblical teachings like the virgin birth and the inerrancy of scripture.

Foundry itself drew fire for being a "reconciling congregation" — open to all, including homosexuals — and was chided for limited community service despite a budget of almost \$1 million.

Wogaman told his congregation the quotations attributed to him "on the whole are accurate but are desperately out of context."

"Having written several thousand published pages over 30 years, I probably have done an even better job (of being critical) on myself."

On April 27, after the Thomas col-

umn was published, Wogaman sent a written response designed as an op-ed piece to a number of newspapers which run the syndicated column.

Most troubling, according to the pastor, was that Thomas did not attempt to speak to him directly regarding the charges made in the IRD articles.

"There was no contact with me at all," he said. "Absolutely none."

Wogaman explained that while the articles were loaded with quotes, the excerpts came from many years of his writings — spanning 13 books and countless articles and commentaries.

"There was no contact with me to clarify the meaning of the quotations," he said. "Most of them were taken out of context and really thoroughly distorted my views."

Because the Thomas column is syndicated to more than 300 newspapers nationally, Wogaman said he realized he was at an extreme disadvantage in trying to mount an effective rebuttal.

While admitting to personal pain over the incident, the pastor also expressed concern about how such negative journalism can undermine the public dialogue on important issues.

Wogaman noted that Thomas is a good writer. "A man of such talent, and with his readership, could make a major contribution toward bringing about a better society," he said. "But this column was totally irresponsible and indicative of the irresponsibility in much of the media today."

United Methodist Connection — May 12

Melanne Verveer

file
Religion

Clinton and Dole, Political Rivals, No Longer Pray Together

By GUSTAV NIEBUHR

WASHINGTON May 10 — Senator Bob Dole and his wife, Elizabeth, have stopped attending a United Methodist Church here that has also been the local spiritual home of President Clinton and his family.

A person close to the Doles said that the couple "have been attending several churches in the Washington area that more accurately reflect their traditional Christian beliefs," and that among them are a Presbyterian church and a Baptist church in Washington and another Method-

ist congregation in Arlington, Va.

The 1,400-member congregation, Foundry United Methodist Church — where the Republican Presidential hopeful and his wife used to go on Sunday mornings — was featured three weeks ago in a critical column by a conservative columnist, Cal Thomas. He said its pastor, the Rev. J. Philip Wogaman, with preaching politically and theologically liberal sermons.

In his column, Mr. Thomas stated that the church, about a mile north of the White House, is "where the Clintons receive moral nurture for their policies and programs."

"Curiously, despite Foundry's theological and political liberalism," he added, the Doles attended there.

In a 1988 book she wrote with her husband, Mrs. Dole described how she found "a caring, sensitive pastor" in Edward Bauman, who was Mr. Wogaman's predecessor. Last spring, in an interview, Mrs. Dole mentioned often seeing the Clintons at Foundry. But the President and his wife sat up front and the Doles sat near the rear, so they did not run into one another, she said.

In his specific criticisms of Mr. Wogaman, Mr. Thomas cited as his source an article in "Faith and Free-

dom," a quarterly publication of the Institute on Religion and Democracy, a Washington research organization that has been critical of mainline Protestant denominations, finding in them liberal tendencies.

A person close to the Doles, who would not speak for attribution, said the couple stopped attending the church last year.

He added that Senator Dole was not a member of Foundry, having kept his membership in Trinity United Methodist Church in his hometown, Russell, Kan.

A spokesman for Senator Dole declined to comment on the Senator's

church attendance.

Mr. Wogaman, 63, declined to comment on the Doles' attendance in his congregation, adding that he would consider any communication with them a private matter between pastor and congregants.

"I just have to respect everybody's spiritual space and not intrude upon it in the public media," said Mr. Wogaman, a former dean and professor of Christian ethics at Wesley Theological Seminary in Washington who has been Foundry's pastor since July 1992. He said that Mr. Thomas's column "severely distorted my views and the nature of my church."

Mr. Thomas said the Institute on Religion and Democracy had faxed

Mr. Wogaman two letters, asking him to respond to charges against the minister in the magazine article, but had received no reply. Mr. Wogaman said he had not received any request to comment from Mr. Thomas.

Although President Clinton has maintained his membership at Immanuel Baptist Church in Little Rock, Ark., he frequently attends Foundry with his wife, Hillary, and their daughter, Chelsea, who are both Methodists.

Begun 180 years ago, Foundry was also spiritual home to an earlier chief executive, Rutherford B. Hayes, President from 1877 to 1881.

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THE NEW YORK TIMES NATIONAL THURSDAY, MAY 11, 1995

Black Executives Forming Group to Defend Minority Programs

By STEVEN A. HOLMES

WASHINGTON, May 10 — A group of black business executives said today that they were forming a political action committee and hiring a lobbyist to fight efforts to eliminate or modify affirmative action programs, including those that set aside a percentage of Government contracts for minority-owned companies.

"Until now, the voice of black business has been largely silent on the twin issues of affirmative action and minority set asides," Earl G.

Graves, publisher of Black Enterprise Magazine, said at a news conference. "Today, that changes."

Mr. Graves, who was joined by other black executives, said that the group was "drawing a line in the sand" and that there would be "no retreat" on affirmative action. The group is made up of the Black Enterprise 100, the largest black-owned companies in the country.

"Until we get to the point in this country where there is truly a level playing field," said Maceo Sloan, head of the Sloan Financial Group, "where a black business can go to a bank, for example, and be judged, in

terms of loans, on the same basis that the majority business in this country are judged; where we have the same access to capital that they have and where there truly is a level playing field, we will very vigorously oppose the effort that is going on right to eliminate all the affirmative action programs."

The executives' effort comes at a time when affirmative action programs, especially the set-aside ones, are under increasing attack, mainly by Republicans. The White House is reviewing all Federal affirmative action efforts, and President Clinton is expected to announce the results

of the review soon. Administration officials have privately said that Government set-aside programs have received the most critical look.

Earlier this year, Congress voted to end a tax break for companies that sell television stations and cable systems to minorities. The program came under intense criticism as a result of a proposed sale by Viacom Inc., a New York-based media giant, to a group of investors headed by Frank Washington, a black entrepreneur from California.

Critics of the sale said it was an affirmative action program intended to help minority millionaires.

But today the black executives said that such criticism reflected a double standard because there are several Federal programs like farm subsidies that help well-off individuals and businesses.

"What about all the thousands of millionaires who are majority business owners, and no one raises the issue of that being un-American?" Mr. Graves said. "When we start to do it, all of a sudden, let's change the rules."

Mr. Graves said the 100 largest black-owned companies had combined sales of about \$11.7 billion last year and employed about 47,000 people, indicating that if the group could muster its financial resources, it could have significant political im-

pact.

The executives said today that they had not yet solicited all the top black businesses to contribute to the political action committee, which will be called Mobilization for Economic Opportunity. But Mr. Graves said he did not think it would be difficult to persuade them to reach into their pockets.

"Whether you talk about L.A. or San Francisco, or Chicago, or Detroit, or Atlanta or New York, the issues are the same," he said. "It would seem to me we're not going to have a very hard selling point to push here."

AM-Clinton-Dole-Church, 2nd Ld-Writethru, 0550

Doles Stop Worshipping at Church That the Clintons Attend

Eds: CORRECTS Hayes' term in last graf

By MIKE FEINSILBER= Associated Press Writer=

WASHINGTON (AP) The Doles and the Clintons, political rivals who once found common ground on Sunday mornings, no longer worship under the same roof.

Sen. Bob Dole and Elizabeth Hanford Dole have stopped attending the Foundry United Methodist Church, a mile north of the White House, where President Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton go to services about twice a month.

A friend of the Doles, declining to be identified, said the Doles considered the pastor of the 180-year-old church too liberal.

"The Doles have been attending several evangelical churches in the Washington area that more accurately reflect their Christian belief," he said, although Mrs. Dole remains a member of Foundry.

In addition to worshipping at Foundry, Dole was one of its financial supporters. Senators are required to give to charity the payments they receive for making speeches and in 1993, his financial disclosure forms show, he received \$69,450 in such honoraria and gave \$13,000 to Foundry. In 1992, he gave Foundry \$8,000. Senate financial disclosure forms for 1994 have not yet been made public.

In his Foundry sermons, the Rev. J. Philip Wogaman often strikes a liberal note, embracing feminism, decrying intolerance toward gays, supporting health care reform. A recent church newsletter criticized the GOP's "Contract With America."

A recent column by syndicated writer Cal Thomas was critical of Wogaman's "theological and political liberalism," which he said offered "moral nurture" for the Clintons' political views. Wogaman said the article distorted his views and seemed to be using the Clintons' religion "as a way to oppose their politics."

Through spokesmen, Dole, the Senate majority leader and a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination, and Mrs. Dole, president of the American Red Cross, declined comment.

In a 1988 book she coauthored with her husband, Mrs. Dole wrote how she found "a caring, sensitive pastor" in Edward Bauman, who was Wogaman's predecessor at Foundry.

And this spring, in an interview, Mrs. Dole mentioned often seeing the Clintons at Foundry. But the president and his wife sat up front and the Doles sat near the rear, so they did not run into one another, she said.

Wogaman said that out of respect for their privacy he would not discuss whether the Doles have stopped attending.

"I can confirm that Senator and Mrs. Dole have been valued participants in Foundry Church for a number of years, and I'm sure they understand that they are warmly welcomed here," Wogaman said. "We want to be understanding and supportive of both the Doles and the Clintons amid the heavy political pressures they face and we hope people will not make an issue of their church attendance."

Clinton is a Southern Baptist and still belongs to Immanuel Baptist Church in Little Rock, Ark., where he sang in the choir. Friends say he worships at Foundry because he likes Wogaman and likes attending church with his wife and daughter, Chelsea, both Methodists.

Clinton is the first president to worship regularly at Foundry since Rutherford B. Hayes, who held office from 1877 to 1881.

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**** printed by:WHPR(JEL) on 05/11/95 at 08:53EDT ****

The Reliable Source

By Lois Romano

This Church Ain't Big Enough . . .

Foundry United Methodist Church, it seems, isn't big enough for President Clinton and presidential GOP contender Bob Dole.

Dole and his wife, Elizabeth, have reportedly stopped attending the 180-year-old Washington church where the Clintons are regulars because they felt its activist pastor leaned a bit too far to the left. This comes at a time when Bob Dole has been taking pains to appeal to conservative Republicans and the Christian right.

"Any inquiry about the attendance at a church is best directed to that person," Foundry pastor J. Philip Wogaman told us yesterday. "I can confirm that [the Doles] have been valued participants in Foundry Church for a number of years. We want to be understanding and supportive of both the Doles and the Clintons amid the heavy political pressures they face."

A "friend" of the Doles told the Associated Press that although Elizabeth Dole remains a member, "the Doles have been attending several evangelical churches in the Washington area that more accurately reflect their Christian belief." In his sermons and numerous books, Wogaman has supported health care reform, tolerance for homosexuality and equality for women. His views were recently criticized by conservative columnist Cal Thomas.

First lady Hillary Clinton and daughter Chelsea are the Methodists in the family, and while the president is Baptist, he does attend services at the church, which is just up 16th Street from the White House.

Wogaman, 63, calls himself a liberal on some issues (social programs, health care) and a conservative on others (family values). "I think it's a mistake to avoid issues just to avoid controversy," the pastor said. "Then, the message you're sending is that Christianity is irrelevant, and that would be the biggest mistake of all."



Dole and Clinton: Pew polls.

■ More patrons of the Uptown Theatre were kind enough to call in with rat tales of their own. David Tillet of Potomac told us yesterday that he took a group there to see "Interview With the Vampire" and the next day called management to gripe about rats in the balcony. "I had to keep my feet up the whole time—it was very distracting," he says. Tillet, who was given free passes after he complained, said he just couldn't bring himself to use them. And another woman, requesting anonymity, says she saw a rat there a few weeks ago. Still no word from the Cineplex Odeon.

■ Actress Glenn Close is the odds-on favorite to play the evil Cruella De Vil in Walt Disney Pictures' live-action version of the animated classic "101 Dalmatians." Variety reports that production is due to start in England in the fall.

■ A high-flying entrepreneur in Los Angeles has put his heart on a banner in a rather desperate attempt to snag a date with O.J. Simpson prosecutor Marcia Clark. Pilot Bob Dobry yesterday flew a plane over the courthouse trailing signs with the plea: "Marcia, you still look great. After the trial, how about our lunch date?—Pilot Bob." Dobry, who pulled a similar stunt a month ago, told the Associated Press he only wants "one hour of her time. . . . She can bring her kids, she can bring her boyfriend, she can do whatever she wants to do."

■ Andrew Lloyd Webber's "Sunset Boulevard," one



WE'VE HEARD THAT . . .



Top, Welch, full of beans? Bush, honored; above, Gilbert and Boxleitner, soon to be pampered. Below from left, Close, seeing spots; Clark, romance in the air?

of the hottest shows on Broadway, was summarily dismissed by the prestigious New York Drama Critics Circle this week. The show was nominated for nine Tony Awards, including best musical, on Monday. The Critics Circle voted 16 to 1 not to bestow a best musical award. It picked Tom Stoppard's "Arcadia" as best play of the year.

Terrence McNally's "Love! Valour! Compassion!" was chosen as best American play.

■ When Raquel Welch splits, she splits. The aging screen goddess left her companion of five years, fashion executive Robert Moore, saying, "I was hungry to do something new. I was window-shopping for a challenge. . . . With men, it's like trying every color in the jelly bean jar to see what's going to taste good."

■ In response to threats of libel action from the writers of an HBO film on the McMartin Preschool child molestation case, two child advocacy groups have agreed to retract an accusation that the film was funded by public money. The Children's Civil Rights Fund and Believe the Children, which sent letters to critics bad-mouthing the production, will retract the funding charge. The groups claim the case—which ended in two hung juries—is being portrayed as merely a witch hunt.

■ Actors Charles Shaughnessy ("The Nanny") and Jean Smart ("Designing Women") and comedian Garrett Morris are among a group of about two dozen celebs paying their own way to Oklahoma City today to try to bring some fun back to the shell-shocked city. They'll split up into small groups and fan out to hospitals, schools, the YMCA day care center (where many kids were injured) and a reception for Red Cross volunteers.

"In my business, we're always trying to get celebrities to come to events where they are paid," said trip planner Rita Tateel from Los Angeles, who added that food and lodging have been donated by local businesses. "So for these people to be willing to do this on short notice is truly a miracle."

■ George Bush will be the keynote speaker at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg Sunday, and will be presented with an honorary degree.

■ Actress Melissa Gilbert is expecting with husband Bruce Boxleitner. She has a son by a previous marriage, and he has two of his own.

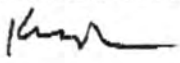
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 20, 1995

MEMORANDUM TO MELANNE VERVEER
DEPUTY CHIEF OF STAFF
TO THE FIRST LADY

FROM: KIM ROSS 
DOMESTIC POLICY OFFICE

SUBJECT: RECOMMENDATIONS

I spoke with Bill Galston this evening and asked him about your request for names of experts who have thought about "where people are, how they are feeling and why." Bill suggested several people in the areas of sociology, philosophy and religion, as you suspected. If you have any questions don't hesitate to call me at 456-5390.

Danielle Yankelovich A long time student of public opinion. Could be reached through Public Agenda Foundation.

Robert Bellah Sociology at U. of CA at Berkley. Wrote Habits of the Heart.

Michael Sander Political Theorist at Harvard. Has written on the community.

Jean Elshtain U. of Chicago and Committee on Social Thought at the Divinity School.

Martin Marty U. of Chicago Divinity School. Has written about american society from a religious perspective.

Robert Coles Harvard (Medical School?). Well known, has written many books about religion.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 27, 1995

file

MEMORANDUM FOR LEON PANETTA

HAROLD ICKES

ERSKINE BOWLES

FROM:

GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS

ALEXIS HERMAN/FLO MCAFEE

ABNER MIKVA/JAMES CASTELLO/STEVE NEUWIRTH

BILL GALSTON

MELANNE VERVEER

SUBJECT:

RELIGION

President Clinton has a powerful message to share with the American people about the role of religion in American life. The President, like most Americans, believes that the government should protect -- but not sponsor -- religious expression. As the President showed in Oklahoma City, he understands that religion and religious institutions offer our communities support, values and hope. Religion is an important part of the President's own life. And he wants to create an environment in which religious discourse draws people together, rather than pushes them apart.

The American people seem intensely concerned about moral drift in the nation, and about the many outside influences that are shaping their children's character. In some respects, people may be far less interested in the Washington legislative process than in concepts like family, individual responsibility, community and religion.

Unfortunately, many, if not most, Americans remain unaware of the President's views. We believe the White House should develop a strategy by which the President can exercise genuine leadership on the issues of religion and values. The President cares deeply about these issues. These issues also offer a thematic basis to tie together various Clinton initiatives, from welfare reform to education to urban economic development.

The window of opportunity for the President to seize the initiative and define the debate may be small. We expect that in the coming months -- and perhaps promptly -- congressional Republicans will introduce either a constitutional amendment on religion and school prayer, or some form of religion legislation. Dole and Gramm have already expressed support for action in this area. Without a reasonable alternative, these Republican initiatives could set the standard for debate and even prove attractive to citizens who generally fear state involvement in religion but yearn for a return to morality and virtue in our communities.

The themes articulated by the President in Oklahoma City -- in particular, the concerns about how we raise our children and the kind of communities in which we live -- lay an important groundwork for further Presidential discussion of values and religion.

Several other Presidential efforts could also be built upon. In 1993, with bipartisan support and to the accolades of "conservative" and "liberal" religious leaders, the President signed the Religious Freedom Restoration Act. (President Bush had been unwilling to support similar legislation.) The President has demonstrated his commitment to the Act on several occasions. White House Public Liaison has coordinated a substantial effort of outreach to the religious community, including private meetings at the White House and Presidential speeches at prayer breakfasts and other religious events. Each of our offices has engaged in a dialogue with religious leaders, several of whom have offered to support the President in this area.

At the same time, the Education Department has pursued several relevant initiatives, including a Family Involvement Initiative that now includes 33 different religious organizations. Secretary Riley meets on a regular basis with religious leaders both in Washington and around the country. The Secretary met most recently with Cardinal Bernardin in Chicago and spoke last week at the National Catholic Education Association. Secretary Riley has established his credibility with many of the participants in the coming school prayer debate, including leading religious conservatives. The Secretary, in coordination with the White House, recently supported a broad spectrum of religious groups that issued a statement on the extent to which current law actually permits student religious expression in our schools. The Secretary also supported another broad coalition of organizations that agreed to address school-religion issues in a spirit of decency and good will.

HUD and HHS are also actively involved in outreach to the religious community, particularly on matters related to housing programs and welfare reform.

We suggest that several options for Presidential action be considered promptly:

Presidential speeches: The President could give one or more speeches to address the role of religion and values in American life. These speeches could set forth the President's vision and broad themes. The Vice President, Secretary Riley and Attorney General Reno might make follow-up speeches on more specific topics.

White House Conference on Character Formation: Scheduled for May 19-20, this may be an attractive forum for Presidential discussion of values, community and religion.

Convene a meeting of religious leaders: The President could host an event to ask religious organizations to support a spirit of community and healing. The President might also reestablish a series of smaller breakfast meetings with religious leaders.

Executive Order: The President could develop an executive order that enhances, for example, agency enforcement of the Religious Freedom Restoration Act and the Equal Access Act (concerning religious activities at schools).

Legislation: Develop a legislative strategy. The President might develop legislation to clarify religious rights in certain settings.

file -rel.

November 17, 1994

To: Nicole Rabner
From: Lorrie McHugh, Josh Silverman
Re: Middle East photos

The photo of the First Lady and religious leaders from the Middle East trip went to about 50 specialty news organizations including Jewish and Arab-American press. We did a targeted mailing that reached specific regions as well as news services which blanketed the country. The news services actually received the photo last week.

The photo was accompanied by a list of people in the picture, speech texts including the President's remarks and the attached cover letter from Media Affairs.

If you have any questions, please give me a call at 6-2987. Thanks....

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 17, 1994

Dear Editor,

On October 26, 1994, President Clinton and First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton witnessed the signing of the Treaty of Peace between the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and Israel. There were 58 guests of the President who made the historic trip overseas. These guests were primarily religious leaders and leaders of the Arab-American and Jewish-American Communities.

Enclosed for you is a picture of the First Lady, with some of the members of the Arab-American and Jewish-American Communities that traveled with the Presidential Party to the Middle East, accompanied by a caption identifying photographed members. Also attached is a copy of remarks made by President Clinton, His Majesty King Hussein of Jordan, and Prime Minister Rabin of Israel at the signing of the Treaty of Peace.

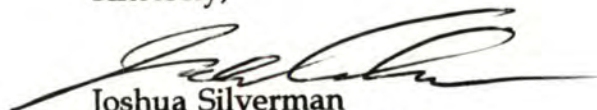
The Office of Media Affairs will continue to keep you informed of the Administration's actions that are important to the Arab-American and Jewish-American Communities. If you choose to use this information in your publication, please send us a clipping of the article and photo as it appeared in that edition. This will help us assess how useful these information packets are to you.

We would like to receive your papers on a regular basis to keep us informed of the issues concerning the Arab-American and Jewish-American Communities so we can better serve you. Our mailing address is:

The White House
Office of Media Affairs
Washington D.C. 20500

If we can be of any further assistance, please do not hesitate to call us at 202.456.7150.

Sincerely,



Joshua Silverman
Office of Media Affairs

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(Wadi Araba Crossing, Jordan-Israel Border)

For Immediate Release

October 26, 1994

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT CLINTON,
HIS MAJESTY KING HUSSEIN OF JORDAN,
AND PRIME MINISTER RABIN OF ISRAEL
AT SIGNING OF TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN
THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN AND ISRAEL

Wadi Araba Crossing
Jordan-Israel Border

1:23 P.M. (L)

KING HUSSEIN: Peace be upon you. God's peace. The greeting with which Muslims and Arabs receive their guests, exchange amongst each other; the greeting that has been taken to every part of the world over a long and cherished history and past.

It is with a sense of enormous pride, a sense of fulfillment, that I stand here before you today, together with President Clinton, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, President Weizman and all our distinguished colleagues and friends -- an unusual day, a day like no other in terms of the hopes, in terms of the promise and in terms of the determination.

God willing and with God's blessing of us all to remember this day as long as we live and for future generations -- Jordanians, Israelis, Arabs, Palestinians -- all children of Abraham, to remember it as the dawning of the new era of peace, mutual respect between us all, tolerance and the coming together of people of generations to come, we understand, to build and achieve what is worthy of them.

We will always cherish the memory and honor all those who have fallen over the years. And amongst all of our peoples I believe they are with us on this occasion and at this time, as we come together to ensure, God willing, that there will be no more death, no more misery, nor more suspicion, no more fear, no more uncertainty of what each day might bring, as has been the case in the past. (Applause.)

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and I had the honor of signing the Washington Declaration with President Clinton, our partner and our friend. (Applause.) And we took it upon us, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and myself, to shepherd the process of negotiations to a successful conclusion. I believe that both of us share in this moment of achievement and pride and relief, and, hopefully, we have contributed towards a better future of our peoples for all times to come. (Applause.)

The Prime Minister of Israel and the Prime Minister of Jordan will shortly ratify the peace treaty between our two countries. This will be witnessed by President Clinton. In a matter of days, we will have completed in Jordan the passage of this peace treaty through the legislature. I, who have accompanied my colleagues throughout this process – Prime Minister Majali since Madrid, my brother Crown Prince Hassan and every Jordanian who has been involved – and honored to be involved – in this peace process fully support every word and every letter in this peace process between Jordan and Israel. (Applause.)

I know it is supported by the overwhelming majority of our people, who have learned today of its passage to the Knesset by an overwhelming majority. These are the moments in which we live – the past and the future. This great valley in which we stand will become the valley of peace. (Applause.)

And when we come together to build it and to make it bloom as never before, and we come to live next to each other as never before, we will be doing so, Israelis and Jordanians together – (applause) – without the need for any to observe our actions or supervise our endeavors. This is peace with dignity. This is peace with commitment. This is our gift to our peoples and the generations to come. (Applause.)

It will herald the change in the quality of life in people. It will not be essentially a piece of paper ratified by those responsible, blessed by the world. It will be real, as we open our hearts and minds to each other; as we discover a human face to everything that has happened, and to each other, for all of us have suffered for far too long.

President Clinton, you have been our partner. You have been our friend. You have given us your support, together with the administration of the United States of America. You are at the helm during this historic moment. I will always remember the warmth of your welcome to us both in Washington, and the warmth of the welcome of the people of the United States of America with which they received our news and lauded our achievements.

No one will ever forget this day. And in particular, they will always remember the fact that you personally came to be with us here on this most happy of occasions, at the end of a chapter of darkness and the opening of a book of light. (Applause.)

I am proud of our friendship. God bless you and give you every future success. And maybe the world needs some good examples of what should happen between people. (Applause.) And hopefully, this might herald similar progress not only on all the tracks here in this region, because we are all committed to a comprehensive peace – we wish it, and hopefully, it will be – but throughout the world. The world that is the home of all of us, that in itself is so small, where so much needs to be addressed and met for humanity and for the future.

Behind us here you see Eliat and Aqaba, the way we have lived over the years, in such close proximity, unable to meet, to visit each other, to develop this beautiful part of the world. No more, as we look into the future beyond this point with determination, with hope, with commitment. We survived the hard times. Let our people beyond this point in time enjoy the good times.

I would like to thank all our friends, all our distinguished guests who join us here today -- representative of President Yeltsin, Foreign Minister of Russia; distinguished foreign ministers; our Arab presidents of our Arab homeland; our guests from throughout the world, our friends. And a very happy welcome to all of you Jordanians and Israelis, alike, at this very precious moment. God bless you all. (Applause.)

PRIME MINISTER RABIN: Your Majesty, King Hussein the First; President Clinton; President Weizman; the foreign ministers of our countries; distinguished guests from all over the world; the peoples of Jordan and Israel. From this podium, I look around and I see the Araba. Along the horizon, from the Jordanian side and the Israeli side, I see only a desert. There is almost no life here, there is no water, no wells and not a spring -- only mine fields.

Such were the relations between Israel and Jordan during the last 47 years, a desert -- not one green leaf, no trees, not even a single flower. There comes a time when there is a need to be strong and to make courageous decisions to overcome the mine fields, the drought, the bareness between our two peoples.

We have known many days of sorrow; you have known many days of grief. But bereavement unites us as does bravery. And we honor those who sacrificed their lives. We both must draw on the springs of our great spiritual resources to forgive the anguish we caused each other, to clear the mine fields that divided us for so many years, and to supplant it with fields of plenty.

