

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. fax	Rabbi Lynne Landsberg to David Crane (4 pages)	10/14/1991	Personal Misfile
002. letter	From Charles Bergstrom re: religious leaders (3 pages)	ca. 1992	Personal Misfile
003. paper	re: 1992 campaign (1 page)	10/1992	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 20049

FOLDER TITLE:

Religious Leaders

2013-0534-S

rc1632

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.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

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]

*file religious
leaders*

Marilyn DiGiacobbe 07/10/97 09:45:04
PM

Record Type: Record

To: Katharine Button/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: Religious leaders and friends

I thought Melanne should know this. Thanks.

----- Forwarded by Marilyn DiGiacobbe/WHO/EOP on 07/10/97 09:44 PM -----

Marilyn DiGiacobbe 07/10/97 08:00:23
PM

Record Type: Record

To: Betty W. Currie/WHO/EOP

cc: Maria Echaveste/WHO/EOP, Ann F. Walker/WHO/EOP

Subject: Religious leaders and friends

Thanks to Flo's help, following is a list of @60 religious leaders and friends for your mailing of the President's remarks outlining the race initiative. OPL will not send remarks to this list, which I understand will be done by your office. We will send the photocopy version of the remarks to our broader list of religious leaders. Please let us know if you need anything further.

Bishop John Hurst Adams
Seventh Episcopal District
400 Arbor Lake Drive
Suite B-300
Columbia, SC 22923
803-691-0771

Dr. Charles Adams
Past President
Progressive National Baptist Convention
Hartford Memorial Baptist Church
18900 James Couzena Highway
Detroit, MI 48235
313-861-0265

Mr. Don Argue

President
National Association of Evangelicals
450 Gunderson Drive
Carol Stream, IL 60188
630-665-0500

Rev. Willie Barrow
930 E. 50th Street
Chicago, IL 60615
312-373-3366

Rev. Amos Brown
Third Baptist Church
1399 McAllister St.
San Francisco, CA 94115
415-346-4426

Presiding Bishop Edmond Browning
The Episcopal Church
110 Maryland Ave. NE Suite 309
Washington, DC 20002
202-547-7300

Dr. Joan Campbell
General Secretary
National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA
475 Riverside Drive Room 880
New York, NY 10115
212-870-3310

Dr. Anthony Campolo
Evangelical Association for the Promotion of Education
Eastern College
4486 Glenmary Lane
St. Davids, PA 19087
610-341-5962

Dr. Stephen Carter
Yale Law School
127 Wall Street
New Haven, CT 06511
203-432-4839

Mr. Doug Coe
Director

National Prayer Breakfast
2145 24th Street
N. Arlington, VA 22207
703-247-3883

Ms. Denise Davidoff
Moderator
Unitarian Universalist Association
109 Harvest Commons
Westport, CT 06880
202-327-6333

Mr. William Dodson
Director, Government Relations
Christian Life Commission
505 Second Street NE
Washington, DC 20002
202-547-8105

Father Robert Drinan
Professor of Law
Georgetown University Law Center
Georgetown University Law
Washington, DC 20001
202-662-9073

Dr. James Dunn
Executive Director
Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs
200 Maryland Avenue NE
Washington, DC 20002
202-544-4226

Reverend Stan Easty
P.O. Box 486
Elizabeth City, NC 27909
919-338-1565

Dr. Thom Fassett
General Secretary, General Board of Church Societies
United Methodist Church
100 Maryland Avenue NE
Washington, DC 20002
202-438-5623

Rev. James Forbes Jr.
The Riverside Church
490 Riverside Drive
New York, NY 10027
212-870-6700

Mr. Abe Foxman
National Director
Anti-Defamation League
823 UN Plaza
New York, NY 10017
212-490-2525

Mr. Millard Fuller
President
Habitat For Humanity
121 Habitat Street
Americus, GA 31709
912-924-6935

Dr. Billy Graham
155 Assembly Drive
P.O. Box 937
Mountreat, NC 28757
704-669-5550

Rev. Franklin Graham
Samaritans Purse
P.O. Box 3000
Boone, NC 28607
704-262-1980

Dr. Os Guinness
The Trinity Forum
5210 Lyngate Court Suite B
Burke, VA 22015
703-764-1070

Mr. Charles Haynes
The Freedom Forum First Amendment Center
Vanderbilt University
7 18th Avenue South
Nashville, TN 37212
615-321-9588