For nearly two generations, desolation pervaded the heart of our two peoples. The time has now come not merely to dream of a better future, but to realize it. Leaders should clear the path, should show the way. But the road itself must be paved by both peoples. I don't believe that we would have reached this great moment without the desire for peace in the hearts of both peoples; in the hearts of the soldiers and the intellectuals; in the hearts of the farmers and of the lorry drivers who drive through the Araba highways in Jordan and Israel; in the hearts of teachers and of the little children. Both nations were determined that the great revolution in the Middle East would take place in their generation.

From this podium, I look around and I see the Araba, and I see you, our generation and the next. We are the ones who will transform this barren place into a fertile oasis, that the red-browns and the dark grays will burst forth in vibrant greens. Your Majesty, peace between states is peace between peoples. It is an expression of trust and esteem. I have learned to know and admire the quiet and the smiling power with which you guard your nation, and the courage with which you lead your people. (Applause.)

It is not only our states that are making peace with each other today; not only our nations that are shaking hands in peace here in the Araba. You and I, Your Majesty, are making peace here -- our own peace, the peace of soldiers and the peace of friends. (Applause.)

President Clinton, thank you for your tremendous support throughout the entire process which was vital for the achievement of this final result. I would like to thank many others on the Israeli side, on the Jordanian side that worked very hard, day and night, that we will be allowed to reach this great moment -- the Foreign Minister of Israel -- and many others that no doubt contributed a lot to this great achievement.

A dawn broke this morning and a new day began. New life came into the world. Babies were born in Jerusalem; babies were born in Amman. But this morning is different. To the mother of the Jordanian newborn, a blessed day to you. To the mother of the Israeli newborn, a blessed day to you. The peace that was born today gives us all the hope that the children born today will never know war between us and their mothers will know no sorrow. (Applause.)

Allow me to end by the simple words, Shalom, Salaam, Peace. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT CLINTON: King Hussein, President Weizman, Prime Minister Rabin, Prime Minister Majali, Crown Prince Hassan, Foreign Minister Peres, Foreign Minister Kozyrev, Mr. Secretary of State; to the people of Jordan and Israel -- with a special thanks to those who are our cheering section up there --(laughter) -- we thank you all. (Applause.)

At the dawn of this peace of a generation, in this ancient place we celebrate the history and the faith of Jordanians and Israelis. But we break the chains of the past that for too long have kept you shackled in the shadows of strife and suffering. We thank those who have worked for peace before. We celebrate the efforts of brave leaders who saw the bright horizon of this dawn, even while the darkness lingered.

This vast bleached desert hides great signs of life. Today we see the proof of it, for peace between Jordan and Israel is no longer a mirage. It is real. It will take root in this soil. It will grow to great heights and shelter generations to come.

Today we honor the constant and devoted work of two courageous leaders, two who have risked everything so that their children and their children's children need fight nor fear no more.

King Hussein, today in this arid place, you bring to full flower the memory of the man who taught you to seek peace, your grandfather, King Abdullah. (Applause.) When he was martyred four decades ago, he left you with a great burden and a great dream. He believed that one day, on both sides of the River Jordan, Arab and Jew would live in peace. How bravely you have shouldered that burden and carried that dream. Now after so much danger and so much hardship, Your Majesty, your day has come. Truly, you have fulfilled your grandfather's legacy. (Applause.)

Prime Minister Rabin, you have spent a lifetime as a soldier, fighting first to establish your country and then for so long, to defend it. For a lifetime, you have fought with skill and tenacity and courage, simply to achieve a secure and lasting peace for your people. Now you have given them the hope of life after the siege. In your own words, you have now given them the challenge to furnish the house of Israel and make it a home. As a general, you have won many battles through strength and courage. But now, through strength and courage, you command the army of peace, and you have won the greatest victory of all. We salute you. (Applause.)

As has been said before, this treaty is the product of many hands. Crown Prince Hassan and Foreign Minister Peres know better than any of us that spring -- that peace does not spring full-grown. It requires cultivation; it requires patience and care. We salute their devotion and persistence, and the wise and determined counsel of Secretary Christopher. We are in all their debt, and we thank them. (Applause.)

I say to the people of Israel and Jordan, now you must make this peace real; to turn no-man's land into every man's home; to take down the barbed wire; to remove the deadly mines; to help the wounds of war to heal. Open your borders, open your hearts -- peace is more than an agreement on paper. It is feeling; it is activity; it is devotion.

The forces of terror will try to hold you back. Already they take deadly aim at the future of peace. In their zeal to kill hope and keep hatred alive, they would deny all that peace can bring to your children. We cannot, we must not, we will not let them succeed. (Applause.)

The United States stands with you. Since President Truman first recognized Israel, we have wished for and worked for comprehensive peace between Israel and all her neighbors. On behalf of all Americans, including millions of Jewish and Arab Americans for whom this day means so much, I thank you for trusting America to help you arrive at this moment. The American people are very proud of the opportunity we have had. (Applause.)

And now let the work of progress bear fruit. Here at the first of many crossing points to be open, people from every corner of the earth will soon come to share in the wonders of your lands. There are resources to be found in the desert; minerals to be drawn from the sea; water to be separated from salt and used to fertilize the fields. Here where slaves in ancient times were forced to take their chisels to the stone, the earth, as the Koran says, will stir and swell and bring forth life. The desert, as Isaiah prophesied, shall rejoice and blossom.

Here your people will drink water from the same well and savor together the fruit of the vine. As you seize this moment, be assured that you will redeem every life sacrificed along the long road that brought us to this day. You will take the hatred out of hearts and you will pass along to your children a peace for the generations.

Your Majesty; Mr. Prime Minister, here in the great Rift Valley you have bridged the tragic rift that separated your people for too long. Here in this region, which is the home of not only both your faiths, but mine, I say, blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall inherit the Earth.

END2:06 P.M. (L)

The following individuals accompanied President Clinton to the Middle East:

(From left to right)

Dr. Isnar Schorsch – Chancellor, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York, New York

Reverend Dr. Otis Moss, Jr. – Pastor, Olivet Institutional Baptist Church, Cleveland, Ohio

Dr. Mian Mohammad Ashraf

Dr. Joan Brown Campbell – General Secretary, National Council of Churches of Christ, U.S.A.

Reverend Charles Gilchrest Adams – Pastor, Hartford Memorial Baptist Church, Detroit, Michigan

Reverend James B. Henry – President, Southern Baptist Convention, 1994; Pastor, First Baptist Church, Orlando, Florida

Father Leo J. O'Donovan, S.J. – President, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

First Methodist Pulpit
Little Rock, AR.

Rev. Ed Matthews
September 25, 1994

"IN SUCH TIMES AS THESE"

Esther 7:1-6, 10, 4:14 James 5:19-20 Matt. 9:38-50

A long time ago in a country between India and Ethiopia there ruled a king named Ahasuerus. (We'll call him "Aha" for short, because as we'll see he was something of a joke.) One night in the midst of a big party Aha had thrown he called for his wife, Queen Vashti, to come entertain them with her dance. Well, for some reason -- perhaps she hadn't been to the beauty shop -- the queen refused to go. (Some feminist declare it was the beginning of the women's liberation.) Now, you didn't do that in those days, so the king banished her from the queenship, from the palace and from the country. King Aha decreed that a beauty contest be held in all of the 127 provinces of his kingdom. The winner would be the new queen. A beautiful young lady named Esther won the contest and became queen.

Now, Esther was an orphan whose Jewish parents died when she was very young. Her much older cousin, Mordecai, cared for her and raised her. Even when she moved into the palace as queen, Mordecai stationed himself in the courtyard where he could still watch over her. He hadn't been there many days until he overheard a conversation between two of the gate keepers, how they were plotting to kill the king. He sent word of the plot to Esther, who in turn told the king, who in turn killed the two plotters. This incident got recorded in the Book of Chronicles, like the Congressional Record, of daily happenings around the palace.

King Aha had this trusted chief of staff, Haman. Now, Haman was one more egotistical buck. So taken was he by his high rank that he insisted that all the peoples bow to him. And they did; -all but Queen Esther's cousin Mordecai. He declared that as a devout Jew he didn't worship humans. Oh, that angered Haman! He vowed not only to kill Mordecai but all the Jews in the 127 provinces. He reported to Aha the unfaithfulness of Mordecai and all the Jews, and succeeded in getting an edict ratified to annihilate them. The decree went out. Mordecai just fell a part. He torn up his cloths and put on sackcloth and waited outside the palace gate. And he sent word to cousin Esther, "You must speak to the king and stop this decree."

In those days no one visited with the king without being summoned there by the king himself - not even the queen. To approach the king otherwise was at the risk of life, for if he determined he didn't want to see you he'd order you killed right there on the spot. If he was willing to see you, even though he'd summoned you, he would point his scepter toward you, otherwise you were a goner. So, Esther, aware of all this, sent word back out to Mordecai, "I can't just go in and talk to him. He could kill me!" And Mordecai sent word back in, "Either way, you're dead. You are our only hope! So, go speak to him. After all, who knows whether or not you came to the kingdom for just such times?" (4:14)

So, Esther made up her mind she'd go talk to King Aha. Scared and her heart about to pound out of her body, she approaches him. And, bless her little soul, the king was in a good mood and pointed his scepter at her and asked what her request was. "I'd like you and your adviser Haman to honor me by attending my banquet for you." When egomaniac Haman heard that he'd been invited he could hardly contain his excitement. He went rushing out to tell others. But who did he see first but despised Mordecai, in sackcloth and all. The very sight of Mordecai really caused Haman's ulcers to act up. He ordered the maintenance crew to construct a gallows fifty feet high. He was going to begin the eradication of the Jews tomorrow, commencing with Mordecai.

That night, for some reason Aha couldn't get off to sleep. He decided he'd read awhile. And what does he read but that Chronicle -- the Journal entry -- of when Mordecai reported the plot to kill Aha. Aha asked the chambermaid; "What did we ever do for that fellow Mordecai who saved my life?" "Nothing," was the reply. "Who's still up at this hour?" Aha asked. "I see Haman outside there overseeing some kind of construction project," the chambermaid reported. "Well, send for him," Aha insisted. Old Haman just about busted a gut getting in there. "Tell me, Haman. What would you do for a fellow that just meant everything to you, who had been so loyal and all?" Aha asked. Now, Haman just knew that the king was referring to Haman and was planning to honor him. "Why, I believe I'd break out some of the finest robes of the king and robe him in them and mount him on the king's finest horse, and I'd parade him up and down the streets before the people, announcing what the fellow meant to the king." "Good idea," Aha agreed: "Tomorrow you do that for Mordecai for me, Okay?" Was Haman ever furious the next day as he saw to it that Mordecai was so honored. But, the anger was relieved some by remembering that he was to go to Queen Esther's banquet that night with the king.

They get to the banquet and Aha asks, "Queen Esther, what is it that I can do for you? Half of my kingdom I will grant you." Well, her nerve fails her and she can't get out the request, but she does manage to get out, "I want the two of you to come to dinner again tomorrow night." During the second evening she screws up her courage, as Aha continues to insist, "Tell me what I can do for you." She took a deep breath and blurts it out: "There is an evil man who wishes to kill me and my people." "Who, for heavens sake?" Aha demands. "Right there," as she points to Haman. "Get him!" the king demands. And, Haman was hanged then and there on the gallows constructed to hang Mordecai.

Isn't that a touching story with some interesting twists? It's in the Old Testament. We call it the Book of Esther. It's not history, only legend. It doesn't even depict any of the Jewish tradition. Martin Luther insisted that it not be in the Bible as it doesn't even mention God. Its value must lie somewhere in its depiction of deliverance from pending tragedy -- when an entire race was about to be annihilated. Holding that notion in mind, I want us to pick up on the statement of Mordecai when he was insisting Esther go talk to the king, pleading he save

them; "Who knows but that you may have come to the kingdom just for such a time?" I.e., to prevent mass murders!

Ours are times when there are many murders/assassinations; -not just in domestic violence, in our streets or drive-by shootings. I'm referring to what Tim Hackler, writing in a recent ARKANSAS TIMES, calls "bloodless assassinations" which are the work of a crystallization of thinking -- into very non-partisan thinking. There currently are groupings of particular mind-sets that have berthed public advocacy policies. These are mostly single-issue groups; abortion, homosexuality, sex education, AIDS, family values, health care reform depicted as "socialized medicine." The groups take on names like ProLife, ProFamily, Excellence in Education, Christian Coalition; -such harmless, yea, good-sounding causes. However, there is a litmus test; anyone swaying just a dab to the left of the crystallized policy need not apply.

I believe there is a "silent majority" out there very concerned about such tunnel-visioned positions, especially those operating under the guise of doing the Lord's work with prominent TV evangelists promoting those political goals. For the church to "be involved in politics" is a right which has been long-defended by United Methodism; -but not a politics of exclusion, almost aimed at developing strong animosities of festering hatreds between people, of "outsiders" who are condemned and targeted for destruction. There are those crying out, "Surely someone is in a position to lead us out of such intolerance."

Indeed, someone, some group, must come forward with a responsible challenge to such divisive intolerance. It needs to provide a hitching-post, a rallying-point for the new "silent majority" that is very concerned and frustrated by all that is developing on our national political and religious scene. It **CANNOT** and **MUST NOT** be another hate group, out only to destroy those who are bent on destroying. There is just no room for that among the believers in God, Lord and savior of us all! It must be a movement of bridge-building, of reconciling that can bring a certain calming to today's turbulent waters. It must be a call to **TRUTH**, as Jesus defines Truth, "...that which will set you free." Such Truth will be free from hate and free to love! -to hear! -to make transitions! -to stand firm, but not be exclusive and only condemning. It would be a voice defending the right of a political candidate to run for an elected office and campaign on the issues of that office, not the immorality of the opposing candidate: -for the right of an elected official to do the work of the office for which elected and not be required to expend all resources on defending trumped-up character assassination charges. (And, that's no call to overlook immoral conduct or behavior; simply a call to evaluate our motives.)

I, as a clergy person, am looking for such a group that is committed to promote such tolerance. I'm presently tracking the work of an existing nation-wide advocacy group called, "People for the American Way." Their mission seems to be one of tolerance. Yet, as a clergy I feel the need

identified with the more intolerant postures. Besides the need for the more open stance, I think the church is getting a bum rap from all that is going on. We must not remain silent. As the writer of the Epistle of James exhorts in the Epistle lesson today, "If anyone among you wanders from the truth, bring them back."

"Surely someone has come to the Kingdom for a time such as this," I can hear old Mordecai declaring and challenging. Or is it God I'm hearing?

"Teacher, we saw a fellow out there casting out demons in your name and we stopped him because he's not one of us," the disciples came saying to Jesus one day. "Well, was it working? Were the demons being cast out? Were the people being made whole and set free?" Jesus asked. "Yes, Sir," was their reply. "Then, don't stop them. Whoever is not against us is for us," was Jesus' solution to the situation. [Mk.9:38-40]

Let's focus just a moment on that surely God-intended lesson in this Gospel account. It **must** remind us that there is more than one way of thinking about God, of relating to God, of hearing from God and of learning through the insights of others. How fearful it is when any moral, any church, any coalition, any political party, any nation comes to hold that he/she/it has a monopoly on salvation, be in a religious or a political scenario. Undoubtedly these are times when we need be reminded that God's Truth is always bigger than any mortal or group of mortals can grasp totally. There always remains the call for tolerance of other insights, other approaches that may be coming from God.

Intolerance is a sign of both arrogance and ignorance. It is arrogant when it asserts that there is "no truth beyond my thinking, speaking and perception of it." Intolerance ignorance because it is lazy; -a crystallization of a bias and too lazy to work at new insights God may be revealing. The basis for tolerance, however, simply is the realization of the magnitude of the orb of Truth. It was John Morley who once wrote, "Truth dwells in divers mansions, wears vesture of many colours and speaks in strange tongues." Mortals who would be Christ-like are to know that we may be intolerant of another's position, but we may never be intolerant of that person. We may hate another's belief, deeds and behavior, but we can never hate the person. We may wish to eliminate what another teaches, but we can never wish to eliminate the person, to even include-them-out. That was the divine genius of Jesus; he could stand so firmly against, yet neither condemn nor exclude.

"He drew a circle and shut me out
Rebel, heretic, a thing to flout.
But love and I had the wit to win,
We drew a circle that took him in." (Edwin Markham)

"Who knows whether or not you have come to the Kingdom for just such a time as this" -- to draw that circle of Christ-like tolerance and love?

PRAYER: "Lord, speak to me that I may speak in living echoes of thy tone..." AMEN

THE INTERFAITH ALLIANCE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Dr. Herbert D. Valentine, Chair. As former Moderator of the Presbyterian Church (USA), Dr. Valentine held the highest elected position in the church body until last year. He is currently serving as the Executive Presbyter for the Baltimore Presbytery.

Dr. Joan Brown Campbell is the current General Secretary of the National Council of Churches. As part of a distinguished career marked by a commitment to ecumenical dialogue, she has served as President of the National Association of Ecumenical Staff and as a member of the Steering Committee for U.S. Church Leaders. She also serves on the board of directors of the Union Theological Seminary in New York City.

Denise T. Davidoff is the Moderator of the Unitarian Universalist Association, the highest elected office in the UUA. She has also served as President of the Unitarian Universalist Women's Federation and currently sits on the Unitarian Universalist Board of Trustees.

Rabbi David Gelfand is Senior Rabbi of the Anshe Chesed Fairmount Temple in Cleveland, Ohio. In addition, he serves as a chairperson for the Clergy Division of the United Way and is an Executive Board Member of the Synagogue Council of America. Rabbi Gelfand also was an adjunct faculty member of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in New York City and has published numerous articles on issues related to social justice.

Bishop Thomas J. Gumbleton is the Roman Catholic Bishop from the Archdiocese of Detroit. Bishop Gumbleton has a distinguished career as a spokesman for world peace. He has served as President of Bread for the World and is serving on the Board of Witness For Peace. He has received numerous awards, including the University of Notre Dame Peacemaker Award, and has published over twenty articles in national publications on issues related to world peace and social justice.

Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg is one of the country's most influential theological minds. Rabbi Hertzberg is the former president of both the American Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Policy Foundation. He is Professor Emeritus of Religion at Dartmouth University and visiting professor of history at New York University.

Reverend Leonard B. Jackson is an Associate Pastor in the First American Methodist Church in Los Angeles. He played a major role in planning and rebuilding efforts immediately following the recent civil unrest in Los Angeles. He has devoted himself to the reinvigoration of the Los Angeles community by providing leadership for a number of volunteer organizations, including the Los Angeles Youth Motivational Task Force.

Dr. Robert H. Meneilly is the Senior Pastor of The Village Church in Prairie Village, Kansas, which is a 7,600 member congregation. He recently served terms on the Board of Trustees at both Pittsburgh and McCormick Theological Seminaries and is the current President of the Kansas City Council of Churches.

Bishop Francis P. Murphy is the Auxiliary Bishop of the Catholic Archdiocese of Baltimore. He has a long-standing involvement with issues related to care for the poor, including his current term as President of the Western Maryland Interfaith Housing Development. He also serves as an advisory Board Member for the Christian Children's Fund and is a member of the board of directors for Bread for the World.

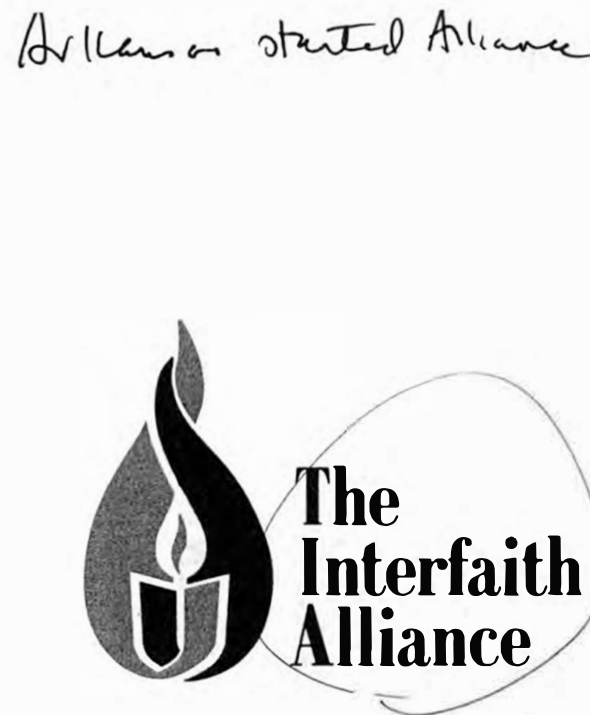
Dr. A. Knighton Stanley is the Senior Minister of Peoples Congregational United Church of Christ of Washington, D.C. and a member of the United Church of Christ General Synod's nominating committee. He chairs the board of trustees of the University of the District of Columbia, serves on the Steering Committee of America 2000 of the District of Columbia and is a member of the board of directors of both the Columbia Heights Development Corporation and the Latino Development Corporation.

Reverend Dr. John M. Swomley has been a pioneer in the field of social ethics and political science for more than thirty years. He has published over 350 articles and six books on religious liberty and Christian ethics. He is a committed member of national peace organizations, such as the Fellowship of Reconciliation, where he served as Executive Secretary. He has had a long involvement in the struggle for civil rights, including strategic planning for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

William P. Thompson has an unparalleled record of service reflecting his concern for the unity of the Presbyterian Church, which he has served as Moderator and Stated Clerk of the General Assembly, the church's highest governing body. He is a member of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches, a former President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and also served on the General Board of the National Council of Churches from 1966 to 1984.

Dr. Foy Valentine has distinguished himself as a theologian, scholar and Christian Ethicist, publishing numerous books and articles in the Christian Social Ethics field. He has served as chairman of the Christian Ethics Commission for Baptist World Alliance and served on President Jimmy Carter's Commission for a National Agenda for the 1980s. He is the immediate past president of Americans United for Separation of Church and State and for 28 years was Executive Director of the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention.

PHOTOCOPY
HRC HANDWRITING



*Darkness cannot drive out darkness;
only light can do that. Hate cannot
drive out hate; only love can do that.*

Martin Luther King, Jr.

1511 K Street, NW | Suite 738 | Washington, D.C. 20005
202-639-6370



Statement of Principle

The Interfaith Alliance is a coalition of concerned religious leaders and other citizens who have joined together to articulate and promote the unifying principles of all faiths—compassion, tolerance and justice.

In a world plagued by strife, fear, and hatred, we affirm the values of respect and community against the politics of division.

We reject efforts to pit groups of people against each other for personal or political gain.

We consider it our moral obligation to promote understanding and participation.

We will work to inform and unite citizens, to reinvigorate public discourse, and to hold our leaders accountable for their works and deeds.

We enthusiastically welcome all people of good will to join in our effort to affirm these ideals.



America was founded on the premise that its citizens would participate in the debate over our nation's direction. Today, with so many crucial issues on the agenda, public debate plays an even greater role. The religious community has always been an important voice in that dialogue. The Interfaith Alliance has been created to ensure that this proud tradition continues.

The Challenge: The Radical Right

Radical right-wing extremists have declared a holy war in America, promoting an agenda based on hate and intolerance. They are preying on Americans' very real concerns about their families and communities in an attempt to impose one narrow set of beliefs on an entire nation.

Organizations such as the Christian Coalition, the Oregon Citizen's Alliance and the Traditional Values Coalition have adopted a broad strategy that is succeeding in state after state. Religious extremism is increasingly being used to attack politicians, pull textbooks out of classrooms, cut back on school breakfast programs and promote discrimination.

This movement has polarized the political debate, choking off discussion with its harsh and unyielding rhetoric. Claiming to be the only religious voice in the debate, the radical right attempts to silence its critics with charges of religious bigotry. At stake is the fundamental ideal of America as a haven of religious liberty and tolerance, where individuals have an uncompromised right to their own beliefs.

The Response: The Interfaith Alliance

This is a time when our nation must work harder to bring our families and communities together, not drive them apart. We must look to our religious diversity as a source of strength, not a weakness.

Thousands of religious and other leaders are eager to speak out against these messages of division, yet they have had no platform from which to make their voices heard.

That is the mission of The Interfaith Alliance, a national organization made up of religious leaders and other citizens who are concerned about the impact of the radical right. Working with religious, political and grassroots communities across the country, it will bring a new voice to the public debate.

The Interfaith Alliance's Activities

The Interfaith Alliance has a three-part strategy:

- **Public dialogue:** It will work to restore civility and common sense to the public debate, attempting to make its voice heard in the national forum.
- **Public education:** In states targeted by the radical right, the Alliance will work to educate voters about the far right's activities, positions and affiliations. Working closely with other national and state organizations, it will coordinate grassroots and other educational activities.
- **National Clearinghouse:** It will serve as a national clearinghouse for religious, grassroots and political citizens looking for ways to respond to the radical right.

The Interfaith Alliance

The Interfaith Alliance Board of Directors consists of a diverse group of religious leaders. It is a proud demonstration of the success of our nation in fostering religious diversity.

The board, recognizing that this issue extends to all aspects of public policy, is also developing a bipartisan advisory group that will draw from labor, business, grassroots activists, elected officials and other concerned citizens.

The professional staff, led by executive director Jill Hanauer, is based in Washington, D.C. It includes finance director Joe Blumenfeld, religious outreach director Bill Golderer and communications director Pat Lewis.

The Interfaith Alliance is a 501(c)(4) nonprofit organization. Contributions are not tax-deductible for federal income tax purposes.

☐ YES! I support the beliefs and ideals of The Interfaith Alliance. Enclosed is my contribution of:

☐ \$25 ☐ \$50 ☐ \$100 ☐ Other _____

☐ I would like to receive additional information.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

Phone _____

State _____

FAX _____

Zip _____

The
Interfaith
Alliance



PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The Interfaith Alliance is a 501(c)(4) non-profit organization. Contributions are not tax-deductible for federal income tax purposes.

Melanne - I thank you
showed write Dobson.

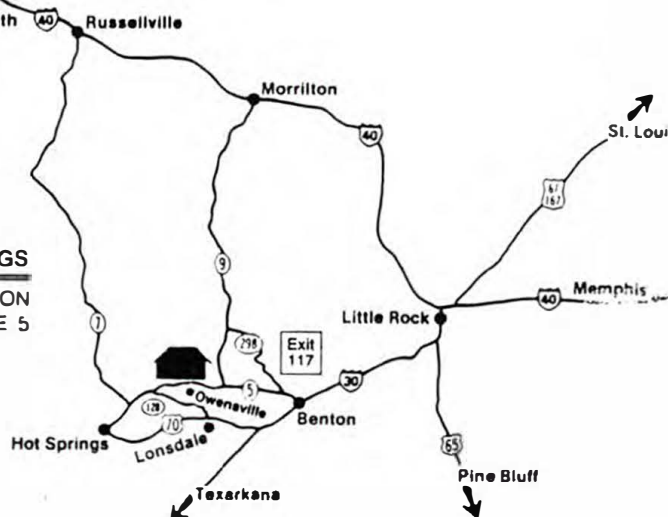
Hurlon and TyJuana Ray

Countryside

18532 Hwy. 5 South
Box 170A
Lonsdale, Arkansas 72087
Phone (501) 794-2643

19 MILES TO HOT SPRINGS

14 MILES TO BENTON
ON STATE 5



August 25, 1994

Ms. Hillary Rodham Clinton
First Lady
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Hillary:

So much has happened since I had the pleasant and proud opportunity to introduce you to Democratic functions a couple of times in Hot Springs Village a few years ago. I know the chance of this letter reaching your eyes are "slim."

Please find enclosed a copy of the "Focus On The Family" prepared by James C. Dobson, Ph.D., President, dated August, 1994, for your information and use. I am frustrated as to how he gets away with his remarks, comments, and false interpretations regarding your statements you made in your Mother's Day Commencement Address at the George Washington University. I am also bewildered as to why DNC has not taken appropriate action to check into the orchestration of remarks by this newsletter and other religious newsletters.

I am not sure of the tax exempt status of Focus On The Family. I believe that an immediate review by IRS of the tax status of this organization is appropriate in reference to the attached newsletter.

I hope that you will be able to take the time to read the attached newsletter.

Keep on keeping on!

Kindest regards,

Hurlon Ray

Hurlon Ray

ENCL: 1

PHOTOCOPY
HRC HANDWRITING

SEP 3 1994

Hurlon and TyJuana Ray

Countryside

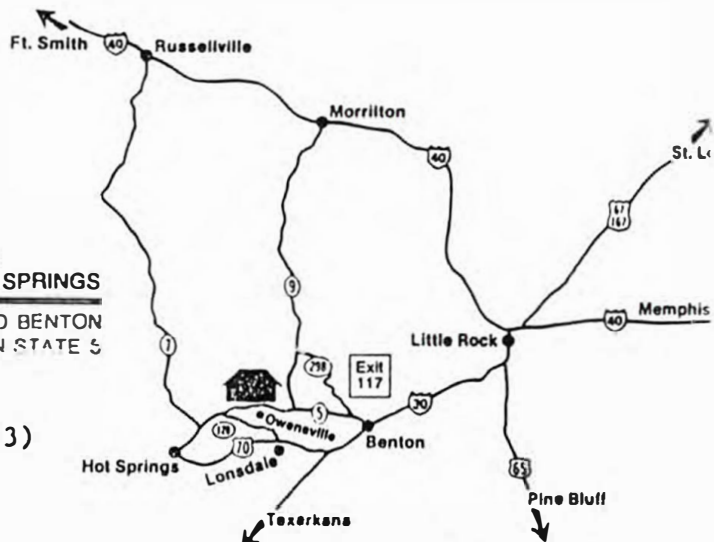
18532 Hwy. 5 South
Box 170A
Lonsdale, Arkansas 72087
Phone (501) 794-2643

19 MILES TO HOT SPRINGS

14 MILES TO BENTON
ON STATE 5

HURLON RAY (AGE 73)

ACTIVITIES



July 15, 1994

- MEMBER:
1. Arkansas Natural Heritage Commission
 2. Arkansas Public Policy Panel
 3. Arkansans for Environmental Reform (AER)
 4. Central Arkansas Regional Transportation Study (CARTS), Technical Coordinating Committee (TCC)
 5. Legislative Chairman Arkansas State Federation of National Association of Retired Federal Employees (NARFE)
 6. Arkansas Wildlife Federation, Board of Directors
- MEMBER:
1. Saline County Planning Commission
 2. President Chapter 1256, Saline County, NARFE
 3. Owensville/Paroia Water Association
 4. Saline County Water Advisory Committee
- MEMBER:
1. State Democratic Executive Committee
 2. Delegate to State Democratic Convention (1994)
 3. Saline County Democratic Central Committee
 4. Garland County Workshop for Informed Democrats (WID)
 5. Hot Springs Village Democratic Club
 6. Arkansas Senior Democrats
- MEMBER:
1. Sierra Club
 2. Nature Conservancy
 3. Soil and Water Conservation Society of America
 4. Audubon Society

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUMDATE: 6/28/94 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: _____SUBJECT: RELATIONS WITH RELIGIOUS GROUPS

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MYERS	☐	☐
McLARTY	☐	☒	QUINN	☐	☐
LADER	☐	☒	RASCO	☐	☐
ICKES	☐	☐	RUBIN	☐	☐
PANETTA	☐	☒	SEGAL	☐	☐
BAGGETT	☐	☐	SEIDMAN	☐	☒
CUTLER	☐	☒	STEPHANOPOULOS	☐	☒
EMANUEL	☐	☐	TYSON	☐	☐
GEARAN	☐	☒	VARNEY	☐	☒
GERGEN	☐	☒	WATKINS	☐	☐
GIBBONS	☐	☐	WILLIAMS	☐	☐
GRIFFIN	☐	☒	<u>Verveer</u>	☐	☒
HALE	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
HERMAN	☐	☒	_____	☐	☐
LAKE	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
LINDSEY	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
McGINTY	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

JOHN D. PODESTA
 Assistant to the President
 and Staff Secretary
 Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 28, 1994

94 JUN 28 A10 : 33

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BILL GALSTON
GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS
ALEXIS HERMAN
LINDA LADER

SUBJECT: RELATIONS WITH RELIGIOUS GROUPS

In recent weeks, the relationship of religious groups with the Republicans and with your administration has become a focal-point of public discussion. The victories of Oliver North in Virginia and Allen Quist in Minnesota and events at the Texas Republican convention have triggered speculation about a "religious right" takeover of the Republican party. Meanwhile, continuing controversy over such issues as abortion, gay rights, and freedom of religious exercise and expression have led some religious conservatives to accuse your administration of being indifferent or even hostile to religion. Statements by administration officials and party spokesmen have proved to be flash-points. Just last week, eighty-seven Republican House members demanded that you force the resignation of Surgeon-General Elders, while all forty-four Republican Senators asked you to repudiate remarks by Rep. Vic Fazio critical of the "Christian radical right."

The purpose of this memorandum is to place this controversy in a broader context and to suggest a strategic response that would reflect your long-held convictions, enhance the dignity of the presidency, and contribute to a more productive public dialogue.

During your presidential campaign, you brought people together around an agenda that successfully integrated economic and moral concerns. Now, once again, you have an opportunity to unite citizens of good will around core principles. Your administration and the Democratic party must seize the high ground of our historic tolerance for Americans of many faiths--and of no faith. But there is a right way and a wrong way to oppose intolerance. We cannot allow our attack on extremism to become, or even to be perceived as, an attack on sincere religious conviction and on the participation of the faithful in our public life. We should not give our adversaries an opening to portray your administration as hostile to religion. While vigorously opposing bigotry cloaked in the language of piety, we need a sustainable longterm strategy for diminishing the sense of distance from your administration now experienced by many believers who are not extremists. This is an opportunity for presidential leadership--and statesmanship--that should not be missed.

Background and context

The current debate over the political role of conservative religious groups is framed by four large facts.

1. Despite the predictions of generations of sociologists, the United States has not moved toward increased secularization. We remain (by a wide margin) the most intensely religious of all the industrial democracies, with levels of belief and observance five to ten times higher than in many European countries.

2. Because so many American faiths were born in dissent from orthodoxy and flight from persecution, and because our faith is so vigorously diverse, deep religious conviction in this country has typically gone hand-in-hand with an equally deep commitment to religious toleration. In the long run, American religious and political leaders pay a steep price when they cross the line dividing tolerance from intolerance.

3. Most Americans believe that the moral foundation of our society has eroded dangerously over the past generation. (When asked in a Newsweek poll earlier this month whether the United States is in a "moral and spiritual decline," 76 percent of respondents answered affirmatively.) For many, organized religion provides both a vocabulary for criticizing this decline and an institutional means of resisting it. Others who disagree with the answers offered by religious conservatives believe that they are at least addressing the right questions. Political leaders who are seen as insufficiently concerned about and responsive to this perception of social decay will increasingly be regarded as out of touch and irrelevant.

4. Starting during the Carter administration, many evangelical Protestants and moderate-to-conservative Catholics migrated to the Republican party. That trend is not likely to be reversed any time soon. In 1992, an unpopular Republican incumbent not particularly trusted by the right wing of his own party nonetheless managed to garner 62 percent of the vote among white born-again Christians.

But the broader history of 1992 is instructive. The Republican convention crossed the line from traditional morality to intolerance, alarming moderates in both parties. At the same time, while you adopted forthright positions on a number of controversial social issues, your campaign sent important signals of your openness to faith communities. Your emphasis on the need for the rebuilding of our society through increased personal responsibility and firmer faith as well as common action conveyed your vivid awareness of moral and social decline and helped diminish the intensity of opposition to your candidacy, even among those who supported your adversaries. In short, you reached out to religious traditionalists in a way that enhanced the depth and legitimacy of your eventual victory. It is now time to renew and extend that endeavor.

Reaching out to religious communities

As part of a strategy for reaching out to religious communities, we recommend the following steps:

1. You should review, revise, and sign the attached letter to the Republican Senators.

2. Criticisms of specific statements and actions of specific conservative religious leaders are of course appropriate and justified. But you should send clear signals to your appointees that statements that can be interpreted as general criticisms of religious conservatives, or of the role of religion in public life, are not in the best interests of our country or of your presidency.

3. Last year's events such as breakfasts with religious leaders proved highly effective in building bridges to their communities and generated much positive media coverage. You should insist on resuming scheduling such events on a regular basis--at least once a month, more often if possible--and bolster them with personal meetings and interviews with selected religious media.

4. You should continue to speak out frequently on issues such as personal responsibility, teen pregnancy, parental duties, service to nation and community, the formation of good character needed to sustain a decent society, and the role of faith in our public life. Don Baer should be asked to formulate a plan for building on the values-oriented speeches you delivered in May, and you should consider devoting a major address to the role of religion in public life.

5. An informal White House working group has recently been organized to monitor legislative, regulatory, and judicial activities of the administration of concern to organized religion. Some more regular mechanism needs to be established to carry this work forward. Its principal purpose would be to anticipate and ward off potential problems rather than (as is so often the case right now) responding to them defensively after the fact.

6. To the maximum extent possible, those responsible for fashioning political tactics should act in coordination with your overall strategy. If we are not careful, shortterm "red meat" rhetoric could drown out the longterm approach we recommend.

Conclusion

Strong faith is an enduring strand of American life. But its intensity waxes and wanes in response to broad social conditions. In general, periods of rapid economic and social change engender anxiety that can trigger upsurges of religious fervor. This was the case in the 1920s, and it is true today. We are living

through a period of economic and social dislocation that many Americans are experiencing as confusing and alarming. Not surprisingly, they are looking for sources of stability and security.

For many, conservative faith communities are providing structures of meaning and human connection no longer reliably available in families, neighborhoods, and workplaces. We may not agree with much of what they are saying and doing. But we must publicly articulate the very real concerns to which they are pointing, and we must advance our own responses to them. Ceding this terrain to our adversaries in the name of shortterm tactical considerations would be a blunder of significant--perhaps historic--proportions.

Draft Presidential response to the Republican Senators

Dear X:

Thank you for your letter of June 22, which raises issues of central importance for every American. I am in full agreement that a candidate's religious beliefs are not a basis for questioning his or her fitness for public office. Indeed, no principle is more firmly rooted in our history and laws.

For centuries, our country has enjoyed a unique tradition of religious liberty. Members of every faith have been able to profess their deepest convictions and carry out the precepts that flow from those convictions. Free exercise for every faith, establishment for none, a prohibition on religious tests for public office--these tenets are the foundation of the rights we cherish, and of our entire constitutional tradition. Enshrined in the hearts of our citizens, this tradition has allowed our country to enjoy a religious life unparalleled in its vigor and diversity. It was to safeguard and strengthen this tradition that I was proud to sign into law the Religious Freedom Restoration Act, which my administration will vigorously enforce.

We Americans have never believed that faith is a purely private matter. Faith can lead to action, and the voices of many faiths have always been part of our nation's public dialogue. It is entirely appropriate for those voices to attempt to persuade others, and to craft policies that reflect the principles on which we come to agree through unfettered debate. The place of religion in our civic life extends well beyond public dialogue. Faith strengthens the bonds of family and community, and it helps shape the good character of citizens without which we cannot hope to be a decent society.

This is why I have often said that in our public life, freedom of religion does not and cannot mean freedom from religion. This is why I do not believe that Americans want, or the Constitution requires, the total secularization of our workplaces and communities.

Because religion in our country is so diverse and so publicly engaged, tolerance is an indispensable virtue, among individuals and among faith communities. Tolerance rests on mutual respect across our differences. It requires that we refrain from coercion to resolve those differences. And tolerance reinforces what we share despite our differences--the very foundation of our constitutional faith, a full and equal citizenship under law.

Sharp, vigorous debate is the lifeblood of our democracy. But there is a line between the frank articulation of differences and personal attacks on individuals or groups. Public discourse that demonizes opponents frays the social fabric and impedes the vital search for common ground on the issues our nation must address. I call upon all Americans of good will to refrain from this kind of rhetoric and to repudiate it whenever it is employed.

I have spoken out repeatedly against intolerance and bigotry of every kind, and I will continue to do so. I expect every member of my administration to adhere to the highest standards of tolerance. Those who oppose my administration should do likewise. The alternative to a new birth of tolerance in our public life is the continued erosion of the people's faith in our capacity for responsible self-government. Surely a pervasive cynicism about leaders and institutions of every kind is not the legacy we want to bequeath to the next generation. But that is where we are heading, unless we abandon the politics of mutual ~~annihilation~~ ^{recrimination} and refocus our energy on the real and urgent problems our nation faces.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

June 22, 1994

The Honorable William Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1500 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

As the November elections draw closer, Americans will be looking to Republican and Democrat candidates to discuss their positions on the challenges facing our country. And we believe that a frank debate of our differences on issues like health care, taxes, crime, and foreign policy is the essence of a healthy democracy, and will be good for America.

What is not good for America, however, is questioning a candidate's fitness for office because of his or her religious beliefs. And that is precisely what several prominent members of your party have done in recent days, making comments that bring to mind the type of attacks faced by Al Smith in 1928 and John Kennedy in 1960.

Mr. President, You have spoken eloquently in the past about the need for tolerance in our lives, and about the importance of religion in the lives of Americans. We write to ask that you now join with us in repudiating the remarks of those who use terms like "fire-breathing Christian radical right," and who cheapen our democracy through religious bigotry.

Sincerely,

Bob Dole
John Danforth
Kay Bailey Hutchison
Gerald R. Ford
Jesse Helms

Phil Gramm
M. J. Studdert
Val Long
Don Nickles
Phil Thomas

David Cook

Dirk Langitt

Robbie

Jim J. Loe

Brian Kent

Jackie Loe

McGinnis

Jack Loe

Happy Presler

Jack Loe

Van Loe

Curtis Mack

Bill Bond

Mike H. Chavell

Richard E. Loe

Wesley Loe

Paul Brown

Bob Smith

Bob Loe

Sub Loe

Jack Loe

Mr. Loe

Just Loe

Gene Helms

John H. Chavell

Bill Loe

Paul Loe

Paul Loe

Church Loe

Steve Loe

Wesley Loe

Wesley Loe

Wesley Loe

Bob Loe

Date: 06/24/94 Time: 15:56

GOP House Members Seek Elders' Resignation

WASHINGTON (AP) Eighty-seven GOP House members sought the resignation of Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders on Friday, escalating a conflict over Democrats' attacks on right-wing Republicans.

The Republicans' letter to President Clinton came two days after Elders, according to newspaper accounts, referred to the "un-Christian religious right" and added, "We've got to be strong to take on those people who are selling our children out in the name of religion."

The letter did not specifically mention these remarks but they were cited often at a news conference by Rep. Cliff Stearns, R-Fla., author of the letter, other lawmakers and spokesmen for conservative Christian organizations.

"She should be using this office to fight sickness and disease and not using this office to fight parents and churches," Stearns said.

The letter said Elders "has not chosen to utilize her position to advance the general health and welfare of all Americans, but rather to advocate views antithetical to the majority of citizens."

Elders' press spokesman could not immediately be reached for comment.

On Thursday, 44 Senate Republicans wrote Clinton asking him to repudiate remarks that reflect religious bigotry. That letter came after Rep. Vic Fazio of California, chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, criticized the rise of the radical right in Republican politics.

On Friday, President Clinton criticized evangelical Christian broadcasters, mentioning Jerry Falwell by name. Clinton said he was getting tired of being pounded by the right wing. "I'm going to be far more aggressive," he said.

At the news conference outside the Capitol, Rep. F. James Sensenbrenner Jr., R-Wis., said Elders had "forfeited her right to be surgeon general of the United States."

The letter denounced Elders for her remarks that the Boy and Girl Scouts discriminated against homosexuals, that the legalization of narcotics should be considered and that girls should take condoms when they go on dates.

"Whether one agrees with these statements or not, and I suspect that the majority of Americans do not, they clearly serve to divide Americans rather than unite us behind our common interest in public health and welfare," the Stearns letter said.

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HOW BREYER BREEZED THROUGH

Even on a Saturday in late July, the Senate vote confirming Judge Stephen G. Breyer's nomination to the U.S. Supreme Court was relegated to page three of *The Washington Post* and page six of *The New York Times*.

Still, for President Clinton the outcome could hardly have been sweeter. With his own disapproval ratings at 44 per cent, Clinton needed an easy victory. Breyer received the unanimous endorsement of the Judiciary Committee, and on July 29 his nomination was approved by the Senate, 87-9.

It didn't hurt that Breyer was a popular former aide to the Judiciary Committee. Or that Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., was his chief advocate, with Sen. Orrin G. Hatch, R-Utah, leading the cheers from the Right. Maybe it's just hard to dislike an articulate, erudite, Harvard-educated raconteur who acts out the *The Gilgamesh Epic* during family charades.

But nothing smoothed Breyer's path to the Court more than his legal philosophy. Breyer is a judicial moderate. Interest groups on the left and the right that wage guerrilla war against judicial nominees at opposite ends of the political spectrum never attacked Breyer.

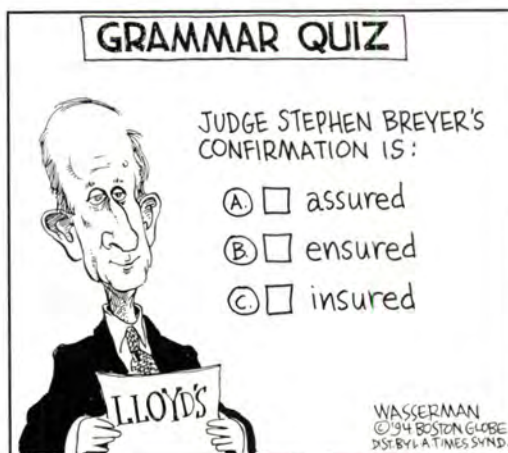
The pundits hailed him. "Bill Clinton's Earl Warren," conservative legal writer Bruce Fein cheered. "Breyer has the potential to become the liberal leader of the Court," Jeffrey Rosen wrote in *The New Republic*. Breyer's pragmatism, Rosen added, "should be a powerful antidote to the anti-pragmatic, anti-empirical formalism of Antonin Scalia."

It is hardly a revelation that a judicial centrist is less likely to face partisan attacks and fierce interrogation than is a nominee with ideological baggage, whether conservative or liberal. Any nominee with an easily identifiable track record will come under Senate scrutiny about those decisions and writings. That's the reason for the Judiciary Committee hearings.

But there is a lingering suspicion that Breyer's moderate views shielded him when ethics questions were raised during the hearings. Breyer had investments in Lloyd's of London at a time when, as a judge, he was ruling on pollution cases that might have indirectly influenced the value of his holdings in the British insurer. Committee members never interrogated Breyer in depth about his decision to hear the pollution cases despite his large Lloyd's investment.

Did Breyer get a break where other more partisan nominees would have been pummeled by their opponents? The answer is almost certainly yes. The Lloyd's issue, said Nan Aron, executive director of the liberal Alliance for Justice, "always struck me as a serious issue that required full scrutiny by the Senate Judiciary Committee." Did it get that kind of attention? No, she answered.

Thomas L. Jipping, director of the conservative Center for Law and Democracy, said that Republican nominees in recent years were routinely castigated for perceived ethical problems. "Liberal interest groups and their Democratic allies have shown us over the last decade what they are willing to do to a conserva-



tive nominee when an issue, no matter how innocuous, presents itself as a weapon," he said.

Only the *New York Times* editorial page stuck to its guns. The paper kept raising provocative questions about Breyer that were never completely answered. Why, *The Times* asked, would Breyer recuse himself from asbestos litigation but not from eight pollution cases—especially one in which Lloyd's was the insurer of a company that was involved in the proceeding? Breyer, *The Times* concluded in a July 26 editorial, "is being rushed through confirmation by Democrats trying to please President Clinton and Repub-

licans relieved at the nominee's moderate views."

Absolutely true. But there remains a huge difference between saying that Breyer got off easy and concluding, as *The Times* did, that he "has not been shown to deserve the prize" of becoming a Supreme Court Justice.

The White House general counsel's office succeeded in defusing potential criticism of Breyer by producing legal ethics guru Stephen A. Gillers of New York University Law School, who said that Breyer had acted ethically. "I see no evidence that the decisions in Judge Breyer's cases could have had a direct and substantial impact on his interests" in Lloyd's, Gillers wrote.

Nor did Sen. Richard G. Lugar, R-Ind., a Breyer critic who ultimately voted against his confirmation, present an especially compelling case. Lugar questioned Breyer's judgment in making an investment in a partnership whose precarious finances leave the judge facing unlimited potential losses. But judges are supposed to dispense justice; it seems unfair to evaluate a judicial nominee on the basis of his investment savvy. In fact, the key issue was not Breyer's losses but his efforts to play them down until he was confronted with differing assessments during the confirmation process. With a net worth of \$8.5 million, Breyer can afford to lose some money.

Some legal scholars dismiss arguments that Breyer's confirmation was a rush to judgment. In fact, they argue, the confirmation process should serve as a model for future hearings. Somewhat dull, often tedious, the proceedings were still preferable to the nasty mudslinging that has characterized other judicial nominations, these scholars contend. Breyer's confirmation looks like a cakewalk only because other nominees have been subjected to unnecessary scrutiny by their ideological foes.

"There was a collective sigh of relief that the Senate did not stumble into one more bog of personal recrimination," said A.E. Dick Howard, a professor at the University of Virginia School of Law. "I'm happy that one issue did not mushroom to preoccupy the committee."

But it is probably too much to hope that future confirmation contests will proceed as smoothly as Breyer's did. Breyer arrived at a time when everyone had tired of turning confirmations into "unseemly debacles," said Paul Frederick Rothstein of the Georgetown University Law Center. Future nominees may not be so lucky, Rothstein said. "But this one should be remembered for its moderating influence." Don't bet on it. ■

LEAVE THEOLOGY ALONE

The battle for the voter's soul has been escalating this summer in more than one congressional venue—the debate over health care reform, for example—but the fiercest skirmishes on Capitol Hill are being fought in the name of the Christian religion.

On June 10, Democratic National Committee chairman David Wilhelm fired an opening salvo, telling an audience at a political dinner in Louisville that “Americans understand that God, when it comes to politics, is an independent.”

Two weeks later, Rep. Vic Fazio of California, chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC), criticized the Religious Right's growing influence within the Republican Party. Followers of Marion G. (Pat) Robertson and Jerry Falwell constitute a “radical” and “intolerant” fringe force attempting to overwhelm the GOP, Fazio charged in a speech to the National Press Club.

Haley Barbour, chairman of the Republican National Committee, retaliated immediately, accusing Fazio of “Christian bashing,” and calling his speech only the first sortie in the Democrats’ “orchestrated strategy” to engage in “religious bigotry.” Two days later, all 44 Senate Republicans sent a letter to President Clinton echoing Barbour's charges. (*For more on the controversy, see this issue, p. 1847.*)

On July 14, a new set of troops joined the fray when a group of Protestant, Catholic and Jewish theologians announced the formation of the Interfaith Alliance, a nonprofit organization whose mission, according to a news release, is “to counter the extremist message of the Radical Right.”

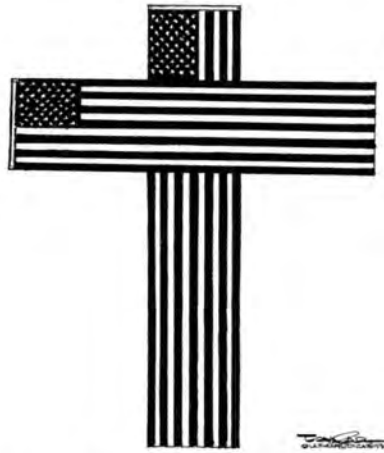
“The Radical Right lays claim to the fact that they uniquely speak for people of faith in this country, in essence that ‘God is on our side,’ ” Interfaith Alliance board member Joan Brown Campbell, the general secretary of the National Council of Churches, said. “We feel we must come together as an interfaith group and say to this country there is an alternate religious voice.”

At about the same time, however, Rep. Robert K. Dornan, R-Calif., mounted a rearguard action by gathering signatures for a resolution that would put the House on record as “strongly” opposed to “anti-Christian bigotry and all other forms of religious intolerance.”

“Vic Fazio is ignorant about all matter of religions. He doesn't go to church, so what does he know?” Dornan said in an interview. “Every loyal, Sunday-Mass-attending Catholic is part of the Religious Right. And we represent that part of the country that believes we have lost our way morally.”

Students of history might detect the rumble of ancient artillery at this point. After all, European politicians have brawled over interpretations of Christian Scripture since the Reformation. Sir Thomas More, lord chancellor of England under Henry VIII, for example, lost his head over whether he owed more loyalty to God or the king.

But politics, not theology, was the real issue then, and it is today as well, analysts and lawmakers say.



Most of the opposition to Reagan-era policies in Central America, for example, was rooted in the mainline Protestant and Catholic churches, said Michael Cromartie, director of the Evangelical Studies Project at the Washington-based Ethics and Public Policy Center. The American religious community also led much of the public protest over South Africa's apartheid policies.

“Does theology have a place in the political arena? Of course it does,” Cromartie said in an interview. “But the politicization of the Christian message in late-20th-century America occurred long before the Religious Right came on the scene.”

Conservatives point out that the DCCC donated \$25,000 in seed money to the new Interfaith Alliance, whose executive director, Jill Hanauer, has worked for the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League intermittently since her college days and was once a campaign aide to Sen. Tom Harkin, D-Iowa.

Recent Democratic broadsides against the Religious Right have nothing to do with theology, and everything to do with an attempt to divert attention away from President Clinton's disastrous approval ratings and predictions of big Democratic losses in the fall, some Republicans say.

“Fazio thought he could scapegoat a narrow group of Christians that he would compare to snake handlers up some Hatfield and McCoy canyon,” Dornan said. “He made a major miscalculation.”