Dr. James Henry
First Baptist Church
3701 LB McLeod Road
Orlando, FL 32805
407-425-2555

Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, CSC
President Emeritus
University of Notre Dame
Notre Dame, IN 46556
219-631-6882

Rev. Dr. Beecher Hicks
Metropolitan Baptist Church
1225 R Street NW
Washington, DC 20009
202-483-1540

Dr. Gordon Hinckley
President
The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints
47 East South Temple
Salt Lake City, UT 84150
801-240-2227

Rev. Rex Horne
Senior Pastor
Immanuel Church
1000 Bishop Street
Little Rock, AR 72202
501-396-3311

Reverend Bill Hybels
Willow Creek Community Church
67 East Algonquin Road
South Barrington, IL 60010
847-765-5000

Bishop Fred James
Landmark East
3700 Forest Drive
Suite 502
Columbia, SC 29204
803-787-8201

Rev. E. Edward Jones
President
National Baptist Convention of America
1327 Pierre Avenue Shreveport, LA 71103
318-221-3701

Reverend Fred Kammerr, S.J.
Catholic Charities USA
1731 King Street Suite 200
Alexandria, VA 22314
703-549-1390

His Eminence William Cardinal Keeler
Archbishop of Baltimore
320 Cathedral Street
Baltimore, MD 21201
410-547-5446

Rabbi Harold Kushner
145 Hartford St.
Natick, MA 01760
508-655-1834

Mrs. Linda Lader
1026 16th Street NW
Washington, DC 20036
202-638-1999

Mrs. Anne Graham Lotz
President
Angel Ministries
3246 Lewis Farm Road
Raleigh, NC 27607
919-787-4085

Reverend Max Lucado
Oak Hills Church
8308 Fredricksburg Road
San Antonio, TX 78201
210-614-3551

Rev. Dr. Henry Lyons
President
National Baptist Convention, USA
3455 26th Avenue

St. Petersburg, FL 33711
813-327-0554

Dr. Gordon MacDonald
Grace Chapel
Three Militia Drive
Lexington, MA 02173
617-862-6499

Dr. Gerald Mann
Riverbend Church
4214 Capitol of Texas Highway North
Austin, TX 78746
512-327-3540

Dr. Martin Marty
University of Chicago Divinity School
1025 East 58th Street
Chicago, IL 60637
312-702-8236

Rev. Ed Matthews
Pastor
First United Methodist Church
723 Center
Little Rock, AR 72201
501-372-2256

The Most Reverend Theodore McCarrick
Archdiocese of Newark
171 Clifton Avenue
P.O. Box 9500
Newark, NJ 07104
201-497-4190

Dr. Jesse Miranda
President
Alianza de Ministerios Evangelicos Nacionales (AMEN)
P.O. Box 92193
901 E. Alost Avenue
City of Industry, CA 91715
818-812-3049

Iman Wallace Deen Mohammed
Society of Muslim Americans

266 Madospm
Calumet City, IL 60409
708-862-8468 (h)
708-957-3081 (o)

Rev. Otis Moss
Olivet Baptist
8712 Quincy Avenue
Cleveland, OH
216-721-3585

Father Leo O'Donovan
President
Georgetown University
37th & O Streets
Washington, DC 20057

Dr. Lloyd Ogilvie
Senate Chaplain
U.S. Senate
204-A Hart Building
Washington, DC 20510
202-224-2510

Bishop Chandler Owens
Presiding Bishop
Church of God in Christ
2660 Peachtree Road NW
Atlanta, GA 30305
404-262-0571 (h)
770-590-8704 (o)

The Most Reverend Anthony Pilla
Bishop of Cleveland
1027 Superior Avenue
Cleveland, OH 44114
216-696-6525

Sister Catherine Pinkerton
NETWORK
801 Pennsylvania Ave. SE
Suite 460
Washington, DC 20003
202-547-5556

Rabbi David Saperstein
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
2027 Massachusetts Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20036
202-387-2800

Monsignor Dennis Schnurr
General Secretary
U.S. Catholic Conference
3211 Fourth Street NE
Washington, DC 20017
202-541-3100

Rev. Robert Schuller
Pastor
Crystal Cathedral
13280 Chapman Avenue
Garden Grove, CA 92642
714-971-4000

Rev. Dr. Bennet Smith, Sr.
President
Progressive National Baptist Convention
184 Goodell Street
Buffalo, NY 14204
716-852-4504

His Eminence Archbishop Spyridon
Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America
10 East 79th Street
New York, NY 10021
212-570-3512