Democrats, on the other hand, have their own ideas about how big a part theology plays in the calculations of supporters of the Religious Right.

“The combination of religion and politics is always a difficult topic,” Fazio said in an interview. “What's most troublesome now is that some people are trying to talk about politics as secular issues, but they're also implying that there is a specific Christian view of how these issues should be resolved.”

And that implication appears to be scaring voters away from candidates fielded by the Religious Right. Mason-Dixon Political Research reported recently, for example, that 44 per cent of Virginia voters polled said they would be less likely to vote for a candidate if Falwell endorsed him. An endorsement from Robertson would discourage 36 per cent of those polled, the firm reported.

In a July 14-17 poll by CBS News and *The New York Times*, Falwell's negative ratings were five times greater than his positive ratings. Robertson and Patrick J. Buchanan, the conservative commentator who ran during the 1992 presidential primaries, drew twice as many negative ratings as positive ratings, *The Times* reported.

“We must no longer be children, tossed to and fro and blown about by every wind of doctrine, by people's trickery, by their craftiness in deceitful scheming,” Paul, the Roman bureaucrat who became one of Jesus's disciples, wrote in his letter to the Ephesians. Perhaps political strategists of this age should heed that warning, and leave theology alone. ■

Rightward March?

The ascendancy of the Religious Right in the Republican Party places it at the fulcrum of American politics. Both parties are scrambling to respond to the movement.

BY JAMES A. BARNES

Last month, about 100 hardy souls gathered in Washington for the second annual Conference for a Republican Majority, a meeting of party moderates to discuss policy issues and campaign tactics.

The crowd "was smaller than we would like to have seen," conference chairman and former Rep. Bill Frenzel, R-Minn., acknowledged. Attendance was down from the previous year, and about half the attendees lived within commuting distance of the Capitol.

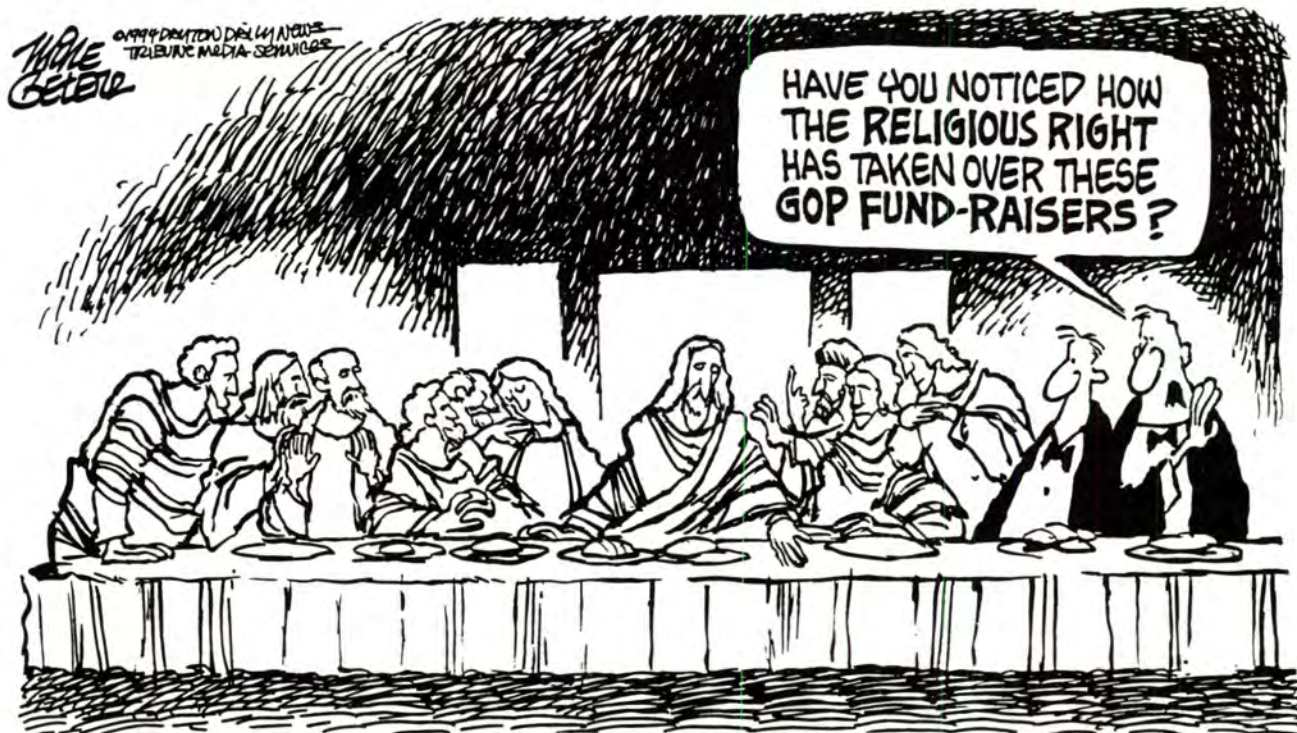
Next month, a very different crowd will descend on Washington. About 2,500-3,000 activists from around the country are expected to attend the fourth annual Road to Victory Conference and Strategy Briefing of the Christian Coalition, the grass-roots conservative advocacy group that grew out of the unsuccessful bid by religious broadcaster Marion G. (Pat) Robertson for the 1988 Republican presidential nomination.

The coalition's 1993 conference drew

about 2,000 people, and the group has been buoyed by recent Republican state conventions at which conservative Christians spearheaded takeovers of the state party machinery.

Leaders of the Religious Right predict that the November elections will demonstrate the strength of their movement. "This election is one of the most important in our lifetimes and in the history of our movement," Christian Coalition executive director Ralph E. Reed Jr. said. If large numbers of coalition supporters turn out at the polls, it will send a signal that conservative Christians are "a force to be reckoned with, and you have to deal with these folks from a point of understanding and respect," Reed said. "It's like the old saying of the bank that is too large to fail. Well, we would like to demonstrate that we've gotten too big to ignore."

In fact, hardly anyone is ignoring the Religious Right these days. Elections are games of numbers, and the ascendancy of the movement in the Republican Party



has placed it at the fulcrum of American politics. Politicians in both parties are scrambling to define it and deal with its impact.

Some Republicans fear that the Religious Right will push the party to adopt extreme positions—alienating moderate voters from GOP candidates in November and in the 1996 presidential race. Indeed, a growing number of national Republican leaders want the party to dump its strong anti-abortion platform plank in 1996, a move that could put the party's leadership on a collision course with Christian conservatives.

"If the Republican Party weakens its steadfast defense of innocent human life and is perceived as weakening its pro-life stance, it will consign the party to permanent minority status," Reed said.

A fight over abortion could touch off the first major GOP platform battle over social issues since 1932, when moderate party leaders unsuccessfully tried to dispose of a plank favoring Prohibition.

and sharp-elbowed is not a very attractive party and is not going to succeed," moderate Sen. John C. Danforth, R-Mo., said in a recent interview.

That is an image that some Republicans speculate broke the coalition of fundamentalist and mainline Protestant voters that held together for George Bush's election in 1988 but fractured in his defeat four years later. (See chart, p. 1849.)

SUMMER FIREWORKS

President Clinton has become a favorite target of Christian conservatives—and he has not taken their criticism lying down. In a recent widely publicized interview with a St. Louis radio station, he said: "I do not believe that people should be criticized for their religious convictions, but neither do I believe that people can put on the mantle of religion and then justify anything they say or do. We've never done well when our politics

has been devoted to dividing us along grounds of race, religion, creed, morality."

Clinton was responding to televangelist Jerry Falwell, whose group, the Moral Majority, was a leading voice for the Religious Right in the 1980s. Falwell was back in the headlines in June when he urged viewers of his *Old Time Gospel Hour* show to purchase a videotape, *Bill and Hillary Clinton's Circle of Power*. The tape, produced by Falwell, included unsubstantiated allegations that the President might have been responsible for the death of an Arkansas private investigator who allegedly had evidence of extramarital affairs by Clinton.

In the St. Louis interview, Clinton denounced that attack—as well as other remarks that conservative Christian leaders have made about him and his wife—as "scurrilous and false."

Even Reed of the Christian Coalition was critical. "If we do not want people to attack us over religion, we have to play by the same rules," he said. "We should not engage in personal attacks or below-the-belt attacks or in the circulation of rumors that cannot be documented." Reed said that although he has not seen the Falwell videotape, "if it is as it has been described in the media, it went over the line."

At a press conference on June 21,

Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC) chairman Rep. Vic Fazio, D-Calif., jumped into the fray by charging that the Christian Coalition and other conservative groups circumvented campaign finance laws in backing winning Republican candidates in recent special elections for House seats in Kentucky and Oklahoma. The DCCC has filed a formal complaint with the Federal Election Commission.

"Republicans accept the Religious Right and their tactics at their own peril, for these activists are demanding their rightful seat at the table, and that is what the American people fear the most," Fazio said. Republicans backed by the "Radical Right," he predicted, "will face a backlash that will favor the Democratic candidate."

Republican leaders rushed to the defense of conservative Christians. A few hours after Fazio's press conference, Republican National Committee (RNC) chairman Haley Barbour issued a news release charging that the DCCC chairman had "adopted the new, orchestrated Democrat campaign strategy of Christian bashing." The next day, Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole of Kansas took to the Senate floor to complain that "some members of the Democratic Party are resorting to campaign tactics based on religious bigotry." All 44 GOP Senators signed a letter to Clinton calling on him to repudiate such tactics. (For more on the controversy, see this issue, p. 1888.)

The response of national GOP leaders was reminiscent of 1993, when they denounced Democrats for running campaign advertisements in Virginia assailing Michael P. Farris, the unsuccessful GOP nominee for lieutenant governor, for his ties to the Religious Right.

In fact, some Democratic operatives fret that their party's efforts to focus attention on conservative Christians could backfire.

"I think we do make a mistake when we issue blanket denunciations of people who decide to get active in politics and are religious," Anita Dunn of the Washington-based Democratic media consulting firm of Squire/Knapp/Ochs Communications said. "In the short term, maybe you can go out and scare people, but I'm not convinced that works, unless you have a [Republican] candidate who is genuinely scary in their own right, and there are those," Dunn said. But broad-brush attacks may be seen as "a form of cultural elitism [that] puts our party seriously out of step with a large group of voters that we are going to need to win elections."

"You have to make a distinction, and sometimes our party does not, about the broad notion of values and the articula-



Richard A. Bloom

Christian Coalition's Ralph E. Reed Jr.
"We've gotten too big to ignore."

Accounts of the Religious Right's recent successes at state GOP conventions have revived memories of the 1992 Republican National Convention in Houston, at which the party was portrayed—with considerable help from its own podium speakers—as confrontational and intolerant. "A party which is relentlessly conservative, sharp-edged

tion of the Radical Right," said Alan Secrest, a Democratic pollster with the Alexandria (Va.)-based survey research firm of Cooper & Secrest Associates Inc. Some statements by Democratic candidates and party leaders "have been reckless," Secrest said. "And as a result, non-Christian Coalition evangelicals have taken offense."

ABORTION TEST

But even as GOP leaders have vigorously defended the Religious Right, there have been calls by prominent Republicans for the party to discard the anti-abortion plank in its 1992 national convention platform—a position that is still the gold standard for most conservative Christians.

New Jersey Gov. Christine Todd Whitman, who became a star in the GOP after her victory in 1993, told the *Los Angeles Times* on July 11 that she hoped the abortion plank was "knocked out of the platform entirely." The next day, California Gov. Pete Wilson, speaking to a group of reporters in Washington, said that he would work to remove the plank from the 1996 platform.

"The conservative position is that government ought to stay out of people's lives to a very considerable extent," said Wilson, who, like Whitman, is an abortion-rights supporter. "The absence of a plank from a platform is consistent with that attitude."

Republican leaders who favor abortion rights include other influential governors such as Jim Edgar of Illinois and William Weld of Massachusetts. And their ranks could get a boost after the midterm elections: In Maryland, New York and Pennsylvania, the GOP gubernatorial candidates who have either won their party's nomination or are likely to do so are not opponents of abortion rights. All are seen as relatively strong contenders in the general election.

Even in Texas, where the Religious Right toppled the GOP leadership at the recent state party convention, gubernatorial nominee George W. Bush takes a much more accommodating stance on the issue than did his father, the former President. A policy statement from Bush's campaign reads: "The United States Supreme Court has settled the abortion issue: There will be abortions in Texas and the rest of the United States. I believe the best public policy is to encourage fewer abortions through strong adoption laws and by sending a clear abstinence message to our children."

The younger Bush supports legislation that would require parental consent before a minor can have an abortion. But that position, most polls show, is not out

of step with the views of a majority of voters.

Another signal about GOP leaders' desire to tone down the party's position on abortion came from RNC chairman Barbour during the Washington state Republican convention in late June. The state party platform, which previously opposed abortion under any circumstances, was changed to much vaguer language endorsing the "sanctity of life from the unborn until death."

Barbour applauded the new language for its "mainstream" content and told local reporters, "We've proven we won't let abortion or any other issues be a litmus test."

A close political ally of Barbour's predicted that the 1996 convention and its presidential nominee would take a similar approach to the issue. "It will be vague and there will be a few right-to-lifers who won't like it, but we'll take a little heat and then move on," said the Barbour associate, who requested anonymity.

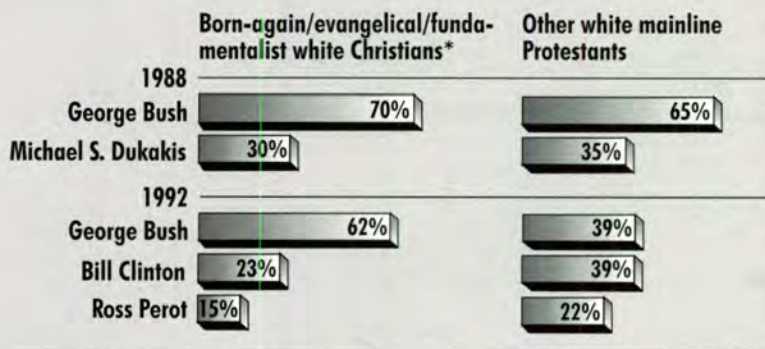
number of voters who identified themselves as Republicans would bolt the party. "One out of every three said they would no longer want to be a Republican," Mike Russell, the coalition's communications director, said.

That could have dire consequences for the Republicans, whose presidential nominees have come to depend heavily on conservative Christian backing. According to the Voter Research & Surveys 1992 exit poll, 17 per cent of those who voted in the presidential race described themselves as white, born-again or fundamentalist Christians—but 29 per cent of those who voted for Bush described themselves that way.

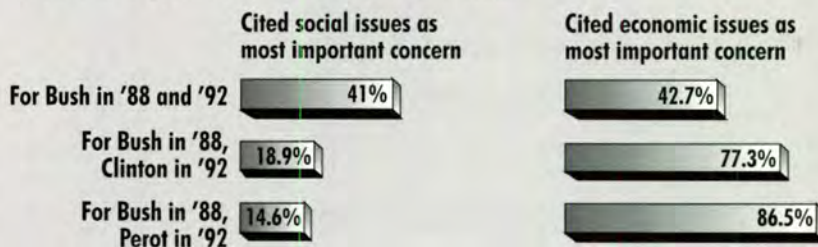
The Christian Coalition's official position is that abortion should be prohibited except when the mother's life is in danger. But Reed said that the group would not oppose permitting abortions in instances of rape or incest "if it was necessary to get the votes [in Congress] to pass a law." The 1992 Republican platform

DOES IT MATTER TO THE VOTERS?

Some Republicans contend that mainstream voters deserted their party in 1992 because of its association with the Christian Right...



... But Bush's supporters may have defected for other reasons



SOURCE: Voter Research & Surveys, National Election Studies; analysis of 1992 data by political scientists John C. Green, James L. Guth, Lyman A. Kellstedt and Corwin E. Smidt

*For 1988, voters describing themselves as born-again or evangelical; for 1992, voters describing themselves as born-again or fundamentalist

But the Christian Coalition says that such a move would not be easily forgiven. A poll of regular church-goers conducted by the group in February 1993 found that if the GOP removed the anti-abortion language from its platform, a substantial

calls for passage of a human life amendment to the Constitution, and most such proposals do not provide rape or incest exemptions.

Reed declined, though, to respond to moderate GOP leaders' calls for scrap-

ping the anti-abortion plank. "There will be plenty of time to debate the [1996] platform, and that time is not now," he said. "That decision will be made by a platform committee that hasn't been chosen yet and a nominee who hasn't been elected yet."

MOBILIZING THE FLOCK

As conservative Christians continue their march, some moderate Republicans are urging the party to take a more centrist path. Pennsylvania Sen. Arlen Specter, for example, has set up a political action committee, the Big Tent PAC. The PAC has financed trips that he has made to several states to preach to the party faithful about the need to adopt more-moderate and pragmatic positions.

"I think Haley's done a good job, but I think he needs some help," Specter said in an interview. "I think he needs some of the rest of us to push hard on the unity aspect and the politics of inclusion."



Democratic pollster Alan Secrest
Some attacks on the movement "have been reckless."

Specter drew attention to his mission when (during one of three recent trips he has made to Iowa) he addressed a gathering of state GOP convention delegates in Des Moines on June 25. Despite a few boos, he received a relatively warm reception from the audience—which included many conservative Christians—as he warned against the excesses of the

Religious Right and called on the party to abandon its official anti-abortion stance.

"There's a lot of concern when you come to the issue of taking the anti-abortion plank out of the platform, but even many of my colleagues who are pro-life would like to see it out, because it's a loser," Specter said in an interview. But for fear of offending some of their core supporters, he said, Republican politicians "are not going to stand up and say so."

In early 1993, Specter was one of several politicians who formed the Republican Majority Coalition, a group that was intended to serve as a counterforce to the party's rightward lurch on social issues. "It never did a whole lot," he acknowledged. Last year, he began meeting with Republican abortion-rights activists—but again, the results were disappointing. "We started to lay out plans for organizing, but there was not much follow-through," he said. "We had another

meeting in May, and not much is happening."

How hard would it be to mobilize moderate Republicans to invest the kind of time and energy that conservative Christians have committed to their cause? "I wouldn't say it's hard," Specter said. "I'd say it's virtually impossible."

Reed is having few such problems with his flock. He says that he expects to sign up a million new voters for the November elections. On Sept. 25 and Oct. 2—the Sundays preceding the voter-registration deadline in most states—coalition members will try to register voters in 65,000 churches nationwide. Such efforts in the past have yielded 20-25 new voters per church, Reed said.

As in the past elections, the coalition will publish what it characterizes as non-partisan voter guides, listing the positions of candidates on what the group deems "pro-family" issues. This year, Reed expects 30 million guides to be distributed.

And the coalition is mounting a major lobbying effort in Washington against Clinton's health care reform plan. The group has sponsored a \$1.4 million campaign against the plan, including advertisements in national publications and radio spots in the districts of Members of Congress who could be swing votes. It

also distributed 30 million postcards in churches; the cards are to be mailed to congressional offices to protest the President's plan. "We are putting our money where our mouth is in broadening our agenda," Reed said.

Reed has also written a book that is due to hit secular and religious bookstores by Labor Day. The book, *The Faith Factor*, to be published by Dallas-based Word Inc., will highlight the "positive vision" of the coalition's public policy agenda—lower taxes, balanced budgets and less crime—"that the vast majority of people see eye-to-eye on," Reed said. "There are a lot of hysterical, unfounded fears about our serving in government, and what I am trying to do is shatter those stereotypes."

The book will be "very, very aggressively" promoted by the coalition and by Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network, Reed added. He also plans to make the rounds of mainstream radio and television talk shows.

The election season played a major role in the timing of the release of the book. "We knew that our involvement would be debated, and we felt that we had to put out a very pro-active, positive message and that this was the best way to do that," Reed said.

SELF-FULFILLING PROPHECY?

Despite their recent victories at some state GOP conventions, it's unclear whether conservative Christians are changing the character of the party.

At the Texas Republican convention on June 11, for example, the Religious Right forced party chairman Fred Meyer, a conservative Presbyterian, to step down. But it also booted out vice chairman Gail West, who had strong ties to the anti-abortion movement in the state.

"It's kind of the anti-incumbency thing," Meyer said of the shake-up. He dismissed the notion that the party would shift further to the right. "I don't think you will see an appreciable change in the type of candidates that win [Republican] primaries in Texas," he said.

In Minnesota, forces of the Religious Right embarrassed moderate Republican Gov. Arne Carlson at the state convention by denying him the party's endorsement in the September primary. But Carlson, who is seeking a second term, has always been regarded as a maverick. The state GOP endorsed him in 1990 only after the candidate whom it had nominated withdrew from the governor's race because of a scandal. Even without the party's endorsement this year, Carlson leads in preprimary polls over the candidate that the Religious Right helped endorse at the convention.

And some of the Religious Right's efforts have failed at the polls. In Oregon, voters in 1992 rejected, 44-56 per cent, an initiative backed by conservative Christians that would have permitted discrimination against homosexuals. Locals say that the initiative campaign was intensely fought, attracting even more news coverage than did the Senate race in which Republican Bob Packwood held onto his seat.

Despite the publicity, there's no evidence that Oregon voters are abandoning the GOP. And nationally, while the Democratic and Republican Parties have seen their share of registered voters decline in recent years as the number of independents has increased, the decline has been worse for Democrats.

Craig L. Berkman, a moderate former Oregon GOP chairman who lost his bid for the Republican gubernatorial nomination this year to former Rep. Denny Smith, a strong conservative, said the notion that the party has been overrun by conservative Christians is "to some extent overplayed." The problem for moderates, Berkman said, is that voter turnout has fallen in some states, magnifying the influence that the Religious Right can have in GOP primaries. "People may not necessarily agree with all of their agenda, but you have to respect that they have worked within the system," he added.

Even if the forces of the Religious Right control a state party's apparatus, it's not clear how much additional power or political influence they gain. Candidates generally run on their own platforms, independent of the party's, without stressing party labels.

The domination of a state party by the Religious Right could lead to the recruitment of different kinds of candidates—but so far that does not seem to have happened. No more than 20 of the Republican candidates for the House so far this year have close ties to the Religious Right, according to the DCCC. And nearly all of those candidates were self-starters who were not put forward by their state parties.

The movement has also suffered some setbacks recently. An initiative in California that would have provided vouchers for parents sending their children to private or parochial schools was soundly rejected at the polls last year. Many analysts attributed the defeat to the reluctance of conservative suburbanites to put a further burden on the state's strained education budget.

After Colorado voters approved a 1992 initiative voiding state and local ordinances banning discrimination against homosexuals, gay-rights and civil liberties groups feared that other states would follow suit. But although conservative activ-

ists are promoting similar initiatives this year, so far they have been placed on the ballot in only two states, Idaho and Oregon. In eight other states, supporters failed to collect enough signatures before the deadline to qualify for the ballot.

Republican political consultants don't think that the party will suffer at the polls this year because of the influence of conservative Christians. "This is a big blind spot among Democratic Party leaders," pollster Frederick T. Steeper said. "Getting involved in politics because of your religious values, that's what most people think is needed."

But GOP consultants also acknowledge that some moderation of the party platform on abortion would yield political dividends. "If the Republican Party is going to grow in the future, we have got to reach out to younger voters and libertarian voters," pollster Linda DiVall said. She applauded the calls of Whitman and Wilson to remove the platform's abortion plank.



Sen. Arlen Specter, R-Pa.

He and other moderates are exhorting the GOP to take a more centrist path.

On the other hand, polling data counters the notion—still strong in Republican circles—that Bush was defeated because he took conservative stands on social issues and was tainted by the image of the 1992 Houston convention.

An analysis of 1992 exit poll results by political scientists John C. Green of the University of Akron, James L. Guth of Furman University, Lyman A. Kellstedt of Wheaton College and Corwin E. Smidt of Calvin College found that people who voted for Bush in 1988 but backed Clinton or Ross Perot four years later did so because of their concern about the economy, not social issues. (See chart, p. 1849.)

"It's become a self-fulfilling prophecy that these are a bad set of issues [for Republicans] and had to be the reason [Bush] lost," Kellstedt said in an interview.

Conservative Christian voters are "an important constituency for Republicans, and they need to find ways to keep them happy and mobilized," Green said. But, he added: "Social-issues conservatives are pretty much wedded to the Republican Party these days. I think a little bit of watering down [of the party platform] wouldn't drive these people away."

And some GOP moderates say that they are not asking for an about-face on social issues. "Any kind of softening, I think, will be taken as a pretty important signal by people who want to vote Republican," Frenzel of the Conference for a Republican Majority said.

A major risk for the GOP is that voters will perceive the party's candidates as beholden to an interest group. Polls show that voters would be less likely to vote for

a candidate if he or she has been endorsed by a leader of the Religious Right or is seen as dependent on its support. (Democrats faced much the same problem in 1984, when presidential nominee Walter F. Mondale was perceived as being in the pocket of labor unions and other interest groups.)

Reed has already said that the Christian Coalition will not unite behind a single candidate in the 1996 Republican primaries and that it is likely to have members in nearly all of the candidates' camps. Politically, the trick for the GOP will be to hold the votes of conservative Christians without appearing to kowtow to their movement. ■

Richard A. Bloom

Burial Insurance

Nuclear power plants are running out of space to store their radioactive waste, and a federal plan to bury the waste in the Nevada desert has run into roadblocks. Utility executives and state regulators are trying bolder tactics to address the problem in the courts and on Capitol Hill.

BY MARGARET KRIZ

The nation's commercial nuclear waste program has taken on the atmosphere of a three-ring circus lately, with James J. Howard, chairman and chief executive officer of Minneapolis-based Northern States Power Co., more often than not in the spotlight.

Early this year, Howard persuaded the Minnesota Legislature to let his company build additional waste storage space at its Prairie Island nuclear power plant. Otherwise, Prairie Island would probably have been forced to close in 1995, when it was projected to run out of storage space.

Reluctant legislators sought to prevent Prairie Island from becoming a permanent waste site, though. They forced Northern States to scale back its construction plans and allowed the company to build only enough storage to house spent nuclear fuel rods through 2002.

Dissatisfied, Howard moved to the national arena.

On June 20, Northern States joined 13 other utilities and 20 state governments in a lawsuit charging that the Energy Department is trying to renege on its legal obligation to take possession of the 22,000 tons of nuclear waste building up at the nation's 110 commercial nuclear power plants.

The suit came in response to Energy Secretary Hazel R. O'Leary's comment that although her department has a "moral obligation" to claim ownership of the waste, she isn't legally bound to take possession until the agency completes work on its long-delayed repository in Nevada. Until then, the states are on their own.

Utility executives and state regulators strenuously disagree. "We signed a contract with the federal government, and for that they were to take our spent nuclear fuel beginning in 1998," Howard said in an interview. "We've sent them a lot of money—my company over \$200 million, [the nuclear power] industry about \$8 billion."