Reverend Robert Stephanopoulos
Holy Trinity Cathedral
319 East 74th Street
New York, NY 10021
212-288-3215

Dr. Gardner Taylor
Pastor
Concord Baptist Church
833 Gardner Taylor Blvd.
Brooklyn, NY 11216
718-622-1818

Dr. Ronald Thiemann Dean
Harvard Divinity School
44 Francis Avenue
Cambridge, MA 02138
617-495-1841

Most. Rev. Rembert Weakland
Archbishop of Milwaukee
3303 South Lake Drive
St. Francis, WI 53235
414-769-3497

Dr. Phil Wogaman
Minister
Foundry Methodist Church
1500 16th Street NW
Washington, DC 20036
202-332-4010

Archbishop Francis George
Archdiocese of Chicago
155 East Superior Street
Chicago, IL 60611
312-751-8200

Mr. Bill McCartney
Founder
Promise Keepers
P.O. Box 18376
Boulder, CO 80308

CC Melanne
per HRC
1

PHOTOCOPY
HRC HANDWRITING

file

THE WHITE HOUSE

November 7, 1994

The Reverend Ed Matthews
Senior Minister
First United Methodist Church
723 Center Street
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201

Dear Ed:

Thank you for your letter. I appreciate having the update on the progress being made to organize an Interfaith Alliance group in Arkansas. I'm pleased to learn about the enthusiastic and positive response you have had from clergy and lay people from all over the state.



It was so good to have a visit with you and Pat.
With warm, best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,


Hillary Rodham Clinton

FIRST UNITED METHODIST CHURCH



723 Center Street
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201
501-372-2256

Senior Minister
Ed Matthews

October 25, 1994

Dear Hillary,

Thank you for the visit that you afforded Pat and me while in Washington. As the enclosed letter indicates, we immediately went to work on the Interfaith Alliance efforts to bring together a voice in Arkansas that is intended to add a softer, healing voice to the one of anger, divisiveness and intent to destroy that runs rampant.

Everywhere we turn we are finding immediate support. The Arkansas Interfaith Conference, in its scheduled regular annual meeting on October 21 readily adopted the national Alliance's position as one to guide us.

The Washington office of the Interfaith Alliance has now provided us a staff member as an organizer. (Gift money is pouring in to pay for the effort, and we haven't even begun to solicit funds!) We are organized predominately as clergy, because of clerics leading negative forces -- all mainline Protestants, Catholics, Jews, Moslems and some Southern Baptists. However, I've called on Skip Rutherford and Pat Lile as advisors. They are meeting with us and are great, giving it top priority.

Note that we have scheduled an organizational meeting of what we think will be at least 100 representatives of the state-wide movement, representing 1100 congregations and some 420,000 members. It is on Tuesday morning following the Falwell appearance at First Baptist on Halloween night (scariest act in town). It is to be a press conference. Judicatories of our state's religious denominations are prepared to appear and speak -- male, female, people-of-color, young, old.

What we are doing in Arkansas seems to be happening all over the nation -- all of a sudden! Of course, our purpose is in defense of the religious freedoms of our faith heritage. But may it pave the way for our society to be more concerned about attitudes, motives and above all, about healing where there is brokenness in this age of antipolitics.

Grace and Peace,

MCA NOV 2 1994



The
Interfaith
Alliance

October 26, 1994

CALL TO FAITHFUL DECISION

Dear Friend:

There is an alternative to the divisive rhetoric of the Christian Coalition and Jerry Falwell.

The newly-formed **Interfaith Alliance**, an organization whose Board of Directors consists of national mainstream religious leaders, was created to reaffirm the positive role religion plays in public life, and to challenge those who use religion as a weapon to promote their intolerant political agendas.

The Interfaith Alliance seeks to emphasize the element of healing common to many faith traditions. Our goal is to diffuse the polarized atmosphere of political discourse in America today. We want to show that leaders of the radical right do not speak for all religious people, as they claim. People of faith are found on all parts of the political spectrum; therefore, we need to counter those who mistakenly call themselves our spokespeople.

In this election season, some religious leaders have chosen to heighten the charged emotional pitch of the public debate by promoting divisive views under the guise of "religious values." These "values" promote the demonization of anyone with a contrasting point of view. Such action debases both the authority of Scripture and the integrity of the political process.

If you support the presence of this alternative, balancing voice, please come to the organizational meeting of the **Arkansas Interfaith Alliance**. This meeting is on **Tuesday, November 1**, in the parlor of the First United Methodist Church of Little Rock, on the corner of 8th and Center Street. We will have coffee and doughnuts from 9:30 to 10, and meet from 10 to 11. The meeting will be followed by a public announcement of the organization's founding.

Stated by: Bill Wilke, Rabbi Levy & Friedman, Bill Henning, Bis. Larry Meag, Mimi Dotel, Monsignor John O'Donnell
Even if you cannot attend the November 1 meeting, you can still work with the Alliance and support of our goals. In celebration of our nation's great democratic traditions, the Alliance is encouraging clergy throughout the nation to decry the radical right's divisive political rhetoric the weekend before the election. We hope religious leaders will incorporate the following themes into a pastoral prayer, sermon illustration, or congregation announcement: *and one of A. F. S. / an indication*

FIRST UNITED METHODIST CHURCH



723 Center Street
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201
501-372-2256

Senior Minister
Ed Matthews

Oct. 27

Dear Millie —

This will likely reach you after this event & Jerry Falwell's visit to LR --- and the press conference by our newly formed Interfaith Alliance here in Ark.

But will you please see that Hillary receives this ltr. and material as quickly as possible, as it is the follow thru on our recent conversation when Pat and I were there.

Best to John & you —

Grace & Peace —

EM

The Catholic vote could decide 1992 elections

Democrats must win Catholics to prevail

By JIM CASTELLI
Special to the National Catholic Reporter

WASHINGTON — The Catholic vote split right down the middle in the 1988 presidential race, and what Catholics do in 1992 will greatly affect who is elected.

If the Democrats are to regain the White House, they must increase their share of the vote among Catholics by at least 10 percent. And if George Bush is to retain the White House, he cannot afford to lose much of the Catholic support he had in 1988.

At one level it's misleading to talk about a "Catholic vote" because there are many different kinds of Catholics, all with different voter profiles. But it is still possible to talk about a "Catholic vote" because Catholics are still more likely than Protestants to vote for Democrats. For example, two out of three white Protestants voted for Bush in 1988.

Once, Catholics were one of the strongest blocs in the Democratic Party, and about 60 percent still vote for Democratic congressional candidates. But

Analysis

Catholics have voted Republican more heavily at the presidential level in the past decade.

Ronald Reagan won half the Catholic vote in 1980 and drew 56 percent — the highest ever for a Republican candidate — in 1984. Bush fell off to 48 percent in 1988, as Michael Dukakis won a small majority.

Catholics became more Republican in party identification during the 1980s. The major change in the past few years, however, has been a drifting away from both parties toward the Independent category. The nation is now one-third Republican, one-third Democratic and one-

third Independent. Catholics are slightly more likely to be Democratic.

The last successful Democratic presidential candidate, Jimmy Carter in 1976, drew 57 percent of the Catholic vote. But Carter, a born-again Southern Baptist, attracted an unusually high number of Protestant votes for a Democrat. If Bush continues to attract the votes among

play. Here are some commonly cited examples:

- Catholics haven't become more conservative as they've become more Republican. They remain more likely than Protestants to support government social programs, dovish foreign policy and equal rights for women and minorities.
- Abortion is a wild card. Father

There are several Catholic candidates running, and the nomination of one as president could trigger more support among Catholics. Two announced Democratic candidates — former California Governor Jerry Brown and Iowa Sen. Tom Harkin — are Catholic.

On the Republican side, Bush faces a challenge from commentator Pat Buchan-



white Protestants that he did in 1988, no Democrat can win without at least as high a percentage of votes among Catholics as Carter had in 1976.

The economy is the dominant political issue today, and only one American in four approves of Bush's handling of the economy. While Bush still leads Democratic candidates in trial heats, a November Gallup Poll indicated that Catholics, by 40 to 29 percent, now believe the Democrats are the party best able to handle the most important issue facing the nation. (Protestants pick the Republicans by 34 to 29 percent). Political commentator Mark Shields says "it's hard to think of a constituency that Bush is better off with today than in 1988."