While pursuing the lawsuit, Howard is making a separate attempt to ensure his company's nuclear future. Northern

States and 34 other utilities are negotiating with the Mescalero Apache tribe to build a privately financed temporary nuclear waste storehouse on Mescalero lands in New Mexico. The companies promise to help underwrite the unprecedented facility, which proponents say would hold nuclear waste for 40 years at a small fraction of the price that it would cost the federal government.

A tentative contract with the Mescaleros is expected to be completed this month; it will be put to a full tribal vote later this year. New Mexico elected officials are united in opposition to the proposal and are considering federal legislation to block it. But Howard sees the project as nearly a done deal.

"I can't see anything that could stop it," he said. "The federal government could try, but they would have to go way out of their way to do it. And the question is, why? If you do that, you may as well shut the nuclear program down in this country."

Some congressional leaders, however, view the lawsuit and the attempt to privatize the nation's nuclear waste facilities as a distraction from the main event. Next year, according to staff aides, Congress will concentrate on making it easier for the federal government to build a long-term waste facility. And there's widespread agreement among congressional aides, federal officials and industry officials that legislation is inevitable.

A POLITICAL MINEFIELD

O'Leary's clash with Northern States has an ironic edge. Before becoming Energy Secretary, she was the company's executive vice president for corporate affairs and lobbied on nuclear waste issues in Washington. But for Northern States and other electric utilities, time is running out.

The electric power industry is drowning in nuclear waste. At least 23 utilities will run out of storage space for their spent fuel by the turn of the century. With the federal government unable to guarantee when it will take possession of



WESTERN STATES CENTER

TO: Anne Bartley, Office of the First Lady
FAX: 202-456-6246

FR: Jeff Malachowsky
FAX: 1-503-228-1965
VOICE: 1-503-260-1320

PAGES: -13- Including this cover sheet

DATE: July 24, 1994

- Democratic Committees
- DNC Craig Hughes, Don Sweitzer
- Teaches Union /

Melanne -
I thought this would
be interesting re: radical
right in the West -

522 S.W. FIFTH AVENUE • SUITE 1390 • PORTLAND, OR 97204 • 503/228-8866 • FAX 503/228-1965

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR JEFF MALACHOWSKY

BOARD OF DIRECTORS ROBERT ARCHULETA KATH DONALDSON BETTY DUNFELN JEFF FRY SWARON KARYL SMITH KATHY LERZA DAN PETECORSKY FRANK SANCHEZ GARY SANDUSKY





BUILDING PROGRESSIVE COMMUNITY IN THE WEST

WESTERN STATES CENTER

July 24, 1994

Dear Anne,

Cynthia and I heard the First Lady speak at dinner on Friday - you are so fortunate to have her as a friend and colleague! She deeply impressed everyone in attendance.

I was particularly struck by her words about the far right, and the need for liberals and progressives to not abandon or vilify that base, but instead to compete for it with real and workable programs.

Our message exactly! Would she consider a seat on our Board? No, seriously, I thought you'd be interested in a memo we drafted for our trip to Washington last month, in which we sought to encourage political leaders in Washington to respond to the serious threat of right-wing populism in the West, by supporting a counter-vailing progressive populism through the grassroots organizations and progressive statewide coalitions we work with throughout our eight states.

We think we got a good hearing, though it's hard to be sure how far 'outside-the-Beltway' strategies will be taken. That's why we're coming back this week (Tues-Thurs, 7/26-28), to underscore this message and talk with additional political and labor-union leaders. We're also bringing back specific recommendations on groups and strategies in states for some of the folks (e.g. at the Democratic committees) we talked with last time around.

In any event - I imagine you're swamped, but if you had a few minutes to visit I'd love to stop by. My voice mail is 503-260-1320. And - thanks for suggesting that Carol Seifert call me! We'll be visiting with her and Nan Aaron on Thursday morning.

Best regards, Anne,

Jeff

322 S.W. FIFTH AVENUE • SUITE 1390 • PORTLAND, OR 97204 • 503/228-8866 • FAX 503/228-1963

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WESTERN STATES CENTER

MEMORANDUM

DRAFT *** DRAFT *** DRAFT

FROM: Jeff Malachowsky, Director, Western States Center
Tom Novick, Director, Western Progressive Leadership Network of the
Western States Center

DATE: June 24, 1994

SUBJECT: MEMO ON STRATEGY - 'LOSING THE WEST TO THE RIGHT'

The memo below is intended to convey our analysis of Far Right strategy in the Western region where we work, and suggest some counter-Right progressive strategies where investment of resources might have significant impact this year, and in the future. Our analysis is focused around elections because right-wing strategy is built around elections.

The Western States Center is a seven-year-old non-partisan, non-profit public interest organization with a staff of 12 working in the eight Western states of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, Utah, Nevada, Wyoming and Alaska. We provide training, strategy, consulting and research to grassroots and citizens organizations and progressive elected officials.

LOSING THE WEST TO THE RIGHT

SUMMARY

The Radical Right has the potential to win or play a major role in a frightful number of electoral victories in the West in 1994. This possibility not only holds dire implications for this election cycle, it will have ramifications through the 1996 elections as well.

With a self-fueling insurgency expressed at every level of the ballot - local, state and congressional elections, and a proliferation of hot-button ballot measures and issue initiatives - the Right's strength will grow with every election it wins - and every one it loses, such is the nature of its underdog anti-government populism.

While there is hope, it does not lie solely in traditional politics nor traditional political parties.

Instead the Right must be met by a countervailing populism, with a constellation of grassroots citizens organizations tackling the Right on its issues agendas, and broad community-based electoral coalitions meeting them head-on at the ballot. These parallel efforts not only challenge the Right, they serve as a direct complement to more traditional campaign efforts.

Such groups and coalitions exist today, growing slowly but obscured from national view. With an infusion of support over the next three years, they can play a key role in turning back the rising tides of the Right in the West.

RIGHT MAKES MIGHT

A powerful grassroots insurgency by converging right-wing movements is becoming the dominant political dynamic in many Western states. The most potent issues and movements are anti-environment (the Wise Use Movement), anti-gay and lesbian (Religious Right), and anti-tax/anti-government. While distinct in many ways, these movements have many key similarities. Among the most important are these:

- * they have dual identities, with a self-interested, manipulative and often carpetbagging leadership at the top, and an authentic grassroots populism of real people responding to real problems at their base;
- * their outreach and recruitment are primarily focused around economic stress, uncertainty and poverty, which means they overlap and reinforce each other particularly in distressed suburbs and rural areas;

- * they borrow freely from each others' agendas, which gives the right-wing insurgency overall a comprehensive series of social, political and economic programs compelling to its followers. For example, in the rural West where the economy and environment are intertwined, the Religious Right, seeking to broaden its economic populist appeal, borrows its environmental themes directly from the Wise Use Movements.
- * they have direct and aggressive electoral agendas, particularly at local and state legislative levels, and through issue-defined ballot measures.
- * they have access to state-of-the-art strategy, training, media and communication techniques through national right-wing networks and resource centers, and in many cases to virtually unlimited cash via their corporate (e.g. Wise Use) or religious backers.

Thus, the convergence between movements is even more important than their differences, and they are having a 'synergistic impact' on Western politics far greater than commonly acknowledged. We have seen them come to dominate public debate on critical issues, and define the range of debate on more; they have swung the balance of several state legislatures from Democrat to Republican and then to Far Right Republican; they have polarized politics to such an extent that they have destroyed the 'middle ground' in legislative chambers and public policy where moderate politicians and proposals can effect compromise and effectively address problems.

In this election year of 1994, the convergence and synergism of right-wing movements threatens to incinerate many progressive hopes. The movements are at nearly full bloom, running what is effectively a vertically integrated electoral strategy at all levels of the ballot from top to bottom. For example:

Federal Races - The recent primaries in Oregon, Idaho and Montana have given the Right wing an unprecedented concentration of congressional candidates in contiguous states with overlapping media markets. Three in Oregon, one in Idaho and one in Montana will likely be joined by one to three more in Washington. With a Far Right candidate for Governor in Oregon, plus hot-button ballot measures drawing motivated conservative voters in each state, the Right stands to dominate media, concentrate resources, and see its messages and voter mobilization efforts reinforced like the endless reflections in a line of mirrors. In addition pitched battles for U.S. Senate in Wyoming, Montana and Washington will reinforce the Far Right themes. Several of these same Western states are facing strong right-wing mobilizations around ballot measures or races lower down on the tickets.

State Races - Oregon, Idaho, Wyoming and Nevada all have gubernatorial races on this year's ballot. Three are open seats, and all are currently occupied by Democrats, but concerted conservative campaigns could benefit Republicans. Battles for legislative majorities loom in Nevada where Republicans have a one vote majority in the Senate, in

Oregon where Republicans will make a strong run to erase the two vote Democratic majority in the Senate and maintain their four vote margin in the House, and in Montana where the House went Republican by a six vote margin in 1992. In Washington hard fought gains from the 1992 elections will be fiercely attacked. Conservatives are already taking advantage of a Republican-authored campaign finance reform measure by running independent attack ads against incumbent Democratic legislators; the less-well financed Democrats have been forced to hold off returning fire.

Issue Based Ballot Measures - Although the deadline for submitting petition signatures is still a few weeks away in many of our states, it appears that record number of initiatives pushed by right-wing and conservative forces will grace this year's ballot. Anti-gay measures are still pending and likely to make the ballot in Oregon, Washington and Idaho. (A Nevada proposal failed to collect enough signatures.) Measures that require a supermajority to raise taxes or fees, require a direct vote of the people to raise taxes, or repeal tax reforms passed by legislatures will be on the ballot in at least three to four states. Montana is likely to face all of these. An anti-abortion measure is on the ballot in Wyoming, and attacks on public employee pensions and the prevailing wage law are wending their way toward the ballot in Oregon. Finally, anti-environment takings proposals are being circulated in Oregon and Washington.

This proliferation of right-wing sponsored measures will fragment progressives' electoral efforts. Public employee unions, teachers and trade unions provide significant resources to progressive candidates in our region. Although still vastly outspent, these contributors tend to be the only counterbalance to the heavy partisan spending of natural resource development industries. By forcing these progressive allies to spend considerable resources fighting initiatives, conservatives and the Right make it more difficult for progressive candidates to win. In addition, these various initiatives feed directly into the anti-government, anti-incumbent rhetoric of many conservative candidates which in turn allows them to frame public debate.

JUST THE BEGINNING...

As if this were not enough bad news for progressives and advocates of liberal, activist government, 1994 must be seen primarily as the Right's building stage for 1996. The conditions which fuel right-wing populism - economic uncertainty, crime and threatening social change, aggressive progressive movements by environmentalists, gays, women and others, and a government chock-full of juicy targets from Bill and Hillary on down - will persist unabated certainly through the next three years.

Moreover, the right-wing movements have shown the sophisticated capacity to conduct multi-year strategies, win through losing, innovate rapidly and expand effectively. The anti-gay strategies of the Oregon Citizens Alliance (OCA) provide a telling case in point.

From their first big appearance on the electoral stage, challenging Bob Packwood in the Republican Senate primary in 1986, through their landmark anti-gay ballot measure crusade in 1992, the OCA consistently built its strength and organization through a series of statewide campaigns, only one of which it won. 1992 was a high water mark of 'loser's victory,' as the OCA racked up more than 40% of the vote, national publicity and fundraising lists, honors from leaders of the country's Republican Party and influence at the 1992 Republican Convention. In 1993 the OCA shifted quickly into a highly effective strategy of municipal anti-gay referendums to build momentum and organization - it has now won 24 - a strategy already picked up on Florida, Ohio and which will most likely be replicated elsewhere where statewide campaigns 'fail.' The organization also expanded, and is running ballot measures in Washington, Idaho, Nevada, and possibly soon in Ohio. We count it as no coincidence that key congressional and gubernatorial seats are up in these states, nor that Far Right candidates have swept so many high-office primaries in Oregon and Idaho.

PARTY'S OVER

In many Western states, historically under-organized, the Democratic Party is weak. Even in those states where it is stronger and more effective, or where it's made clear gains since the investment of 'Coordinated Campaign' party-building resources in 1990 and 1992, the party will be only one of many players in the decisive electoral activities of 1994.

The current electoral climate in the West is defined by new environments favoring the Far Right. Among the most important are these:

- * concentration of ideological candidates in states and multi-state regions;
- * interplay among right-wing candidates at multiple electoral levels and proliferating issue ballots;
- * prominence, even domination, in the media due to the above factors;
- * perfect economic and political conditions for broad right-wing populism to flourish and innovate;

These factors mean that progressives running for office in the West, particularly in high-profile statewide or congressional elections, must contend with the explosive self-propelled dynamics of an insurgent social movement, in addition to the more technical political and media science of modern-day campaigns.

Campaigns in the West, where converging right-wing movements have had chance to take root and grow, will be thick with independent grassroots action by local citizen groups. These will not be paper committees assembled by candidates for media purposes only, but

instead authentic populist groups with a record on issues and a real following within their constituency. There are hundreds of such groups in the Wise Use Movement alone, hundreds more in the networks of the Religious Right particularly including churches. A tremendous amount of their activity in elections will be unseen, conducted 'under radar' at the local level, or behind church walls, with shoe leather, soft money and person-to-person contact. Traditional parties, campaigns and pollsters are ill-equipped to respond to this, and far too likely to miss it or dismiss it entirely. These seemingly disconnected actions may not seem significant on a case by case basis, but the sum total of this relentless grassroots action can rise up seemingly out of nowhere, and has the potential to win astounding election victories, bewildering, even crushing progressive forces in the process

EXHIBIT A - IDAHO

Idaho illustrates a number of these points.

From the mid-1980's on, progressives and Democrats in Idaho were effectively organizing and building strength, until in the elections of 1990 the Democratic Party came within just a few hundred votes of capturing a majority in the state Senate. 1992 was a blow-out, however, with the Far Right and other conservatives organizing in backlash to liberal and pro-choice Democrats. Losses for the Democrats were staggering. A near majority in the Senate evaporated to a 23-12 minority.

In 1993, an Idaho chapter of the Oregon Citizens Alliance was formed, which commenced to collect signatures for a statewide anti-gay ballot measure. Towns throughout Idaho experienced Religious Right mobilizations around schools, Wise Use mobilizations around natural resources and property rights, and attacks on health care and abortion providers.

By 1994, dispirited Democrats performed so poorly in recruiting candidates for legislative seats that 18 Republican Senators will run unopposed this November, assuring Republican control of the 35 member body. And, Democrats awoke the morning after Primary Day in utter shock, with incumbent Congressman Larry LaRocco facing the 'dark horse' Republican challenger Helen Chenoweth - a trainer for the national Christian Coalition, and leader in the Wise Use Movement. The LaRocco campaign was stunned, and momentarily at a loss for direction - they and their advisors and resource people were counting on a victory by the more 'moderate' Republican primary candidate, David Leroy, himself a former statewide elected official. But Chenoweth's victory was as resounding as it was unexpected - she won 48% to 28% for Leroy, and carried all Idaho counties but one.

RIGHT TO THE WHITE HOUSE

In 1992 Bill Clinton relied upon the West to deliver him the White House. But anyone hoping for a Clinton re-election in 1996 must pause to consider the prospects of Far Right sweeps in 1994. Two questions then arise - how can such sweeps be avoided this year, and what strategies can best insure that progressive constituencies will not be dispirited and

demobilized when the time comes to fight in 1996. For the Far Right call to battle in the 'War on the West' is a resonating theme whose power is resonating this year, but which will be even more potent and damaging in three.

NO WEDGE, NO EDGE

There is hope for progressive constituencies seeking to blunt the advance of the Far Right, and it lies in meeting populism with populism.

The strategies of the Right, in all their separate issues, depend on scapegoating and blame, on providing identity and reassurance to distressed constituencies by selecting out and attacking weaker, smaller and less popular ones. The key strategic weaknesses of the Right lie here, and not just in their deceit. Right-wing organizing strategies, issue agendas and political programs fail to meet the cherished public values of balance, cooperation, compromise and give-and-take. They are instead extremist, polarizing, unforgiving and ultimately hollow.

Without the ability to use 'wedge issues' to drive people apart and focus attacks on scapegoats, the Right is denied the ability to expand and mobilize its base.

Remarkable experiments are underway in the West to pull liberal and progressive constituencies together, to counter the right wing by creating real and authentic coalitions that visibly embody the values of balance, cooperation and compromise. Rather than temporary coalitions formed to address single issues or serve as vehicles for specific 'messages' during individual elections, these coalitions are formed of organizations with extensive grassroots memberships who work together both inside and outside elections to address the stated concerns of those members. These coalitions, because of their authenticity as vehicles to express community values in distinction to the Right, will be powerful forces in developing a countervailing progressive populism, and through their grassroots activities can make possible progressive electoral strategies that could be achieved in no other way.

Again Idaho offers an example.

For over 18 months, top AFL and education officials have been meeting with the leaders of statewide womens, environmental and economic justice organizations, planning cooperative activity to blunt both the Wise Use Movement in its campaigns around the environment and economy, and the radical Religious Right in its campaigns against gays and lesbians and public education.

This cooperation helped lay the ground around which the campaign against Helen Chenoweth will be conducted, when the AFL took the lead in March in attacking her for her connections to the Wise Use Movement - which they defined as anti-environment, anti-

labor and anti-community stability. Having the most substantial blow against Chenoweth's major anti-environmental ally delivered not by the expected and easy-to-dismiss environmentalists - which of course would feed right into her polarizing and scapegoating strategy - but instead by the elected representatives of natural resource and other labor unions, sent a powerful message. This step precipitated a rethinking within certain conservative Democrat and resource industry union constituencies, reexamining the implications of their alliance with a movement favored by anti-labor Republicans and anti-labor corporations. If LaRocco is to drive the point home that he rather than Chenoweth is the candidate that represents balance, compromise and forward motion on the thorny environment/economic issues dividing Idaho, he will need the cooperation and real-world support of just this coalition. And, if he is to survive the attempts of the insurgent right-wing forces in Idaho to slay his candidacy with a death of 1000 unseen community-level cuts, he will need the organizations represented by this coalition to respond on their own initiative at the community level as well.

Montana offers another example with a high profile U.S. Senate and Congressional race. Conrad Burns, incumbent Republican Senator, and Republican congressional challenger Cy Jamison (former BLM Director under Bush), will hammer away at anti-environmental themes seeking to polarize the debate. The themes will be echoed by Republican legislative candidates and the hundreds of grassroots Wise Use and Religious Right organizations in the state. (Republican Ron Marlenee in 1992's Congressional campaign against incumbent Pat Williams demonstrated the potent symbiosis between these movements when he attacked Williams as being the candidate of the 'fern feelers and prairie fairies.') Seeking to counter this activity will be a broad based coalition organization (Montana Alliance for Progressive Policy) which includes organized labor, conservationists, womens groups, seniors, Native Americans, low income advocates and others.

ACT LOCALLY. THINK NATIONALLY

These coalitions of course are only as strong as the grassroots organizations that make them up. But in the Western states this year, support for grassroots community action by citizens based organizations and their coalitions can have a decisive impact on the fortunes of both liberal and reactionary candidates. Extended over the next three years, such support may well be successful in erecting a bulwark against further expansion and victory by the converging Far Right forces in the West.

As organizers in the West, we see that the right-wing populist insurgence is by its very breadth and viciousness creating here-to-fore unseen opportunities to build new populist coalitions and conduct new organizing drives. Moreover, again 'led' by the Right, we see new opportunities to blend authentic grassroots organizing strategies with urgent electoral strategies. A political strategy based on these opportunities is not only possible but compelling - absent that, as the old adage goes, 'without changing directions we're going to get where we're going.'

FIGHT POPULISM WITH POPULISM

A strategy to improve progressive prospects for blunting the growth of the Right in 1994 by supporting community-based action both inside and outside the electoral arena would seek to provide funds and support in four areas:

1. Community-based organizing and action and voter education
2. Coordination among constituencies
3. Political action by grassroots groups
4. Coordination among states

Community-based organizing would include such activities as voter education and mobilization, research and public education on issues, training of citizens and education of policy makers. Such activities could be conducted with tax-exempt and tax-deductible funds, so long as they in no way sought to influence the election of any specific candidate for public office. Issues around which such activity might be most effective this year include the Wise Use Movement, the Religious Right, public education, abortion and choice in some states, log exports and other environmental issues where labor/environmental alliances are possible.

Coordination among constituencies is essential, to both create, and publicly present, the reality of cooperation, compromise and balance. In many states specific coalitions exist who are already well-advanced along this agenda; in these and others support for particular individual organizations would also be equally valuable. In most states coalitions exist dedicated to electoral action which can accept political action funds, while others exist dedicated to non-partisan, non-profit research and public education. In many cases memberships and issue agendas overlap.

Coordination among states is essential to maximize the speed and efficiency with which information is shared, strategies developed and implemented, and themes and issues propelled. Clear but limited opportunities for effective action around issues exist this year, around the Wise Use Movement, the Religious Right, key issues such as log exports and property rights, etc. These opportunities are based on issues and public education which can be addressed by non-profits without engaging in partisan or electoral politics.

Direct political action and involvement in elections is a strategy that some but not all progressive constituencies in the West will employ this year. More and more, however, are moving to embrace electoral strategies. For some such activity is limited to ballot measures, for others it extends to candidate elections at one or more levels of the electoral process. Citizens organizations generally seek to participate in elections through organizing activity, rather than through gifts of cash - organized labor is the exception of course. In some Western states progressive constituencies have established electoral coalitions to conduct joint activities on candidates and issues of mutual concern.

Support for such activities in 1994 will have a definite and beneficial impact on progressive prospects this year, on the overall public climate and, in cases where partisan funds are used, on specific progressive electoral strategies.

THINKING AHEAD

Given that the contest with the Far Right will certainly extend over the next three years or more, and will require constant not episodic community-based opposition, it becomes a top priority to target such support to organizations and coalitions that will be active throughout that period.

Moreover, so that this support builds stronger organizations instead of flash-in-the-plan last-minute activity flurries, it is essential that wherever possibly the support be committed early. Authentic populist action cannot be purchased like a media buy the key weeks before an election, and a strategy to fight populism with populism requires different funding timelines than most political funders are used to.

Looking beyond this November, the fight with the Far Right in the West will certainly continue unabated into the foreseeable future. Four strategic areas are most in need of support over the next multi-year period, if grassroots action is to join traditional partisan activity as a weapon of choice against the Right. These four areas include:

1. Research - tactical and strategic opposition research is a must, given that we are facing a rapidly evolving right-wing insurgency dependent upon stealth, deceit and clandestine relationships between organizations, leaders, networks and funders.
2. Grassroots organizing - which means building the base through which ordinary citizens can act on their own issues and express their own values, becoming in the process a political force mobilized and mobilizable against the Right.
3. Coordination through coalitions - aggregating the strength of individual constituencies, and creating the relationships that deny the Right its wedges and edges, presenting the public instead with effective models of true balance, cooperation and effective problem-solving.
4. Political action - political action by progressive constituencies at all levels of electoral politics is essential to oppose the vertically-integrated electoral agenda of the Far Right. Imagining that all such activity should take place through traditional parties or labor unions or other established organizations is imagining the genie back in the bottle; instead, new forms of political action are needed, by newly energized and organized constituencies and coalitions.

Both in the short-term, 1994, and in the long term, such efforts have the potential to create in the West a countervailing populism - a new populism - far more genuine and representative than the sham-based reactionary movements of the Far Right.

To the degree such efforts are authentic - involving real organizations with real memberships working out real problems and issues - and to the degree they address with honesty the long-term needs of poor and working Westerners for social and economic justice, empowerment and equality - to this degree will such efforts dry up the Right's capacity to recruit in the West and reverse the flow of political momentum.

The Boston Globe

FRIDAY, JULY 15, 1994

Politics under the cloak of religion

VICTOR KAMBER

WASHINGTON
Whenever I hear Jerry Falwell, Pat Robertson and their apologists in the Republican Party accuse Democrats of "religious bigotry" for criticizing the so-called "religious right," my stomach turns.

You see, my father was a Pentecostal minister who, along with my devout mother, gave me a strict, fundamentalist Christian upbringing. I was taught from day one to love thy brother. I was taught to treat all human beings with respect and dignity — that we are all creations of God. I was taught to forgive others' errors because we are all imperfect. I was taught the virtue of humility. And I was taught that hard work and living the right way would bring the ultimate reward — going to heaven — with secular concerns and materialism taking a back seat.

I look at Falwell, Robertson and their ilk and see nothing in common with my father. Rather than love, they preach hate. Rather than treat all people as God's creation, they equate their political opponents with the devil. Rather than forgiveness, they practice vindictiveness. Rather than show humility, they indulge in brazen ego gratification. And rather

than eschew materialism, they have made themselves shamelessly wealthy.

They're giving evangelical Christianity, the religion my father preached, a bad name. Shame on them.

They are disingenuous in charging that Democrats who attack their politics are attacking their religion. Robertson, Falwell, et al., are not using politics to advance an agenda based on religious values, something done honorably by people of many faiths in this country's history, they are using the cloak of religion to advance an extremist political agenda and raise millions of dollars. This is the work of charlatans and swindlers.

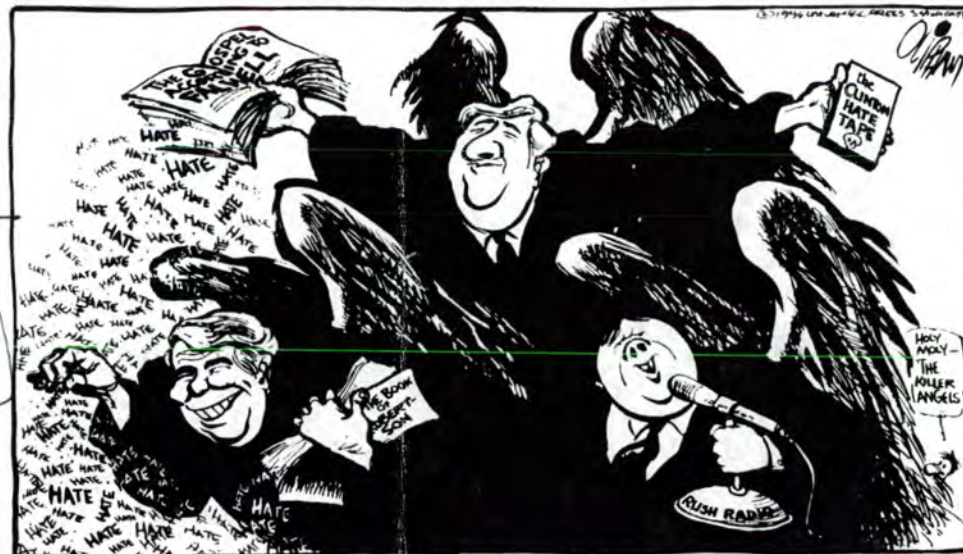
Where in the Bible does it even remotely imply that a government should not provide health care coverage for all of its citizens? Yet Robertson's Christian Coalition claims that President Clinton's health care reform plan is somehow morally wrong. My interpretation of the Bible, gained from my evangelical father, suggests that Jesus would look kindly on the notion of a people acting to protect the health and well-being of their brothers and sisters. But I'm not arguing I'm a better judge of the Bible — just that health care reform is a political battle. To mask it in the language and symbols of religion is a sleazy, malevolent

ruse.