Albert J. Menendez, author of "Religion at the Polls," and Sister Nancy Sylvester, director of Network, a Catholic social-justice lobby, say Catholics' support for government action will push them more toward the Democrats in 1992. Menendez notes that Catholics voted heavily for Democrat Harris Wofford in the 1991 Pennsylvania Senate race. But the Catholic vote remains volatile, and any number of factors could come into

Richard Neuhaus, director of the Institute on Religion and Public Life, notes that a majority of Catholics who attend Mass regularly — about half of all Catholics — voted for Bush in 1988. He said that if Bush "waffles" on abortion in the

Catholics became more Republican... during the 1980s. The major change in the past few years, however, has been a drifting away from both parties.

face of pressure from pro-choice Republicans, including his new chief of staff, Samuel Skinner, the negative effect could be "massive."

But Catholics have actually become more pro-choice as they've become more Republican. In the 1970s, when Catholics were more solidly Democratic, a majority opposed the Supreme Court's abortion decisions legalizing most abortions. Today, a majority of Catholics support the Supreme Court's abortion decisions.

an, who is a Catholic.

Ethnicity is a factor in voting. Russell Shaw, communications director for the Knights of Columbus, says that Italian-American Catholics would maybe vote heavily Democratic if Cuomo were the nominee. David Leege, professor of government at the University of Notre Dame, says "older Catholic ethnic groups such as English, Scandinavian and German-Americans tend toward Republican identification; Eastern Europeans other than Poles, Irish, Italians and Poles, in that order, are more divided; and French, Hispanic and black Catholics are considerably more likely to be Democratic."

At this point, neither party has a clear strategy for targeting Catholics. The Democrats have lacked such a strategy in recent elections while Republicans have worked hard to attract Catholics.

But Republican consultant Ed Rollins says that the Bush administration has done little to court Catholics, Protestant fundamentalists, Hispanics, Asians and younger voters. He told *The Washington Post*, "We haven't even done the stroking with a lot of these groups." ■

The neglected Catholic vote is big one and may be returning to the Democrats

By ANDREW GREELEY

With the 1992 presidential election less than a year away and the Democrats the party of "minorities," it is appropriate to ask which minority is the largest component of the coalition that votes for Democratic presidential candidates.

Most people would say, based on the attention and controversy, that blacks are obviously the most important element in the coalition. In fact, however, if one analyzes the 11,640 cases in the 1988 CBS/*New York Times* exit poll and 10,821 cases in the 1988 ABC poll (a random 30 percent sample of those who answered the long form in the latter survey), one discovers that blacks were 14 percent of those who voted for Michael Dukakis, Jews 6 percent, Hispanics 4 percent, for a total in this rainbow coalition of 24 percent.

White Catholics were 25 percent of those who voted for Dukakis. If one adds the black and Hispanic Catholics, the proportion of Catholics was 29 percent, almost five times as high as Jews and twice as high as black voters who were not Catholic.

In other words, Catholics were far and away the most important minority component of the Dukakis coalition.

Moreover, they consistently tend to vote Democratic in nonpresidential contests. In 1988, 61 percent voted for Democratic gubernatorial candidates, 60 percent for Democratic house candidates and 57 percent for Democratic senatorial candidates (ABC data).

Unfortunately for the Massachusetts governor, not enough Catholics voted for him. He received a little more than half the Catholic votes. If all the Catholics who had voted for Democratic congressional candidates had voted for him, the race between him and George Bush

Father Andrew Greeley is a sociologist and novelist and lives in Chicago.

would have been a dead heat in popular votes. Given the concentration of Catholics in the big states, such a shift probably would have meant that he would be, for weal or woe, President Dukakis today.

This "ticket splitting" among Catholics must be seen as part of the reason Democrats continue to dominate every aspect of the country's political life besides presidential elections. They control Congress, a majority of state houses and most state legislatures (Republicans control both houses in only four states: Wyoming, New Hampshire, Utah and Idaho). Yet, they have won only one presidential election since 1964.

George Bush won the 1988 election, an analysis of the ABC poll shows, because more people thought they were better off

Party affiliation tends to be inherited in this country....

Catholics tend to be Democratic in part because they have always been Catholic.

financially than they had been at the beginning of the Reagan years, because more people wanted an "experienced" president and because more people were concerned about the campaign issues of prison furloughs, the pledge of allegiance, the death penalty and the American Civil Liberties Union.

Conversely, fewer thought they were worse off, fewer wanted a "visionary and compassionate" president and fewer were concerned about health costs, college costs, the improvement of education, the drug problem and Social Security. When these variables and the political party were entered into multiple regression equations, almost three-fifths of difference between Dukakis voters and Reagan voters was explained.

Like George McGovern, Jimmy Carter

(in his second campaign) and Walter Mondale before him, Dukakis was not able to win the votes of many of those who voted Democratic in other races. A fifth of all the voters who chose a Democratic house candidate voted for Bush. If Dukakis had been able to carry half of those voters, he would have had a close but clear-cut victory.

Despite his defeat, Dukakis won four and a half million more votes than did Mondale, a little more than half of what he would have needed to win the elections. Many Democrats seemed to have come home.

My analysis suggests that Catholics disproportionately returned to Democratic presidential voting in 1988, most notably among those who voted for Democratic congressional candidates. Moreover, among the same group, Catholic ticket splitters displayed certain characteristics that indicate they would be prime targets for a campaign to bring more Democrats home.

For these two reasons, I conclude that in the 1992 election, the Democrats should make a concerted effort — though obviously not an exclusive effort — to win back Catholic ticket splitters.

In the following analysis, I concentrate on those voters who cast ballots for Democratic congressional candidates, within whose numbers would be the ticket splitters who voted in 1988 for a Democratic congressperson and for Bush.

The size of an election exit poll facilitates analyses of population groups that would be too small to study if the data base was the typical 1,500-respondent national survey. Thus, in the ABC poll there are 1,584 respondents who voted for Democratic congresspeople in 1988 and voted for Reagan in the 1984 election. Of these, 745 voted for Bush in 1988 — the ticket splitters.

Among those who voted for Democratic congressional candidates, 78 percent of those who are not Catholic (almost all, of

Continued on page 6

Now you can have a more meaningful Bible study.

Little Rock Scripture Study

NEW STUDY!

INTRODUCTION TO THE BIBLE

This exciting, new, for video-based study of biblical scholarship expertise with hands-on approach to produce people to the most important book they've read: the Bible.

Best yet, it's part of an established program that opened the Word of God to over 7,500 parishes and communities throughout the world: Little Rock Scripture Study.

LECTURE TOPICS

- God's Self-Revelation
- Choosing a Bible Translation
- Exploring the Bible
- The Church and the Bible
- The Word of God in Words
- The Canon of the Bible
- The Importance of Bible Scholarship
- How to Read and Study the Bible

Your next step is an easy one. Use the coupon below for more information or to order.

Little Rock Scripture Study
THE LITURGICAL INSTITUTE
St. John's Abbey, P.O. Box 100
Collegeville, MN 56321
Phone: 612-363-3157 Fax: 1-800-328-3157

Please send:
FREE ☐ Introduction to the Bible

(7676-6) Packet (8 video cassettes, 1 Little Rock Scripture Study Participant's Manual)

(1673-9) Participant's Manual

Ask our members...

Professionals who work in personnel for dioceses, religious congregations, Church institutions or parishes.

They will tell you we are the National Association of Church Personnel Administrators. We offer services to promote good management based on gospel values:

- ✦ Skills-enhancing workshops and annual convocation
- ✦ Practical and inspiring publications
- ✦ On-site consultation
- ✦ Research on current trends

1992

MEMBERSHIP

Catholic Birth-Control: Is It of God?

- God's Law or Human Law?
- The Beginning of a Teaching
- Onan's Sin
- Augustine
- Natural Law
- Rights Given Married People
- Papal Commission
- Scriptural Guidance
- The Rhythm Method
- Contraception

Catholic vote

Continued from page 5
course, white Protestants) voted for Dukakis, as did 82 percent of Catholics. Thus, Catholics were less likely than other Americans to be ticket splitters. The difference can be accounted for by a combination of greater emphasis among Catholics on compassionate leadership in a president and a lesser inclination to accept the conservative social agenda of the Bush campaign (abortion, ACLU, Pledge of Allegiance, death penalty, prison furloughs).

Moreover, Catholics were more likely to "come home" than were others: 38 percent of the Catholics who voted for Reagan also voted for Bush, as did 54 percent of those who were not Catholic. Thus, 62 percent of the Catholics "came home," as did only 46 percent of those who were not Catholic. Catholics were 1.35 times more likely to "return" than were other Americans.

The data in the ABC exit poll enable one to account for this disproportionate Catholic return, that is, to reduce the difference of 16 percentage points to one percentage point.

Six variables account for the difference:

1. Catholics were less likely to agree that "we need to keep the country moving in the direction Reagan has been taking us" (41 percent versus 54 percent) and more likely to agree that, "after eight years of Reagan, we need a president who can set the nation in a new direction."

(These percentages, like those in the subsequent numbered paragraphs, are the proportions for those who had voted for Reagan in 1984.)