And how is it consistent with the values of evangelical Christianity for Falwell to peddle a videotape that makes vulgar, slanderous and false charges that President Clinton is guilty of murdering people? Did Falwell gain a divine exemption from the Ninth Commandment, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor"? For this man to claim that he speaks for God or Jesus Christ is an obscenity.

Falwell and Robertson also use the old ploy that their critics "are really attacking our followers." Having grown up not just among my family but my father's congregation, I have the greatest respect for the decency and integrity of evangelical Christians and the greatest empathy for their longing for a return to traditional values in these times of precipitous change and apparent moral decline. But their fears and yearnings are being cynically manipulated by the religious right's leaders to advance partisan political ends of which they may not be fully aware — and may not support.

I would be shocked if many Christian Coalition members endorsed Pat Robertson's statement characterizing feminism as "a socialist, antifamily political movement that encourages women to leave their husbands, kill their children, practice witchcraft, destroy capital-



Dark Angels of the Right

ism and become lesbians."

I don't believe many evangelicals equate the Episcopal, Methodist and Presbyterian churches with "the spirit of the Antichrist" as Robertson did on his show, "The 700 Club."

And I cannot accept that many conservative Christians are so intolerant as to believe, as Robertson has said, that their political opponents are "satanic forces," not just "human beings to beat in elections."

Just as appalling as the extremism and intolerance of Falwell and Robertson is the Republican Party's attempt to have its cake and eat it too. Behind the scenes, the GOP

works closely with the religious right, hoping to gain from the "stealth" and "guerrilla warfare" strategies advocated by the Christian Coalition's executive director, Ralph Reed. The National Republican Senatorial Committee even provided the Christian Coalition's first seed money. But publicly the Republican Party doesn't want to be too closely identified with these groups for fear of alienating moderate voters.

However, the camel's nose is now ensconced under the tent. An estimated 18 state Republican parties are now controlled or largely influ-

enced by the radical right. The takeover is so complete that Sen. Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania, a Republican, was roundly booed at the recent Iowa Republic presidential cattle show for saying he supported the separation of church and state.

It's time for Americans of all faiths and all political persuasions to condemn and discredit our modern-day Elmer Gantry: Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson.

Victor Kamber is president of the Kamber Group, a communications consulting and public relations company.

THE ROAD AHEAD:

This morning, the Bulletin invites Michael Novak, the Director of Social and Political Studies at the American Enterprise Institute, and author of "The Catholic Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism," to discuss the role of Catholic Americans in politics and public policy.

BULLETIN: What issues tend to motivate Catholic voters to swing between parties at the national level?

NOVAK: Among the great issues of the last 30 years were concerns about the Soviet Union and the too low level of US defense spending. Second was over taxation combined with inflation and unemployment. Remember that Carter was plagued with both. And the third is a complex of family and cultural issues. Over the last 30 years, particularly with respect to the presidency, Republicans have won an extraordinary series of elections by gaining an unprecedented share of the Catholic vote. In my native state of Pennsylvania, if you hold the Democratic Catholic vote under 55 percent, you are able to win the state as a Republican. And that's the way it is in the long line of states that go from Connecticut through New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan and Iowa. And other very heavily Catholic states are Florida, Texas and California. So, if you look at a map, it is an accident of history that the Catholic vote is concentrated in the states with the highest electoral votes, and that has also been capable of swinging by as much as 30 points one-way or the other since 1960. Remember: swing votes count twice -- once as a take away, once as a plus.

BULLETIN: So, how are Catholic voters reacting to President Clinton's policies?

NOVAK: It's a little early to tell. In 1992, he did a little better among Catholics than Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis had, but not a great deal better. And Perot took a surprising proportion of Catholic votes that Bush had won in 1988. Part of the reason for Clinton's vote totals, I've thought, is cultural, that Catholics are family people and they respond to political language put in the plural and about the family. I think that George Bush's language was familiar Republican language which just didn't ring bells with Catholic voters. Ronald Reagan talked their language. He talked about "family, work, neighborhood, peace, strength." This was his slogan. Every one of these words echoed very well in Catholic neighborhoods. And his policies were followed through on that. And he could have been elected to a third term, I think. Today, there is a broad, thin support for Clinton among Catholics, but it is thin. And there are some warning signs about the ice cracking.

BULLETIN: President Clinton has talked a lot about personal responsibility and family and dealing with the problems of the cities. Has that resonated with Catholic voters?

NOVAK: Yes. In talking about family and in talking about personal responsibility and in voicing his religious views, I think he has won applause among Catholic voters. On the other hand, in expanding the range of abortions, as he did in his very first days in office, through military

and Federal institutions, in the rather active series of affirmative action appointments, and particularly in boosting the cultural acceptability of the moral equivalence of homosexual and heterosexual marital status, he's sounded notes that are disturbing to those who cherish Christian and Jewish morality.

BULLETIN: Do you think it's possible for traditional Catholic voters to make common-cause politically with members of what is called the Religious Right even though Catholics and evangelical Christians have strong theological differences?

NOVAK: In more and more areas, Jews and Christians who hold to the classical values of their faith are making common cause. They feel they are much besieged by an aggressive secular minority, operating largely through the courts in a tyrannical fashion, and much abetted by the news media. They feel under attack and feel the need to cooperate on practical issues, just as they have many times in American history. After all, the Roosevelt coalition was largely a coalition between evangelicals and Catholics and Jews.

As for the current counteroffensive against the Christian right by President Clinton, there is a division among Catholics on this matter. Some Catholics don't like being associated with evangelicals and some will defend Clinton. But others who are worried about the curriculum changes in the schools and the efforts of this new generation of local leaders to force their own morality upon people in the schools and in the neighborhoods will think they are being unfairly attacked. They are just trying to defend the beliefs and values of their parents and grandparents and they are not accustomed to being attacked for that as if that is bigotry. My guess is that this will boomerang against the Democrats. You shouldn't attack other people's religion. It is just not the right way to proceed. And if Clinton thinks his religion is being unfairly attacked, just saying that would win sympathy for him. But doing the same thing to others only hurts him.

BULLETIN: Do you see, then, the possibility of a religious political coalition opposing a secular political coalition?

NOVAK: In the last election we already saw some signs of that. The Bush campaign, though it did so badly, won overwhelmingly among regular churchgoers. If you divide those of religious background between those who regularly participate in church and those who do not, there's a sharp differentiation in how they vote.

BULLETIN: Then which group would be in the majority?

NOVAK: You also have to see how the issues are at election time, whether people are worried about economic issues -- jobs, inflation, taxation. There is certainly a great division now about health care. They also worry about their families and the moral condition of the country. And which of these issues will have salience is awfully hard to predict in advance. Right now, the President is doing reasonably well among these churchgoing people, but some are awfully angry at him.

BULLETIN: In 1992, the Democratic Party did not allow Pennsylvania

Governor Casey to speak at the convention because he opposes abortion. Is the Democrat Party in danger of becoming a "small tent" party on this issue?

NOVAK: It is unimaginable why they excluded him, except out of narrow-mindedness. And it was exclusionary. In Virginia recently -- Governor Allen's race -- and in Georgia with Paul Coverdell and in others, evangelicals and Catholics who are strongly pro-life have been willing to support candidates who don't exactly have their views. It is important to build coalitions. A lot will depend on which side is the better coalition builder.

BULLETIN: The Catholic Bishops in America have openly criticized the Clinton Administration's position in support of international population control. Are American Catholics in total agreement on this issue?

NOVAK: No. When you think of Catholics electorally, Catholics are the only group who will give the word "Catholic" to answer about their religious affiliation even if they haven't darkened a church door for over 50 years. In other words, once a Catholic, always a Catholic. They answer in a way that many Protestants and Jews won't answer when you ask for a religious preference. Electorally speaking, there are a lot of Catholics who are Catholics culturally. They tend to respond to some issues in a predominantly Democratic way. On other issues they will respond in a way particular to Catholics. But these don't tend to be issues of doctrine or theology. Clinton's disagreements with the Bishops and the Pope will raise a warning signal for some. It's just one more piece of bad news for Clinton.

BULLETIN: If you were advising the President, would you tell him that the recent letter from Cardinal Hickey about Surgeon General Jocelyn Elders, and the Bishops letter, send up a warning flag?

NOVAK: It sure does. It sure does. Why are bad things so easily said about Catholics, with nobody publicly reprimanding those who say them? Jocelyn Elders has been conspicuous in that regard. She's not been entirely alone, but she's been conspicuous.

Women's Law and Public Policy Fellowship Program

Georgetown University Law Center
600 New Jersey Avenue, N.W., Suite 334
Washington, D.C. 20001
(202) 662-9650
Fax (202) 662-9444

June 27, 1994

Melanne Verveer
Office of the First Lady
Whitehouse
Washington, DC

Dear Ms. Verveer:

*Nicole -
make sure
me date
my
calendar
Jen's.*

You have been selected to participate as a fellowship placement in the Women's Law and Public Policy Fellowship Program for 1994-1995. Your Fellow will be Karen Guss. Karen's resume is enclosed. Like all Fellows, she was chosen in a highly competitive process from among hundreds of applicants, based on the excellence of her record and deep commitment to women's issues. Karen will report to you on Friday, September 9, 1994.

The Fellows' orientation program will be held during September and your attendance and cooperation is needed at three separate events related to their orientation.

1. A Meeting for supervising staff will be held on **Wednesday, July 27, 9:00 a.m.** At this meeting we will discuss the coming year, various program procedures, and obligations of both the fellows and their placement organizations. The meeting will be held in the First Lady's Conference Room, White House, Old Executive Office Building, Room 100, and should last 1½ hours.

2. A Luncheon for fellows and the placement supervisors will be held on **Thursday, September 8, 1994, noon-2:00 p.m.** at the Law Center.

Board of Directors
Eleanor Holmes Norton
Marcia D. Greenberger
Judith L. Lichtman
Susan Deller Ross
Wendy Webster Williams

Director
Susan Deller Ross

Director
Judy Lyons Wolf

Program Assistant
Denise A. Simmonds

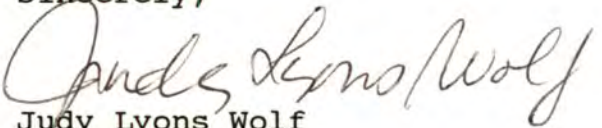


3. **Panels** of Placement Organizations will be held so that fellows will gain some knowledge of the different organizations and subject matter areas in which their peers will be working. Two panels will be held **Monday, September 19, 1:00-3:00** and two panels will be held **Monday, September 26, 1:00-3:00**. Your particular panel date will be assigned at the orientation on July 27.

Please write or call confirming your participation in the orientation program on July 27, the luncheon on September 8, and in your panel to be held on either September 19 or September 26. In connection with the July 27 meeting, we will need your birthdate when you confirm and you will need some form of photo identification with you on July 27.

We are very happy to have your participation in the program and look forward to working with you and your fellow.

Sincerely,


Judy Lyons Wolf
Director

encl.

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Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. application	re: Karen Rose Guss (1 page)	11/05/1993	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 20050

FOLDER TITLE:

Religion [1]

2013-0534-S

rc1637

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

*Women's Law and Public Policy
Fellowship Program*

600 New Jersey Avenue, N.W., Suite 334
Washington, D.C. 20001

Melanne Verveer
Office of the First Lady
Whitehouse
Washington, DC



WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUMDATE: 6/28/94 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: _____SUBJECT: RELATIONS WITH RELIGIOUS GROUPS

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MYERS	☐	☐
McLARTY	☐	☒	QUINN	☐	☐
LADER	☐	☒	RASCO	☐	☐
ICKES	☐	☐	RUBIN	☐	☐
PANETTA	☐	☒	SEGAL	☐	☐
BAGGETT	☐	☐	SEIDMAN	☐	☒
CUTLER	☐	☒	STEPHANOPOULOS	☐	☒
EMANUEL	☐	☐	TYSON	☐	☐
GEARAN	☐	☒	VARNEY	☐	☒
GERGEN	☐	☒	WATKINS	☐	☐
GIBBONS	☐	☐	WILLIAMS	☐	☐
GRIFFIN	☐	☒	<u>Verveer</u>	☒	☒
HALE	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
HERMAN	☐	☒	_____	☐	☐
LAKE	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
LINDSEY	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
McGINTY	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

JOHN D. PODESTA
 Assistant to the President
 and Staff Secretary
 Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

94 JUN 28 AIO : 33

June 28, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BILL GALSTON
GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS
ALEXIS HERMAN
LINDA LADER

SUBJECT: RELATIONS WITH RELIGIOUS GROUPS

In recent weeks, the relationship of religious groups with the Republicans and with your administration has become a focal-point of public discussion. The victories of Oliver North in Virginia and Allen Quist in Minnesota and events at the Texas Republican convention have triggered speculation about a "religious right" takeover of the Republican party. Meanwhile, continuing controversy over such issues as abortion, gay rights, and freedom of religious exercise and expression have led some religious conservatives to accuse your administration of being indifferent or even hostile to religion. Statements by administration officials and party spokesmen have proved to be flash-points. Just last week, eighty-seven Republican House members demanded that you force the resignation of Surgeon-General Elders, while all forty-four Republican Senators asked you to repudiate remarks by Rep. Vic Fazio critical of the "Christian radical right."

The purpose of this memorandum is to place this controversy in a broader context and to suggest a strategic response that would reflect your long-held convictions, enhance the dignity of the presidency, and contribute to a more productive public dialogue.

During your presidential campaign, you brought people together around an agenda that successfully integrated economic and moral concerns. Now, once again, you have an opportunity to unite citizens of good will around core principles. Your administration and the Democratic party must seize the high ground of our historic tolerance for Americans of many faiths--and of no faith. But there is a right way and a wrong way to oppose intolerance. We cannot allow our attack on extremism to become, or even to be perceived as, an attack on sincere religious conviction and on the participation of the faithful in our public life. We should not give our adversaries an opening to portray your administration as hostile to religion. While vigorously opposing bigotry cloaked in the language of piety, we need a sustainable longterm strategy for diminishing the sense of distance from your administration now experienced by many believers who are not extremists. This is an opportunity for presidential leadership--and statesmanship--that should not be missed.

Background and context

The current debate over the political role of conservative religious groups is framed by four large facts.

1. Despite the predictions of generations of sociologists, the United States has not moved toward increased secularization. We remain (by a wide margin) the most intensely religious of all the industrial democracies, with levels of belief and observance five to ten times higher than in many European countries.

2. Because so many American faiths were born in dissent from orthodoxy and flight from persecution, and because our faith is so vigorously diverse, deep religious conviction in this country has typically gone hand-in-hand with an equally deep commitment to religious toleration. In the long run, American religious and political leaders pay a steep price when they cross the line dividing tolerance from intolerance.

3. Most Americans believe that the moral foundation of our society has eroded dangerously over the past generation. (When asked in a Newsweek poll earlier this month whether the United States is in a "moral and spiritual decline," 76 percent of respondents answered affirmatively.) For many, organized religion provides both a vocabulary for criticizing this decline and an institutional means of resisting it. Others who disagree with the answers offered by religious conservatives believe that they are at least addressing the right questions. Political leaders who are seen as insufficiently concerned about and responsive to this perception of social decay will increasingly be regarded as out of touch and irrelevant.

4. Starting during the Carter administration, many evangelical Protestants and moderate-to-conservative Catholics migrated to the Republican party. That trend is not likely to be reversed any time soon. In 1992, an unpopular Republican incumbent not particularly trusted by the right wing of his own party nonetheless managed to garner 62 percent of the vote among white born-again Christians.

But the broader history of 1992 is instructive. The Republican convention crossed the line from traditional morality to intolerance, alarming moderates in both parties. At the same time, while you adopted forthright positions on a number of controversial social issues, your campaign sent important signals of your openness to faith communities. Your emphasis on the need for the rebuilding of our society through increased personal responsibility and firmer faith as well as common action conveyed your vivid awareness of moral and social decline and helped diminish the intensity of opposition to your candidacy, even among those who supported your adversaries. In short, you reached out to religious traditionalists in a way that enhanced the depth and legitimacy of your eventual victory. It is now time to renew and extend that endeavor.

Reaching out to religious communities

As part of a strategy for reaching out to religious communities, we recommend the following steps:

1. You should review, revise, and sign the attached letter to the Republican Senators.

2. Criticisms of specific statements and actions of specific conservative religious leaders are of course appropriate and justified. But you should send clear signals to your appointees that statements that can be interpreted as general criticisms of religious conservatives, or of the role of religion in public life, are not in the best interests of our country or of your presidency.

3. Last year's events such as breakfasts with religious leaders proved highly effective in building bridges to their communities and generated much positive media coverage. You should insist on resuming scheduling such events on a regular basis--at least once a month, more often if possible--and bolster them with personal meetings and interviews with selected religious media.

4. You should continue to speak out frequently on issues such as personal responsibility, teen pregnancy, parental duties, service to nation and community, the formation of good character needed to sustain a decent society, and the role of faith in our public life. Don Baer should be asked to formulate a plan for building on the values-oriented speeches you delivered in May, and you should consider devoting a major address to the role of religion in public life.

5. An informal White House working group has recently been organized to monitor legislative, regulatory, and judicial activities of the administration of concern to organized religion. Some more regular mechanism needs to be established to carry this work forward. Its principal purpose would be to anticipate and ward off potential problems rather than (as is so often the case right now) responding to them defensively after the fact.

6. To the maximum extent possible, those responsible for fashioning political tactics should act in coordination with your overall strategy. If we are not careful, shortterm "red meat" rhetoric could drown out the longterm approach we recommend.

Conclusion

Strong faith is an enduring strand of American life. But its intensity waxes and wanes in response to broad social conditions. In general, periods of rapid economic and social change engender anxiety that can trigger upsurges of religious fervor. This was the case in the 1920s, and it is true today. We are living

through a period of economic and social dislocation that many Americans are experiencing as confusing and alarming. Not surprisingly, they are looking for sources of stability and security.

For many, conservative faith communities are providing structures of meaning and human connection no longer reliably available in families, neighborhoods, and workplaces. We may not agree with much of what they are saying and doing. But we must publicly articulate the very real concerns to which they are pointing, and we must advance our own responses to them. Ceding this terrain to our adversaries in the name of shortterm tactical considerations would be a blunder of significant--perhaps historic--proportions.

Draft Presidential response to the Republican Senators

Dear X:

Thank you for your letter of June 22, which raises issues of central importance for every American. I am in full agreement that a candidate's religious beliefs are not a basis for questioning his or her fitness for public office. Indeed, no principle is more firmly rooted in our history and laws.

For centuries, our country has enjoyed a unique tradition of religious liberty. Members of every faith have been able to profess their deepest convictions and carry out the precepts that flow from those convictions. Free exercise for every faith, establishment for none, a prohibition on religious tests for public office--these tenets are the foundation of the rights we cherish, and of our entire constitutional tradition. Enshrined in the hearts of our citizens, this tradition has allowed our country to enjoy a religious life unparalleled in its vigor and diversity. It was to safeguard and strengthen this tradition that I was proud to sign into law the Religious Freedom Restoration Act, which my administration will vigorously enforce.

We Americans have never believed that faith is a purely private matter. Faith can lead to action, and the voices of many faiths have always been part of our nation's public dialogue. It is entirely appropriate for those voices to attempt to persuade others, and to craft policies that reflect the principles on which we come to agree through unfettered debate. The place of religion in our civic life extends well beyond public dialogue. Faith strengthens the bonds of family and community, and it helps shape the good character of citizens without which we cannot hope to be a decent society.

This is why I have often said that in our public life, freedom of religion does not and cannot mean freedom from religion. This is why I do not believe that Americans want, or the Constitution requires, the total secularization of our workplaces and communities.

Because religion in our country is so diverse and so publicly engaged, tolerance is an indispensable virtue, among individuals and among faith communities. Tolerance rests on mutual respect across our differences. It requires that we refrain from coercion to resolve those differences. And tolerance reinforces what we share despite our differences--the very foundation of our constitutional faith, a full and equal citizenship under law.

Sharp, vigorous debate is the lifeblood of our democracy. But there is a line between the frank articulation of differences and personal attacks on individuals or groups. Public discourse that demonizes opponents frays the social fabric and impedes the vital search for common ground on the issues our nation must address. I call upon all Americans of good will to refrain from this kind of rhetoric and to repudiate it whenever it is employed.

I have spoken out repeatedly against intolerance and bigotry of every kind, and I will continue to do so. I expect every member of my administration to adhere to the highest standards of tolerance. Those who oppose my administration should do likewise. The alternative to a new birth of tolerance in our public life is the continued erosion of the people's faith in our capacity for responsible self-government. Surely a pervasive cynicism about leaders and institutions of every kind is not the legacy we want to bequeath to the next generation. But that is where we are heading, unless we abandon the politics of mutual ~~recrimination~~ ~~annihilation~~ and refocus our energy on the real and urgent problems our nation faces.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

June 22, 1994

The Honorable William Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1500 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

As the November elections draw closer, Americans will be looking to Republican and Democrat candidates to discuss their positions on the challenges facing our country. And we believe that a frank debate of our differences on issues like health care, taxes, crime, and foreign policy is the essence of a healthy democracy, and will be good for America.

What is not good for America, however, is questioning a candidate's fitness for office because of his or her religious beliefs. And that is precisely what several prominent members of your party have done in recent days, making comments that bring to mind the type of attacks faced by Al Smith in 1928 and John Kennedy in 1960.

Mr. President, You have spoken eloquently in the past about the need for tolerance in our lives, and about the importance of religion in the lives of Americans. We write to ask that you now join with us in repudiating the remarks of those who use terms like "fire-breathing Christian radical right," and who cheapen our democracy through religious bigotry.

Sincerely,

Bob Dole
John Danforth
Kit Bond
Jim Cooper
Sam Brownback

Phil Gramm
Mike Sten
Val Long
Don Nickles
Phil Thomas

David Cook

Dick Langitt

Robb

Jim J. Voss

Brian Rusk

Jackie Galt

McGinnis

Jack Brown

Raggy Presler

Jack H. M. H.

Samuel L. L. L.

Curtis Mack

Bill Bond

Mike H. H. H.

Richard L. L. L.

W. J. H. H.

Bob Brown

Bob Smith

Bob

John L. L. L.

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Date: 06/24/94 Time: 15:56

GOP House Members Seek Elders' Resignation

WASHINGTON (AP) Eighty-seven GOP House members sought the resignation of Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders on Friday, escalating a conflict over Democrats' attacks on right-wing Republicans.

The Republicans' letter to President Clinton came two days after Elders, according to newspaper accounts, referred to the ``un-Christian religious right'' and added, ``We've got to be strong to take on those people who are selling our children out in the name of religion.''

The letter did not specifically mention these remarks but they were cited often at a news conference by Rep. Cliff Stearns, R-Fla., author of the letter, other lawmakers and spokesmen for conservative Christian organizations.

``She should be using this office to fight sickness and disease and not using this office to fight parents and churches,'' Stearns said.

The letter said Elders ``has not chosen to utilize her position to advance the general health and welfare of all Americans, but rather to advocate views antithetical to the majority of citizens.''

Elders' press spokesman could not immediately be reached for comment.

On Thursday, 44 Senate Republicans wrote Clinton asking him to repudiate remarks that reflect religious bigotry. That letter came after Rep. Vic Fazio of California, chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, criticized the rise of the radical right in Republican politics.

On Friday, President Clinton criticized evangelical Christian broadcasters, mentioning Jerry Falwell by name. Clinton said he was getting tired of being pounded by the right wing. ``I'm going to be far more aggressive,'' he said.

At the news conference outside the Capitol, Rep. F. James Sensenbrenner Jr., R-Wis., said Elders had ``forfeited her right to be surgeon general of the United States.''

The letter denounced Elders for her remarks that the Boy and Girl Scouts discriminated against homosexuals, that the legalization of narcotics should be considered and that girls should take condoms when they go on dates.

``Whether one agrees with these statements or not, and I suspect that the majority of Americans do not, they clearly serve to divide Americans rather than unite us behind our common interest in public health and welfare,'' the Stearns letter said.

APNP-06-24-94 1555EDT

DRAFT

As religious leaders committed to both the prophetic role of religion in public life and the institutional separation of church and state, we are alarmed at the abuse of religion as a campaign issue.

We begin with the proposition that God is neither democrat nor republican nor, for that matter, American. God transcends all national and political affiliations. God's precinct is the universe.

Identifying the Kingdom of God with any political party or candidate is as presumptuous as it is foolish. None has a monopoly on the truth. All are subject to the faults and frailties of the human condition. People of faith have at times perpetuated war, slavery, Jim Crow and sexism. Tomorrow's prophets will expose today's blind spots.

The framers of the Constitution wisely provided that there be no religious test for public office. We call upon the candidates to honor both the spirit and letter of Article VI by refraining from further attacks based on religion.

BJC attorneys warn churches against partisan activities

WASHINGTON -- Using churches to promote or oppose political candidates compromises religion and runs the risk of costing churches their tax-exempt status, according to two Baptist church-state attorneys.

Oliver S. Thomas and J. Brent Walker of the Washington, D.C.-based Baptist Joint Committee cited several examples of questionable campaign tactics, including repeated appeals to churches by the Bush-Quayle campaign, mailings to church leaders by Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition and a brochure produced by Operation Rescue and others that says "to vote for Bill Clinton is to sin against God."

"I remain concerned about the Bush-Quayle campaign's effort to use churches for partisan political purposes," said Thomas, BJC general counsel. "Last spring I questioned their letters asking churches to support the president's re-election campaign -- something the tax code strictly forbids."

In March, Thomas notified the White House after hearing from Oklahoma pastors whose churches received letters from the Bush-Quayle campaign. The campaign's legal counsel assured Thomas that steps were being taken to prevent future mailings to churches.

"Then on Oct. 15, I received a mailing asking religious leaders to use their denominational publications to promote the president," Thomas said.

"This misuse of religion is precisely what leading clergy warned of in August," Thomas said, referring to statements issued by religious leaders decrying the use of religion as a campaign weapon.

Walker, associate general counsel at the religious liberty agency, criticized the "Family Values Voter Guide '92" distributed to church leaders and promoted by Robertson, Campus Crusade founder Bill Bright and the present and former presidents of the Southern Baptist Convention -- Houston pastor H. Edwin Young, Memphis, Tenn., pastor Adrian Rogers and Atlanta pastor Charles Stanley.