2. Catholics were less likely to emphasize the need for a president who has had "the right kind of experience" or "good judgment" or "can get things done" or "is honest" or "can be trusted in a crisis" (a group of answers I will characterize as "experience") and more likely to emphasize a "strong leader" or "cares about people like me" or "has vision for the future" (a group response I will characterize as "leader").

For Catholics who had voted for Reagan in 1984, "leader" was important to 43 percent in 1988 as opposed to 31 percent for those who were not Catholic.

3. Catholics were less likely to see as "very important" such matters of the social conservative agenda as abortion, the death penalty, the Pledge of Allegiance, the American Civil Liberties Union and prison furloughs. Catholics had a lower score on a factor that combined these items. Abortion was, for example, a "very important" issue to 32 percent of those who were not Catholic, and to 20 percent of those who were.

4. Catholics who had voted for Reagan in 1984 were more likely to be concerned in 1988 by such "liberal" issues as health care and college costs, Social Security, education and competition with foreign countries, and hence had a higher score on this "liberal" factor. For example, 21 percent thought Social Security was a "very important" issue and 15 percent thought foreign competition was an important issue, as opposed to 15 percent and 10 percent respectively for those who were not Catholics.

5. Catholics were more likely (46 percent versus 40 percent) to say their financial status was "worse" than it was "when Reagan took office."

6. Finally, Catholics were less likely (1 percent versus 20 percent) to characterize themselves as "born again."

These six sets of variables account completely (in a multiple regression equation) for the disproportionate number of Catholics "coming home" in 1988. One has the impression that these voters were never all that comfortable voting for a Republican president.

Incidentally, while Catholics in the whole subpopulation of those who vote for Democratic congressional candidates were more likely to emphasize leadership, and while this was something of an asset to Dukakis, the payoff he received from the "leader" variable was not great, because he was only slightly more likely to be perceived as a "leader."

All those, regardless of religion, who valued "leader" were only 1.16 times more likely to vote for him, while those who valued "experience" were 1.60 times more likely to vote for Bush. Thus, in 1988 Catholics were somewhat less likely to be ticket splitters and substantially more likely to "come home" to the Democratic Party.

Moreover, even those who did not return seemed less comfortable in their Republican vote. Even those Catholics who voted for Bush are lower on the social conservatism scale and higher on the liberalism scale than others who voted for him. Although it has been assumed for two decades that "social issues" (abortion, death penalty, etc.) had a strong appeal to Catholics, it was less appealing even to those Catholics who did not vote for Dukakis.

Moreover, even among Catholics who voted for Bush, "leadership" (a candidate who was a strong leader, concerned about ordinary people and with a vision for the future) was more important than it was for others who voted for him.

Finally, Catholics were more likely to make their decisions in the last days before the election than were others. In choosing between the candidate of the party whose congressional candidate they would vote for and the candidate of the other party — in the decision of

whether to be a ticket splitter or not — Catholics hesitated to the bitter end. In fact, one out of every 10 Catholics made up his or her mind on the day of the election itself whether to be a ticket splitter.

The delay in decision did not, incidentally, help either candidate. Late-deciding Catholics were no more and no less likely to split their tickets than early-deciding Catholics.

A Democratic candidate in 1992 will have to hold the Dukakis coalition and win over many of the 1988 ticket splitters. More inclined to be "liberal," less inclined to be "conservative," more interested in vision than in experience, and more hesitant in their ticket splitting, Catholics should be prime targets for efforts to persuade more of those who routinely vote Democratic in nonpresidential elections to "come home."

Why do Catholics persist in their Democratic allegiance despite their movement into the professional class and despite the fact that the elite leadership of the Democratic Party does not seem to want them?

Party affiliation tends to be inherited in this country. Moreover, party identification is determined at about the same time in life as religious affiliation (and perhaps as part of the same identity-formation process — the very early years of young adulthood). Hence, Catholics tend to be Democratic in part because they have always been Democratic.

Moreover, as my research in 12 countries demonstrates, Catholics, in whatever country, tend to support social welfare and egalitarian programs and parties. This support is rooted in a more "communal" picture of society (as opposed to a more "individualist" picture among Protestants), which in its turn is based on a Catholic image of God as present instead of absent from social relationships.

The templates these propensities represent are acquired early in life and are remarkably durable.

Sheed & Ward

Empowering
Leaders

NATION

What strategies might effect a return of the Catholic ticket splitters?