A letter addressed "Dear Christian Leader" and signed by Robertson, Young, Bright and Rogers states that the Christian Coalition and "other pro family organizations" are distributing 40 million copies of the guides to 100,000 churches.

The promotional materials assert the guide complies with IRS guidelines for political activities by churches and other tax-exempt organizations, but Walker questioned that claim.

"The guide could create problems for churches if they decide to use and distribute them," he said. "The Christian Coalition's tax status allows for some political activities, but churches can engage in no political activity without jeopardizing their tax-exempt status."

While the guide claims to be non-partisan, Walker said, "it takes very little imagination to see who the Christian Coalition and participating churches want the reader to vote for. At the very least, it's a close call."

The Christian Coalition is a political action organization

that bills itself as non-partisan. But, according to the *Washington Post*, Republican delegate selection manuals were distributed at a 1991 Christian Coalition conference and Robertson told conference delegates he wants "to see a working majority of the Republican Party in the hands of pro-family Christians by 1996."

Walker had even sterner criticism for the brochure distributed by Operation Rescue's Randall Terry.

"Terry's statement that a vote for Clinton is a sin takes the 'God-is-on-our-side' rhetoric that we heard at the Republican Convention to its ridiculous extreme," he said. "Terry's audacity is amazing. Who made him the nation's inquisitor?"

Walker said Americans should be able to disagree on issues "without dubbing political opponents sinners and calling into question the sincerity of their religious convictions."

Terry's group is urging pastors to spread the brochure's message from their pulpits, a step that could lead to problems with IRS for the churches, Walker said.

"Unsuspecting pastors should be aware that such political endorsements will place the churches' tax exemption in jeopardy," Walker said. "Preachers can address issues, but they cannot endorse or oppose candidates from the pulpit without endangering their church's tax status."

-30-

Story by Larry Chesser
10-16-92

THE NEW COVENANT

By Fred Barnes

Bill Clinton's speech at Notre Dame University on September 11 wasn't likely to generate much national press attention, yet Clinton and his aides took enormous care in preparing it. They consulted dozens of people, including New York Governor Mario Cuomo, Senator Harris Wofford of Pennsylvania, President Timothy Healy of Georgetown University, and old college friends of Clinton's. Former Representative Toby Moffett of Connecticut, whose daughter Julia works for the Clinton campaign, submitted a long memo. David Kusnet, the speechwriter in charge of the Notre Dame address, scavenged material for Clinton to read: Senator Daniel P. Moynihan's speech at Notre Dame in May, Cuomo's published diaries, Cuomo speeches, etc. The speech Clinton finally delivered took weeks to draft. And Clinton was actively involved in the drafting.

This extraordinary effort produced one of Clinton's most substantive speeches of the campaign. It was not only his major address to Catholics. It dealt with the broader issue of religious faith and its role in American life. Clinton's chief strategist, James Carville, described it as a "defining speech," revealing Clinton as an unabashed Christian ("my faith is a source of pride to me") and a man of strong religious sensibility. "If elected," Clinton added, "I will be the first president to graduate from a Catholic college, Georgetown University." He got a standing ovation.

Religion is the stealth issue of the presidential race. It will probably have more influence on the outcome than any issue except the economy. Clinton and his handlers have understood this from the beginning. They also know it's not a plus with most voters if a presidential candidate is perceived, as Michael Dukakis was in 1988, as indifferent or hostile to religious faith. Thus Clinton and his vice presidential running mate, Al Gore, have taken the next step, affirming the value of religion and touting their own faith. Though both are Southern Baptists, they've deftly avoided sectarian splits and embraced what sociologist Nancy Ammerman calls "a generic American faith." Their message is non-threatening: I'm religious, but not to the point of imposing my faith on anyone or deciding any issue on religious grounds.

The political results are impressive. Clinton has made remarkable inroads among evangelical Protestants and

Catholics, two groups who trended Republican in the 1980s. These are large voting blocs, especially significant in the South and industrial Midwest. Evangelicals make up 23 percent (43 million people) of the voting-age population, and Catholics about the same. In 1988 Bush got 77 percent of the evangelical vote, leaving a paltry 23 percent for Dukakis. This year "Clinton should be able to get at least 30 percent of the evangelical vote and could reasonably aspire to 40 percent," says John Green of the Bliss Institute of Applied Politics at the University of Akron, which surveys evangelical voters. "Anything over 40 percent would generate a landslide for the Democrats."

Pre-Clinton, Republicans thought the religious issue was theirs alone to exploit, and it was. This year the issue has backfired on them. Bush's lame acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention in Houston was overshadowed by the speeches of Patrick Buchanan, who spoke of a "religious war," and Pat Robertson, the Protestant evangelist who said traditional values for most Republicans "start with faith in Almighty God." Two days after the convention, Bush complained in a Dallas speech that Democrats had left "G-O-D" out of their platform. "That bombed," says Ralph Reed, executive director of Robertson's Christian Coalition. "And Bush got whipsawed." Bush and his allies in the religious right came off as narrow, rigid, and sectarian, exactly the sort of believers most Americans don't want their political leaders to be.

For Clinton, religion offers the way out of a problem. Millions of evangelicals and Catholics are turned off by his support for abortion and gay rights and by his party. Even those who like Clinton's economic pitch are uncomfortable with Democratic social values. But these are offset by his public embrace of religion. Moreover, Clinton talks about his faith in a seemingly genuine way. He's been going to Baptist churches, white and black, and Pentecostal gatherings for years. And Reed was amazed when Gore, during the vice presidential debate on October 13, began a thought with the words, "I'm taught in my religious tradition..." Reed says he forgot what Gore said after that. "I thought, wow, you can go to South Georgia and speak to a Baptist association and begin any sentence with that phrase and get away with it. What you've done is rhetorically dropped their psy-

chological barrier. Can you imagine Mondale saying that?"

Clinton's emphasis on religion began at the Democratic convention in July. The thirteen-minute film about Clinton produced by Linda Bloodworth-Thomason included an interview with his half-brother, Roger. "Religion was really important," Roger said of their upbringing. "Church-going was really important to the two of us. . . . Even to this day, it's an extremely significant part of his life." Then, in his acceptance speech, Clinton twice quoted from the Bible. He tinkered with a passage from 1 Corinthians: "Our eyes have not yet seen, nor our ears heard, nor our minds imagined what we can build." The actual passage refers to what God can build.

Pat Robertson jumped on this in a report to members of his 700 Club. "He twisted the words of the apostle Paul from being God-centered to being completely man-centered," Robertson wrote. True, and other Christians were mad as well. "Some of my fundamentalist friends were offended by that," says Green. "But regular evangelicals were impressed that he would even try to quote from the Bible. They had thought of the Democratic Party as a secular party."

Four days after the convention, Clinton made an hour-long appearance on VISN, an ecumenical Christian cable network. Sitting in front of the altar of a Presbyterian church in Wheeling, West Virginia, he delivered a remarkable testimony. "If I didn't believe in God, if I weren't, in my view, a Christian, if I didn't believe ultimately in the perfection of life after death, my life would have been much more difficult for me," he said. "I had a tough childhood, a not all that easy adulthood at times. My faith has enabled me to keep living and keep going and keep doing things." Questioned by Judy Woodruff of the "MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour," Clinton elaborated. "Like other people, I have had crises in my life, personal crises, personal failures, the sense that I had let myself and others down, the sense that maybe I'd never be the person God wanted me to be."

Clinton has walked a fine line between identifying with believers and scaring non-believers. "The fact that I have a deep faith in God and a sense of trying to do the right thing every day should be reassuring to people," he said on VISN. "It will make me more humble in office. . . . It will make me a stronger person." VISN rebroadcast the Clinton interview over and over again.

Hillary Clinton's image has also been softened by a public declaration of faith. She is a Methodist. In early September she, her friends, and several Methodist ministers were interviewed for an article by the United Methodist News Service. The writer, Jean Caffey Lyles, concluded: "A Clinton White House would inherit a thoughtful theologian-in-residence with an active prayer life and a strong social conscience." Hillary said she likes the Methodist Church's "emphasis on personal salvation combined with active, applied Christianity." It is

"a practical method of trying to live as a Christian in a difficult, challenging world." She and her husband "think the most important thing is your personal relationship with God." The Methodist article, showing Hillary in a new light, proved irresistible. It was picked up by the secular media. In October *Christianity Today*, an evangelical magazine, came to Hillary's defense. "Many evangelical women . . . have more in common with Hillary Clinton than with the other candidates' wives," wrote LaVonne Neff, a senior editor at Tyndale House Publishers.

Bill Clinton's strongest appeal is to moderate Southern Baptists, the minority faction in that denomination. Its publication, *Associated Baptist Press*, has ballyhooed Clinton and Gore as "the first all-Baptist ticket for the nation's two highest offices." The Clintons and the Gores "are as engaged in religion as any four people we've ever had running for office," says James Dunn of the Baptist Joint Committee in Washington. "They're not superficial churchies." The fundamentalists who control the Southern Baptist Convention are less enthusiastic. The Sunday school lesson they've put out for November 1, the Sunday before Election Day, is devoted to the subject of leadership. It lists great leaders, among them Gandhi, Churchill, and George Bush. Clinton isn't mentioned.

At Notre Dame, Clinton recalled John F. Kennedy's talk to Baptist ministers in Houston in 1960. But Clinton, a Baptist addressing Catholics, wasn't trying to be the mirror-image of JFK. Kennedy sought to combat intolerance of his Catholicism. Clinton aimed to dissolve doubts about his character and seriousness. "These doubts had very little to do with his being a Baptist," says a Clinton adviser. "He didn't have to say, 'It's O.K. to have a Baptist in the White House.'" What Clinton did say was that his values have religious underpinnings. He talked about Catholic social philosophy, community, stewardship, and "a spiritual crisis" in the country. "America does not need a religious war," Clinton said. "It needs a reaffirmation of the values that for most of us are rooted in our religious faith."

Notre Dame, though not a lion's den, wasn't friendly turf for Clinton either. The school is conservative, its students predominantly Republican. A plane pulling a banner saying, "No Draft Dodgers for President," circled the campus during his speech. Clinton was heckled by anti-abortion protesters sprinkled strategically through the audience and by Bush backers. He persevered. The national press took little notice, but Wofford, a convert to Catholicism and former Notre Dame law professor who joined Clinton on stage, insisted the speech has had a "ripple effect." Attitudes, even among conservative Catholics, toward Clinton have changed. George Weigel, a Catholic intellectual who supports Bush, says Clinton "does not give off that aura of cold, rational secularism that Dukakis did. He's not religiously tone deaf." That's one big reason he's headed for the White House. •

A20

The 1992 Campaign

THE NEW YORK TIMES

"If we're going to be..."

Jewish Voters

Clinton Swipes at Bush For Lack of Jewish Aides

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 9 — Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, seeking the support of Jewish voters, today painted the Bush Administration and the Republican Party as institutions that were virtually devoid of Jews and dominated by fringe religious and right-wing elements hostile to Jewish concerns.

Alluding to the fact that there are virtually no Jews in the upper reaches of the Bush Administration, the Democratic Presidential candidate told the B'nai B'rith International Convention, "I think I ought to give you an administration that looks and feels like America — a Cabinet, a White House staff, appointments to the judiciary and to other major positions that reach across racial, and religious, and ethnic, and regional lines, an administration committed to the highest standards of excellence."

These remarks, made by way of a satellite hookup, underscored the different approach Mr. Clinton adopted in his effort to woo Jewish votes from that employed by President Bush, who addressed the same audience in person on Tuesday. Mr. Bush's appeal to the

respond to crises that may affect Israel. That threat is the weakening American economy. Without a growing economy, without a strong, stable and secure American middle class, America's commitment to Israel will always be under pressure."

In a dig at President Bush, who on Thursday in Detroit will lay out some new economic ideas packaged by his new chief of staff, James A. Baker 3d, Mr. Clinton said, "Our plan will begin on the first day of our inauguration, not the last two months before our effort to secure re-election."

Old Hot-Button Arguments

The nature of Mr. Clinton's appeal to this Jewish audience, and the warm response it received, suggests that in the wake of the cold war some traditional constituencies are going to have to be addressed differently. Indeed, many in the audience agreed that at a time when Israel is engaged in peace talks with all its Arab neighbors, the old hot-button security arguments about standing with Israel just do not ignite Jewish audiences any more. And at a time when unemployment is soaring in the United States, Jews no longer

Gov. Bill Clinton

on Tuesday. Mr. Bush's appeal to the

A message by way of television gets a warm response.

Jewish audience was a traditional national security approach, focused on how as Commander in Chief he had been ready to use force to confront Israel's enemy Iraq, how he had worked with the former Soviet Union to organize Arab-Israeli peace talks and how he had helped Russian Jews emigrate to Israel.

Mr. Clinton, by contrast, made a domestic-focused appeal to American Jews. He quickly touched all the usual bases about how he would be supportive of Israel and the peace talks, but then shifted his focus to the domestic concerns of many Jews — from a woman's right to choose an abortion to mounting Jewish anxiety about the way in which fundamentalist Christians and right-wing supporters of Patrick J. Buchanan seemed to dominate the Republican convention.

Link to Economic Plans

Mr. Clinton was also probably the first Presidential candidate to make a link between support for Israel and support for his economic plans, by arguing that it will be impossible for any future President to insure Israel's security without a strong American economy able to sustain foreign aid for strategic allies.

Unlike President Bush, Mr. Clinton did not appear in person. Instead, he spoke to the audience over a wall-size television screen linked to suburban Atlanta, where he was on the campaign trail. Judging from the fact that Mr. Clinton got much more enthusiastic applause in his video appearance than Mr. Bush got in person, it seems that his line of argument resonated with the Jewish audience.

"There is another threat to Israel that has gone long unaddressed," he said. "It is a threat that can weaken Israel militarily, economically and politically. It can hinder our ability to

at a time when unemployment is soaring in the United States, Jews no longer feel comfortable vigorously fighting the sale of military aircraft to Saudi Arabia, when it could mean thousands of jobs for Americans. Therefore, they said, the appeal to Jewish audiences has to be from a domestic angle.

"I think Clinton did well," said Abraham D. Foxman, executive director of the Anti-Defamation League. "It was interesting, though, how much of the positive applause came in response to statements about domestic issues. The most sustained applause came when he said he was pro-choice on abortion and when he criticized the tone of the Republican convention."

Indeed, by far the most vigorous applause for Mr. Clinton came when he declared: "America is not just a place, it's an idea, an idea cherished and given life by Puritans and Catholics, by Jews and Baptists, by Republicans and Democrats, by women and men, by people of all colors, of all races, of all religions. That means an America where hatred and bigotry are not tolerated, an America where we have a Supreme Court which will respect our Constitution, protect women's right to choose, and protect the rights of all Americans."

Mr. Clinton is using this week to appeal to several other important religious constituencies, including the National Baptist Convention as well as a predominantly Catholic audience at Notre Dame University.

On the G.O.P. Convention

Speaking of the Republican convention, Mr. Clinton certainly told his Jewish listeners what they wanted to hear, "I must say I was also deeply disturbed by the tone of the first two days of the Republican Convention in Houston, where it seemed that they were more interested in dividing the American people by claiming that some of us have values and others don't than in uniting us in a common effort to overcome our problems."

"I will never do that," he added. "It is the responsibility of our leaders to counter intolerance, bigotry and hatred. No one knows better than you the danger of bigotry, anti-Semitism and intolerance that is on the rise. As President, my commitment to opposing fear and hate and prejudice will not bend with the prevailing political wind."

Gov. Bill Clinton

THE AD CAM

Clinton:

The Clinton campaign is broadcasting a Republican message, said it purchases states for the refused to na third of the mo

ON THE SCREEN

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long, Government worst failures h I have a plan to break the cycle provide education then those who the private sector I know it can w 17,000 people time to make w chance, not a w

ACCURACY From

17,000 Arkans or Aid to Family into jobs under an administrative Human Service

Mr. Clinton made the fact, not popular that he had endorsed fighter jets to Saudi provide jobs for

Memo

at Clinton Draft

National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA

August 28, 1992



President George Bush
The White House
Washington, DC 20560

Dear Mr. President:

Office of the
General Secretary

We write you today to express our profound hope that in the course of this presidential campaign you, the Republican party, and those who work for your re-election will appeal to an inclusive and plural America. Our national heritage is enriched by the many faiths and traditions that shape and inform the values of individuals and families.

We believe it is contrary to the best of our proud national heritage to appeal for support for one belief by degrading the beliefs and convictions of other religious faiths and ethical approaches. We know that any threat or act of intimidation to one group is, finally, an abridgement to the religious freedom of us all.

We believe that all realms, including political and public life, come under the judgment of God. We believe it is blasphemy to invoke the infinite and holy God to assert the moral superiority of one people over another, or one political party over another. As our Pledge of Allegiance affirms, we are "one nation, under God," not "over" God or in any other way owning God. Any partisan use of God's name tends to breed intolerance and to divide. Rather than affirming a common reverence, with room for every dissent and even disbelief, it suggests religious conformity and leads to religious arrogance.

In political seasons, especially now, we need to be very clear that God belongs to no one side, for we believe we all belong to God. In measuring partisan visions for our country's life, credible religious convictions can find their constructive place. Religious concerns are best fulfilled when political positions reflect the reality of a God who suffers with all who suffer, who cares for the integrity of all creation, who wills the well-being of all people, and whose way is always justice and peace. Then, a religious sense of life has filled its genuine political role.

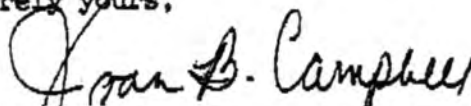
With respect we call upon you to support the full enfranchisement of all our nation's people and to clearly affirm that our religious freedom and pluralism is foundational to our national heritage. We especially deplore the suggestion that to be fully franchised one must not only be Christian but espouse a particular understanding of life in Christ. We exhort you to uphold and honor the notion that those who have opinions at variance with you and your party on moral and ethical issues are no less faithful.

We appeal to you not as a political candidate but as one who holds the highest office in this great nation and is a symbol of the freedom for which it stands.

Page 2.

We bring these deep concerns to your attention because we fear for the erosion of the religious freedom our nation's founders made central to our common life. We also take this opportunity to assure you of our prayers as you carry out the awesome duties of your office.

Sincerely yours,



The Rev. Dr. Joan B. Campbell, General Secretary, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.

Dr. Charles Adams, President, Progressive National Baptist Convention
Bishop Vinton Anderson, African Methodist Episcopal Church,

President, World Council of Churches

Most Rev. Edmond Browning, Presiding Bishop, The Episcopal Church

The Rev. Douglas Fromm, Ecumenical Officer, Reformed Church in America

Dr. Maxine Garrett, The Moravian Church

The Rev. Richard Hamm, Regional Minister, Tennessee. Christian Church/
Disciples of Christ

The Rev. Mac Charles Jones, National Baptist Convention of America

The Rev. Lewis Lancaster, Ecumenical Officer, Presbyterian Church USA

The Rev. John Lindner, Ecumenical Officer, Presbyterian Church USA

The Very Rev. Leonid Kishkovsky, Past President, National Council of
the Churches of Christ in the USA

Dr. Janice Love, The United Methodist Church

The Rev. Dr. Donald Miller, General Secretary, Church of the Brethren

The Rev. Dr. Albert M. Pennybacker, Christian Church/Disciples of
Christ, Lexington Seminary

The Rev. Tyrone Pitts, General Secretary, Progressive National Baptist
Convention, Inc.

The Rev. Dr. Syngman Rhee, President, National Council of the Churches
of Christ in the USA

The Rev. Bruce Robbins, Ecumenical Officer, The United Methodist
Church

The Rev. Dr. Paul Sherry, President, United Church of Christ

Bishop Ruben L. Speaks, Senior Bishop, African Methodist Episcopal
Zion Church

Bishop Melvin G. Talbert, Secretary, Council of Bishops, The United
Methodist Church

The Rev. Dr. Eugene Turner, Executive Director, Northeast Synod,
Presbyterian Church USA

The Rev. Angelique Walker-Smith, Ecumenical Officer, National Baptist
Convention USA, Inc.

The Rev. Dr. Daniel E. Weiss, General Secretary, American Baptist
Churches in the USA

Using God as a Cudgel

NY Times 9/1/92

President Bush's attempt to portray the Republicans as holier than the Democrats has now drawn the rebuke it deserves from the National Council of Churches. In a letter to the White House, the Council asserts that invoking God's name for political purposes is blasphemous.

The Council's words are timely. Mr. Bush would do well to heed them — and rein in his political confederates as well, including the increasingly shrill Pat Robertson.

At the Republican Convention in Houston, only surrogates like Mr. Robertson and Patrick Buchanan used God as a cudgel. Then Mr. Bush crossed the line, publicly questioning the beliefs of his opponents because, he said, the word "God" does not appear in the Democratic platform.

The Council's letter was signed by two dozen prominent members of the clergy, including Presiding Bishop Edmond Browning, the head of the Episcopal Church, Mr. Bush's denomination.

It reads in part: "We believe it is blasphemy to

invoke the infinite and holy God to assert the moral superiority of one people over another, or one political party over another. As our Pledge of Allegiance affirms, we are 'one nation, under God.' Not 'over' God or in any other way owning God. Any partisan use of God's name tends to breed intolerance and to divide."

Meanwhile, Mr. Robertson grows ever more hyperbolic. Last week he urged Texans to defeat an equal rights amendment in November because it represents "a socialist, anti-family political movement that encourages women to leave their husbands, kill their children, practice witchcraft, destroy capitalism and become lesbians."

It's hard to take such nonsense seriously. The G.O.P.'s effort to harness God to its political purposes is another matter. Football coaches, political parties and even Presidents routinely seek, or claim, support from on high. But it clanks with sanctimony when the Republicans insist on exclusive alignment with the Almighty.

National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA



September 1, 1992

The Honorable William Clinton
The Honorable Albert Gore
The Clinton-Gore Campaign
Little Rock, Arkansas

Office of the
General Secretary

Dear Governor Clinton and Senator Gore:

On behalf of the leaders of 32 Protestant and Orthodox churches that are members of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA, I am writing to request a meeting with you at a time and place of your choosing.

The church leaders for whom I write are the spiritual leaders of a combined total of 45 million Christians. They believe that this nation is in the midst of a spiritual crisis. From what you have said during your campaign, it appears that you have reached this conclusion as well and we wish to discuss this issue together with you. We request a meeting with you both to hear your vision and your plans for the future of this nation. We are convinced that political and religious leaders must be partners if this spiritual crisis is to be addressed. We are eager to help you and the American people rediscover the vision of those who made our country great.

We stand ready to play our appropriate role in the revival of our nation. Our membership is in a position to play such a role for several reasons, including the wide diversity that we encompass. The 32 denominations that belong to the National Council of Churches include the six historic African American churches, those churches commonly referred to as mainline churches, the "peace churches", and nine Orthodox Christian bodies. The ethnic and geographical diversity of our membership is as diverse as our nation itself. We are a mix of conservative and liberal, traditional and evangelical. We are young and old, male and female, rich and poor, Republican and Democrat. We are mothers, fathers, grandparents, teachers, doctors, plumbers, scientists, gardeners, unemployed, homeless, corporate presidents, union leaders, pastors and church leaders.

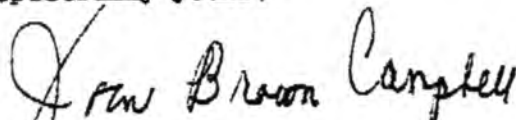
We are Americans who believe deeply in the vision of liberty and justice for all laid before us by our founders. Concerned about our nation, we pray for the future God intends for all God's children. Many of us pray every week for the President of the United States and others who carry civic responsibility. As citizens of the most powerful nation in the world, we are increasingly aware that the decisions of our government deeply affect the lives of millions across the globe--including the poor, children, the ill and other people who are struggling to survive.

We claim no special status for the Christian people who are part of the National Council of Churches. Rather, we believe that political issues are also moral and ethical issues and that religion is a source of moral and ethical insight. We work for public policy that reflects our belief in a God who suffers with all who suffer, who cares for the integrity of all creation, who desires the well-being of all people, and whose way is always justice and peace. In that way, a religious sense of life fulfills its rightful political role.

We recognize that your schedule is very busy. We hope for enough time to worship together and to allow for private conversations with the heads of communions and with the historic African American churches. This could take as much as three hours. We believe that such a meeting will be useful to our church leaders and also will help to focus the issues of this fall's campaign. As General Secretary, I will be pleased to arrange for the attendance of the heads and other leaders of our 32 churches.

This is a crucial time in the history of our nation and one in which political leaders are asked to assume heavy burdens and great responsibilities. We are grateful for your commitment to the American people and for your willingness to offer your life and service to all of us.

Respectfully yours,



(The Rev. Dr.) Joan Brown Campbell
General Secretary

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE U.S.A.

Member Communion

African Methodist Episcopal Church
 African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church
 American Baptist Churches
 Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese
 Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)
 Christian Methodist Episcopal Church
 Church of the Brethren
 Coptic Orthodox Church in North America
 Diocese of the Armenian Church in America
 The Episcopal Church
 Evangelical Lutheran Church in America
 Friends United Meeting
 Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of
 North and South America
 Hungarian Reformed Church in America
 International Council of Community
 Churches
 Korean Presbyterian Church in America
 Moravian Church in America
 National Baptist Convention of America
 National Baptist Convention, USA, Inc.
 Orthodox Church in America
 Patriarchal Parishes-Russian
 Orthodox Church
 Philadelphia Yearly Meeting/
 Religious Society of Friends
 Polish National Catholic Church
 of America
 Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.
 Progressive National Baptist
 Convention, Inc.
 Reformed Church in America
 Serbian Orthodox Church in the
 U.S.A. and Canada
 Swedenborgian Church
 Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch
 Ukrainian Orthodox Church in America
 United Church of Christ
 The United Methodist Church

Head of Communion

Bishop Henry A. Belin
 Bishop Ruben L. Speaks
 Rev. Dr. Daniel Weiss
 Most Rev. Metropolitan
 Philip Saliba
 Rev. Dr. C. William Nichols
 Bishop Caesar D. Coleman
 Rev. Dr. Donald E. Miller
 Fr. Gabriel H.A. Abdelsayed
 Rt. Rev. Bishop Khajag Barsamian
 Rt. Rev. Edmund L. Browning
 Rev. Dr. Herbert W. Chilstrom
 Harold Smuck
 Most Rev. Archbishop Iakovos
 Bishop Andrew Harsanyi
 Rev. Dr. Jeffrey Newhall
 Rev. Nicholas C. Chun
 Rev. Dr. Gordon Lawrence Sommers
 Rev. Dr. E. Edward Jones
 Rev. Dr. Theodore J. Jemison
 Most Rev. Metropolitan Theodosius
 Archbishop Makary
 Edwin Staudt, III
 Most Rev. John S. Swantek
 Rev. James E. Andrews
 Rev. Dr. Charles Adams
 Rev. Dr. Edwin G. Mulder
 Rt. Rev. Bishop Christopher
 Rev. Richard H. Tafel, Jr.
 Archbishop Mar Athanasius Y Samuel
 Most Rev. Bishop Vsevolod
 Rev. Dr. Paul Sherry
 Bishop Melvin G. Talbert

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National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA

August 28, 1992



Office of the
General Secretary

President George Bush
The White House
Washington, DC 20560

Dear Mr. President:

We write you today to express our profound hope that in the course of this presidential campaign you, the Republican party, and those who work for your re-election will appeal to an inclusive and plural America. Our national heritage is enriched by the many faiths and traditions that shape and inform the values of individuals and families.

We believe it is contrary to the best of our proud national heritage to appeal for support for one belief by degrading the beliefs and convictions of other religious faiths and ethical approaches. We know that any threat or act of intimidation to one group is, finally, an abridgement to the religious freedom of us all.

We believe that all realms, including political and public life, come under the judgment of God. We believe it is blasphemy to invoke the infinite and holy God to assert the moral superiority of one people over another, or one political party over another. As our Pledge of Allegiance affirms, we are "one nation, under God," not "over" God or in any other way owning God. Any partisan use of God's name tends to breed intolerance and to divide. Rather than affirming a common reverence, with room for every dissent and even disbelief, it suggests religious conformity and leads to religious arrogance.

In political seasons, especially now, we need to be very clear that God belongs to no one side, for we believe we all belong to God. In measuring partisan visions for our country's life, credible religious convictions can find their constructive place. Religious concerns are best fulfilled when political positions reflect the reality of a God who suffers with all who suffer, who cares for the integrity of all creation, who wills the well-being of all people, and whose way is always justice and peace. Then, a religious sense of life has filled its genuine political role.

With respect we call upon you to support the full enfranchisement of all our nation's people and to clearly affirm that our religious freedom and pluralism is foundational to our national heritage. We especially deplore the suggestion that to be fully franchised one must not only be Christian but espouse a particular understanding of life in Christ. We exhort you to uphold and honor the notion that those who have opinions at variance with you and your party on moral and ethical issues are no less faithful.

We appeal to you not as a political candidate but as one who holds the highest office in this great nation and is a symbol of the freedom for which it stands.

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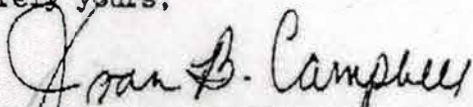
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Page 2.

We bring these deep concerns to your attention because we fear for the erosion of the religious freedom our nation's founders made central to our common life. We also take this opportunity to assure you of our prayers as you carry out the awesome duties of your office.

Sincerely yours,



The Rev. Dr. Joan B. Campbell, General Secretary, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.

Dr. Charles Adams, President, Progressive National Baptist Convention
Bishop Vinton Anderson, African Methodist Episcopal Church,
President, World Council of Churches

Most Rev. Edmond Browning, Presiding Bishop, The Episcopal Church
The Rev. Douglas Fromm, Ecumenical Officer, Reformed Church in America
Dr. Maxine Garrett, The Moravian Church

The Rev. Richard Hamm, Regional Minister, Tennessee. Christian Church/
Disciples of Christ

The Rev. Mac Charles Jones, National Baptist Convention of America
The Rev. Lewis Lancaster, Ecumenical Officer, Presbyterian Church USA
The Rev. John Lindner, Ecumenical Officer, Presbyterian Church USA
The Very Rev. Leonid Kishkovsky, Past President, National Council of
the Churches of Christ in the USA

Dr. Janice Love, The United Methodist Church

The Rev. Dr. Donald Miller, General Secretary, Church of the Brethren
The Rev. Dr. Albert M. Pennybacker, Christian Church/Disciples of
Christ, Lexington Seminary

The Rev. Tyrone Pitts, General Secretary, Progressive National Baptist
Convention, Inc.

The Rev. Dr. Syngman Rhee, President, National Council of the Churches
of Christ in the USA

The Rev. Bruce Robbins, Ecumenical Officer, The United Methodist
Church

The Rev. Dr. Paul Sherry, President, United Church of Christ

Bishop Ruben L. Speaks, Senior Bishop, African Methodist Episcopal
Zion Church

Bishop Melvin G. Talbert, Secretary, Council of Bishops, The United
Methodist Church

The Rev. Dr. Eugene Turner, Executive Director, Northeast Synod,
Presbyterian Church USA

The Rev. Angeliue Walker-Smith, Ecumenical Officer, National Baptist
Convention USA, Inc.

The Rev. Dr. Daniel E. Weiss, General Secretary, American Baptist
Churches in the USA

Using God as a Cudgel

NY Times 9/1/92

President Bush's attempt to portray the Republicans as holier than the Democrats has now drawn the rebuke it deserves from the National Council of Churches. In a letter to the White House, the Council asserts that invoking God's name for political purposes is blasphemous.

The Council's words are timely. Mr. Bush would do well to heed them — and rein in his political confederates as well, including the increasingly shrill Pat Robertson.

At the Republican Convention in Houston, only surrogates like Mr. Robertson and Patrick Buchanan used God as a cudgel. Then Mr. Bush crossed the line, publicly questioning the beliefs of his opponents because, he said, the word "God" does not appear in the Democratic platform.

The Council's letter was signed by two dozen prominent members of the clergy, including Presiding Bishop Edmond Browning, the head of the Episcopal Church, Mr. Bush's denomination.

It reads in part: "We believe it is blasphemy to

invoke the infinite and holy God to assert the moral superiority of one people over another, or one political party over another. As our Pledge of Allegiance affirms, we are 'one nation, under God.' Not 'over' God or in any other way owning God. Any partisan use of God's name tends to breed intolerance and to divide."

Meanwhile, Mr. Robertson grows ever more hyperbolic. Last week he urged Iowans to defeat an equal rights amendment in November because it represents "a socialist, anti-family political movement that encourages women to leave their husbands, kill their children, practice witchcraft, destroy capitalism and become lesbians."

It's hard to take such nonsense seriously. The G.O.P.'s effort to harness God to its political purposes is another matter. Football coaches, political parties and even Presidents routinely seek, or claim, support from on high. But it clanks with sanctimony when the Repub leans insist on exclusive alignment with the Almighty.

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*This has been
Submitted to Post
Washington*

ATTN: MELANNE
VEVEER 6pgs 1

John Frohnmayer, September 8, 1992, Op-Ed

Not since my Green Hornet decoder ring arrived in the mail forty years ago have I greeted a package with such anticipation. I watched the Republican Convention with disbelief, wondering whether any semblance of generosity, intellectual rigor, or even the ability to distinguish truth from fantasy was left in the Republican Party. The printed Platform would help me answer that question, but alas, it was not an easy document to obtain. I first called the Republican National Committee office, thinking, since it was only blocks away, I could drop by and pick up a copy. No, it was being printed. I called back a day later with the same request to learn that, no, they were to be mailed out next week. I gave my name and address. I also gave my wife's maiden name in a separate call, thinking perhaps that I might not be, in their eyes, a welcome recipient. My wife's copy arrived today.

It is a document worthy of the convention which spawned it--a dismal and bloodless exercise in name calling and blame shifting. But most dismaying to those of us who would like to feel a part of the Republican Party, it is a juxtaposition of patriotic rhetoric on the one hand and utter contempt for our constitution on the other. Consider these seven examples:

The First Amendment says: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion" The

Republican Platform (p.3) says: "We believe our laws should reflect what makes our Nation prosperous and wholesome: faith in God ..." How could the First Amendment be more directly contradicted and rejected? Martin Mawyer, President of the Christian Action Network said, "If I didn't know any better, I would assume the Platform was written by the religious right." Pat Robertson's group bragged that it controlled twenty-eight of the one hundred some delegates to the Platform committee. It shows.

Second, the Platform calls for control of blasphemy (in this case through the projects funded by the National Endowment for the Arts) (p. 16). Leave aside that the art they consider blasphemous others of equal faith interpret differently. Both the free exercise clause and the establishment clause of the First Amendment prohibit such laws. To punish a blasphemer, one must first define the religious dogma which the law will protect. Obviously that cannot be done in fealty to the Constitution.

Third, the religious infiltration of the Republican platform, and thus Republican politics, is hardly isolated. The President excoriated the Democratic Party for not including God in its platform. Prayer in schools (p. 10) and aid to parochial schools (promoted as school choice) (pp. 7,8,9) restate the same theme in the Republican Platform. Aside from the Constitutional invasion (a significant aside, indeed) this surrender of politics to religion fails on three other levels as well:

a) It's not solid Christian theology, for afterall, Christ teaches to render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's and expects us to figure out what is temporal, (i.e. political) and what is absolute (i.e. religious or spiritual).

b) Like the Pharisees denounced by Jesus, the Republican zealots would beat their breasts and pray in public (our schools, for example) extolling their virtues. Prayer, I would submit, is between the individual and God done privately or within the community of like-minded believers. Public prayer is a clanging cymbal devoid of spirituality and fraught with opportunities for intimidation.

c) If you think unifying religion and politics is a good idea, just look around the world at where people are killing each other and you will find governments who are trying it.

Fourth, the Constitution, and particularly The Bill of Rights, protects the dissenter, the unpopular idea, and yes, the rights of the accused. The Republican Platform, a cleansed and starched ideal of monolithic family values, is as American as the Playboy centerfold airbrushed, stapled and sexless. Appreciation of freedom is a major theme, (i.e. pp. 3, 57) but the Platform disclaims, in the same breath, divergent life styles (p. 14), abortion (p. 10) and those "... waging guerrilla war against American Values." (p. 15). As Supreme Court Justice Robert H. Jackson said, "Freedom to differ is not limited to things that do not matter much. That would be a mere shadow of freedom. The test of its substance is the

right to differ as to things that touch the heart of the existing order." When Republicans so surely "know" what is right and wrong (and that phrase appears repeatedly (i.e. pp. 7, 15), the rest of us, including those Republicans who are so thoroughly disenfranchised by this Platform, deserve to be uncomfortable.

Fifth, the line item veto promoted by President Bush and restated in the Platform (p. 40), is a direct attack on the doctrine of separation of powers. A line item veto cedes legislative power to the executive, diminishing the checks and balances so carefully preserved by the Constitution.

Sixth, the Republicans' attempt to prohibit abortion constitutes such an absolute in their heirarchy of values, that they don't even want it mentioned in schools (p. 10). What ever happened to free speech--the vigorous clash of ideas? Bust vs. Sullivan, the abortion counseling case, was used by a high ranking member of the administration's Justice Department to justify government license to determine what books could be shelved in a federally supported library.

Seventh, the platform cries that the legacy of liberalism has elevated criminal rights above victim rights (p. 19).

"Criminal rights"--confrontation of one's accuser, a jury by one's peers, the right to representation, protection against self-incrimination--are not "criminal rights" at all, but rights of all citizens. Nobody is *for* criminals, but intelligent people certainly are *for* the Constitution and its guarantees against abuses by the government. I get no sense that the Republicans who wrote this Platform care in the least about

citizens' rights when those citizens are accused by the government.

I just can't resist two more howlers. Protection of private property rights is a hot topic which reappears at least four times in the Platform (pp. 29, 30, 49, 54, 56). "Every rule that reduces the value of private property is what our Constitution calls a "taking," it proclaims (p. 29). Who says? What about zoning and comprehensive land use planning? Those are just a couple of instances in which reduction of value or an owner's expectation of value--are not "takings" at all. And the second howler: "Protection of environmentally sensitive wetlands must not come at the price of disparaging landowners' property rights." (p. 49). In other words, the government shouldn't be able to preserve the environment (for all of us) if a landowner objects? The Fifth Amendment doesn't say the government can't pursue the greater good. It only requires judicial process and payment if property is taken.

Religious zealots did write this platform--zealots who have forgotten that the kingdom of God on earth is intellectual, not political. Religion is allegiance to the unenforceable, a moral code that results from faith, not a morality that is crammed down our throats by the muscle of the Government. The framers of our Constitution understood this distinction. The Republican Party has lost it entirely.

The Republican Platform is a grim reminder of this administration's willingness to accommodate, indeed, to

embrace the hard right. George Bush has bought this line completely, and if he wins, it will be his mandate. This Platform sets out a choice for those of us who are moderate Republicans: support the Party or support the Constitution. It's not a hard choice, and I will not vote Republican.

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002

National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA



Office of the
General Secretary

September 1, 1992

The Honorable William Clinton
The Honorable Albert Gore
The Clinton-Gore Campaign
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Governor Clinton and Senator Gore:

On behalf of the leaders of 32 Protestant and Orthodox churches that are members of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA, I am writing to request a meeting with you at a time and place of your choosing.

The church leaders for whom I write are the spiritual leaders of a combined total of 45 million Christians. They believe that this nation is in the midst of a spiritual crisis. From what you have said during your campaign, it appears that you have reached this conclusion as well and we wish to discuss this issue together with you. We request a meeting with you both to hear your vision and your plans for the future of this nation. We are convinced that political and religious leaders must be partners if this spiritual crisis is to be addressed. We are eager to help you and the American people rediscover the vision of those who made our country great.

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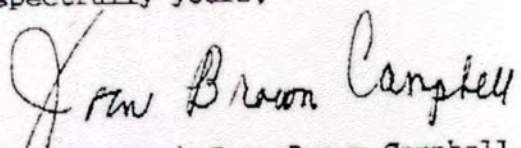
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we recognize that your schedule is very busy. We hope for enough time to worship together and to allow for private conversations with the heads of communions and with the historic African American churches. This could take as much as three hours. We believe that such a meeting will be useful to our church leaders and also will help to focus the issues of this fall's campaign. As General Secretary, I will be pleased to arrange for the attendance of the heads and other leaders of our 32 churches.

This is a crucial time in the history of our nation and one in which political leaders are asked to assume heavy burdens and great responsibilities. We are grateful for your commitment to the American people and for your willingness to offer your life and service to all of us.

Respectfully yours,


(The Rev. Dr.) Joan Brown Campbell
General Secretary

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09/10/92 10:38 212 870 2817

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004

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE U.S.A.

Member Communion

African Methodist Episcopal Church
African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church
American Baptist Churches
Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese

Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)
Christian Methodist Episcopal Church
Church of the Brethren
Coptic Orthodox Church in North America
Diocese of the Armenian Church in America
The Episcopal Church
Evangelical Lutheran Church in America
Friends United Meeting
Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of
North and South America
Hungarian Reformed Church in America
International Council of Community
Churches
Korean Presbyterian Church in America
Moravian Church in America
National Baptist Convention of America
National Baptist Convention, USA, Inc.
Orthodox Church in America
Patriarchal Parishes-Russian
Orthodox Church
Philadelphia Yearly Meeting/
Religious Society of Friends
Polish National Catholic Church
of America
Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.
Progressive National Baptist
Convention, Inc.
Reformed Church in America
Serbian Orthodox Church in the
U.S.A. and Canada
Swedenborgian Church
Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch
Ukrainian Orthodox Church in America
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Harold Smuck
Most Rev. Archbishop Iakovos

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Rev. Dr. Theodore J. Jemison
Most Rev. metropolitan Theodosius
Archbishop Makary

Elwin Staudt, III

Most Rev. John S. Swantek

Rev. James E. Andrews
Rev. Dr. Charles Adams

Rev. Dr. Elwin G. Mulder
Rt. Rev. Bishop Christopher

Rev. Richard H. Tafel, Jr.
Archbishop Mar Athanasius Y Samuel
Most Rev Bishop Vsevolod
Rev. Dr. Paul Sherry
Bishop Melvin G. Talbert

file

August 8, 1994

TO: Leon Panetta
George Stephanopoulos
Harold Ickes
Phil Lader
Alexis Herman
Joel Klein
Mark Gearan
Maggie Williams
Melanne Verveer 100 CUBS
Linda Lader

FROM: Bill Galston WA9

SUBJ: Administration Relations with Religious Communities

Introduction

In recent weeks, the President has reviewed and approved two memoranda on relations between the administration and religious communities. I attach copies for reference.

Pursuant to these memoranda, I was directed to develop a themes and issues strategy as part of a comprehensive approach to religious issues. I began by asking the cabinet department chiefs of staff to report to us on religious issues and activities within their respective jurisdictions.

This inventory is now complete, and the results are significant. I have summarized them in the two attached documents--"Relations with Faith Communities: Positive Developments" and "Relations with Faith Communities: Current and Potential Problem Areas." Each of these documents is supported by selected memoranda from cabinets and agencies.

Key issues

With regard to issues, these materials suggest the following conclusions:

1. Modern government rubs up against religious beliefs and practices in a wide variety of ways. The majority of departments and agencies confront issues--legislative, regulatory, legal, and administrative--of significance to faith communities.

2. For the most part, these concerns fall into two broad categories: the free exercise of religion; and social issues, particularly abortion and gay rights.

3. The President's commitment to free exercise is being tested in two ways: in the interpretation and enforcement of the Religious Freedom Restoration Act, strongly backed by the entire religious coalition last year; and in the extension of free exercise to guarantee the rights of religious minorities such as Native Americans.

4. While conflicts between the administration and religious traditionalists on social issues cannot be fully resolved, they can be somewhat muted through careful issue management that respects the sensibilities of those with whom we differ.

5. Conflicts between the administration and religious groups are focused at least as much on cabinet departments and other agencies as they are on the White House and the President. The cabinet can and should play a leading role in anticipating, addressing, and resolving these problems. The President should not be left to shoulder the entire load.

6. The departments with the heaviest issues responsibilities are Justice and HHS.

- o Justice is on the front line in defining our response to free exercise concerns, many of which raise legal and constitutional issues. Justice has formed a working group to explore questions raised by the Religious Freedom Restoration Act, and an early draft of a detailed memorandum has been produced.

- o HHS is principally responsible for shaping and administering programs that affect abortion and sexual conduct. It would make sense for HHS to create a working group to monitor the full range of departmental activities--legislative, regulatory, legal, statements of senior officials--that impinge on religious communities.

7. Each department should follow HUD's example in designating a specific individual or office as the lead on issues of religious significance and on relations with religious groups.

Broad themes

With regard to broader themes, I do not have much to add to the memorandum of June 28. The critical points are these:

1. The vast majority of Americans believe that we are in a period of moral and spiritual decline that is diminishing the effectiveness of core institutions and the quality of our lives. Even as we reject the specific positions of the radical right, we must associate ourselves with these broad concerns of average Americans.

2. We should be forthright and consistent in characterizing faith communities as a key element of a more effective response to moral and spiritual decline. As the President said last year, freedom of religion need not and should not mean freedom from religion, and that principle extends to our public life.

3. For the majority of believers in America, faith goes hand in hand with toleration. We should systematically seize and defend the high ground of moral and religious tolerance.

4. We should return--with emphasis--to the themes that helped the President build bridges to many believing Americans during the campaign: personal responsibility, strong families, neighborhood and community solidarity, and service to the nation. These themes should structure the way we talk about issues such as crime and welfare reform.

5. Many faith communities see the federal government as distant, unresponsive, and intrusive. During the campaign, the President talked about ending federal micromanagement and devolving responsibilities to states and localities wherever possible. He also emphasized the need for voluntary community action as a supplement to government, which cannot do it all. The administration has in fact made significant policy progress along these lines. But we never talk about it thematically, and we should.

6. Much of the recent rise in religious traditionalism represents a reaction to the sense that economic and social change is too rapid, perhaps even out of control. The rhetoric of "making change our friend" is a good beginning. But we need to go much farther--with themes and programs--to recognize, show sympathy for, and respond to--the anxiety about change that pervades so much of our country today.

7.18.94

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 7/25

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT
LEON PANETTA

FROM: GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS
PHIL LADER
LINDA LADER
BILL GALSTON
JOEL KLEIN
MARK GEARAN
MIKE LUX

SUBJECT: RELATIONS WITH RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY

To follow up on our last memorandum, a group of us met on July 18 to prepare further recommendations for action.

First: A White House working group on religious issues will meet weekly. This group will monitor issues of interest to religious communities and coordinate Presidential and Administration actions of special concern to these communities. This group will include representatives from major White House departments.

Second: We believe Bill Galston should be authorized to monitor day-to-day regulatory, legislative and policy decisions that affect religious communities. We need to make clear to various departments that issues must be vetted by Bill before final decisions are taken.

Third: Joel Klein will work with the Justice Department to establish a working group on the implementation of the Religious Freedom Restoration Act. A Justice Department official from the Civil Division will have responsibility for heading the group, which will include White House and other Cabinet representatives.

Fourth: Our White House working group will prepare a comprehensive strategy memo -- White Paper -- on religious issues for you to review during the August Break. This memorandum will cover three broad areas:

- 1.) Themes/Policy (Galston)
- 2.) Politics/Constituencies (Lux, Lader)
- 3.) Press/Communications (Gearan, Baer)

Let us know if you have any additional thoughts or suggestions.

*We need to get public opinion
radio, TV, press
regular briefing people in -*

Pls. push thru -

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

94 JUN 28 AIO : 33

June 28, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BILL GALSTON
GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS
ALEXIS HERMAN
LINDA LADER

SUBJECT: RELATIONS WITH RELIGIOUS GROUPS

In recent weeks, the relationship of religious groups with the Republicans and with your administration has become a focal-point of public discussion. The victories of Oliver North in Virginia and Allen Quist in Minnesota and events at the Texas Republican convention have triggered speculation about a "religious right" takeover of the Republican party. Meanwhile, continuing controversy over such issues as abortion, gay rights, and freedom of religious exercise and expression have led some religious conservatives to accuse your administration of being indifferent or even hostile to religion. Statements by administration officials and party spokesmen have proved to be flash-points. Just last week, eighty-seven Republican House members demanded that you force the resignation of Surgeon-General Elders, while all forty-four Republican Senators asked you to repudiate remarks by Rep. Vic Fazio critical of the "Christian radical right."

The purpose of this memorandum is to place this controversy in a broader context and to suggest a strategic response that would reflect your long-held convictions, enhance the dignity of the presidency, and contribute to a more productive public dialogue.

During your presidential campaign, you brought people together around an agenda that successfully integrated economic and moral concerns. ~~Now, once again, you have an opportunity to unite citizens of good will around core principles.~~ Your administration and the Democratic party must seize the high ground of our historic tolerance for Americans of many faiths--and of no faith. But there is a right way and a wrong way to oppose intolerance. We cannot allow our attack on extremism to become, or even to be perceived as, an attack on sincere religious conviction and on the participation of the faithful in our public life. We should not give our adversaries an opening to portray your administration as hostile to religion. While vigorously opposing bigotry cloaked in the language of piety, we need a sustainable longterm strategy for diminishing the sense of distance from your administration now experienced by many believers who are not extremists. This is an opportunity for presidential leadership--and statesmanship--that should not be missed.

Background and context

The current debate over the political role of conservative religious groups is framed by four large facts.

1. Despite the predictions of generations of sociologists, the United States has not moved toward increased secularization. We remain (by a wide margin) the most intensely religious of all the industrial democracies, with levels of belief and observance five to ten times higher than in many European countries.

2. Because so many American faiths were born in dissent from orthodoxy and flight from persecution, and because our faith is so vigorously diverse, deep religious conviction in this country has typically gone hand-in-hand with an equally deep commitment to religious toleration. In the long run, American religious and political leaders pay a steep price when they cross the line dividing tolerance from intolerance.

3. Most Americans believe that the moral foundation of our society has eroded dangerously over the past generation. (When asked in a Newsweek poll earlier this month whether the United States is in a "moral and spiritual decline," 76 percent of respondents answered affirmatively.) For many, organized religion provides both a vocabulary for criticizing this decline and an institutional means of resisting it. Others who disagree with the answers offered by religious conservatives believe that they are at least addressing the right questions. Political leaders who are seen as insufficiently concerned about and responsive to this perception of social decay will increasingly be regarded as out of touch and irrelevant.

4. Starting during the Carter administration, many evangelical Protestants and moderate-to-conservative Catholics migrated to the Republican party. That trend is not likely to be reversed any time soon. In 1992, an unpopular Republican incumbent not particularly trusted by the right wing of his own party nonetheless managed to garner 62 percent of the vote among white born-again Christians.

But the broader history of 1992 is instructive. The Republican convention crossed the line from traditional morality to intolerance, alarming moderates in both parties. At the same time, while you adopted forthright positions on a number of controversial social issues, your campaign sent important signals of your openness to faith communities. Your emphasis on the need for the rebuilding of our society through increased personal responsibility and firmer faith as well as common action conveyed your vivid awareness of moral and social decline and helped diminish the intensity of opposition to your candidacy, even among those who supported your adversaries. In short, you reached out to religious traditionalists in a way that enhanced the depth and legitimacy of your eventual victory. It is now time to renew and extend that endeavor.

Reaching out to religious communities

As part of a strategy for reaching out to religious communities, we recommend the following steps:

1. You should review, revise, and sign the attached letter to the Republicans Senators.

2. Criticisms of specific statements and actions of specific conservative religious leaders are of course appropriate and justified. But you should send clear signals to your appointees that statements that can be interpreted as general criticisms of religious conservatives, or of the role of religion in public life, are not in the best interests of our country or of your presidency.

48 3. Last year's events such as breakfasts with religious leaders proved highly effective in building bridges to their communities and generated much positive media coverage. You should insist on resuming scheduling such events on a regular basis--at least once a month, more often if possible--and bolster them with personal meetings and interviews with selected religious media.

4. You should continue to speak out frequently on issues such as personal responsibility, teen pregnancy, parental duties, service to nation and community, the formation of good character needed to sustain a decent society, and the role of faith in our public life. Don Baer should be asked to formulate a plan for building on the values-oriented speeches you delivered in May, and you should consider devoting a major address to the role of religion in public life.

5. An informal White House working group has recently been organized to monitor legislative, regulatory, and judicial activities of the administration of concern to organized religion. Some more regular mechanism needs to be established to carry this work forward. Its principal purpose would be to anticipate and ward off potential problems rather than (as is so often the case right now) responding to them defensively after the fact.

6. To the maximum extent possible, those responsible for fashioning political tactics should act in coordination with your overall strategy. If we are not careful, shortterm "red meat" rhetoric could drown out the longterm approach we recommend.

Conclusion

Strong faith is an enduring strand of American life. But its intensity waxes and wanes in response to broad social conditions. In general, periods of rapid economic and social change engender anxiety that can trigger upsurges of religious fervor. This was the case in the 1920s, and it is true today. We are living

through a period of economic and social dislocation that many Americans are experiencing as confusing and alarming. Not surprisingly, they are looking for sources of stability and security.

For many, conservative faith communities are providing structures of meaning and human connection no longer reliably available in families, neighborhoods, and workplaces. We may not agree with much of what they are saying and doing. But we must publicly articulate the very real concerns to which they are pointing, and we must advance our own responses to them. Ceding this terrain to our adversaries in the name of shortterm tactical considerations would be a blunder of significant--perhaps historic--proportions.