Unlike blacks, Catholics do not have national political leaders who run on explicitly Catholic interests. Unlike Jews, they do not have "defense" organizations that rally voters around election issues. The official Catholic leadership (bishops) has little political clout with its people — they could not deliver hungry vampires to a blood bank. They are a much more amorphous minority than any of the officially approved minorities.

How, then, would Democrats appeal to Catholic ticket splitters? If the present recession is long enough and deep enough, no strategy may be necessary. Since they are more likely to value "leadership" in a candidate, a man who appears to be a strong leader, cares about ordinary people and has a vision for the future would have special appeal to Catholic ticket splitters (one's first and last name need not end in a vowel to fit this job description).

Because there has been little research on the political behavior of Catholics (presumably because it has not been considered an important part of American political life), no other responses can be given that are sustained by empirical data.

However, Catholics in the United States and in many other countries tend to place more importance in local communities and in intense family life. They live longer in the same neighborhoods and live near, visit and talk with other family members more than do Protestant Americans.

Thus, a campaign that stressed the importance of family and local community should have special appeal to Catholics. One hardly need add that these are issues that those who dominate the national Democratic Party are not likely to find attractive. Quite the contrary: Without the words being used, these two issues are clearly "politically incorrect" and would offend (or more precisely be imagined to offend) the minorities that really

count with the party's national leadership.

An occasional symbolic gesture might help. No Democratic candidate in the past quarter-century has ever set foot inside a Catholic school and/or praised the Catholic schools for their work of alternative education in the inner city.

Such a gesture, which would not imply support for federal aid to Catholic schools, presumably would offend the important minorities, to say nothing of the teachers' unions. (It does not matter that "minority" children are the principal beneficiaries of inner-city Catholic schools.)

Indeed, during the Mondale campaign, the candidate's wife denounced private schools at a meeting in Chicago. Her attack probably didn't hurt her husband's doomed campaign, but it surely didn't help.

How can one explain the astonishing fact that the Democratic Party lacks both a strategy and the research basis for a strategy to appeal to its largest minority and to win back the ticket splitters from this minority? Or perhaps the even more astonishing fact that the Democratic Party seems unaware that Catholics are its largest minority and that Catholic ticket splitters are the most likely to have come home in 1988?

Since national Democratic leaders talk and act as if Catholics do not exist, one has to guess at their motives for their not seeking a "Catholic strategy":

1. They are embarrassed by having so many Catholics in their coalition.
2. They are unaware that Catholics are their largest minority.
3. They are convinced that Catholics have left the Democratic Party and become Republicans.
4. They think Catholic ticket splitters are so conservative that they cannot be won back.
5. They believe Catholics take their voting directions from leaders like New York's Cardinal John O'Connor.
6. They feel that any appeal to Catho-

lics will offend blacks, Hispanics, Jews, gays, feminists, union members and other important members of the coalition.

Explanations two through five are refuted by the empirical data discussed in this article and available in scholarly articles and books. Explanation six is silly. Blacks benefit from Catholic schools, seven out of 10 Hispanics are Catholics, as are many union leaders and members. Catholics are more tolerant of homosexuals (and of premarital sex, too), and Catholics are more likely than Protestants to endorse feminist goals.

Indeed, on the National Opinion Research Center's "feminism" scale, Irish Catholics are second only to Jewish women in their support for feminism.

As long as the national Democratic leadership tolerates ignorance of American Catholics, it is very likely to continue to lose presidential elections.

I conclude that the Democratic national leadership, the people who flock around a presidential candidate and shape his campaign, has an image of Catholics that is totally at odds with the empirical data — Catholics are conservative, racist, chauvinist superpatriots to whom the national party cannot and should not make an appeal.

If one has an image of a group of humans that is refuted by research data and nonetheless persists in that image, might not one be fairly said to be prejudiced in the strict sense of the word?

It may be contended that I have no right to call Catholics a minority because (a) they are not the object of prejudice and (b) they have not suffered and do not suffer as do other minorities. That the elite national Democratic leadership (includ-

ing deracinated Catholics) has an inaccurate image of Catholics is sufficient proof that anti-Catholic prejudice persists.

To confirm the fact, one need only consider the finding of a Louis Harris poll some years ago indicating that a quarter of Americans thought Catholics do not think for themselves and that a quarter also thought Catholics do what their leaders tell them.

This prejudice was especially concentrated among college-educated "liberals" in the Northeast. Anti-Catholicism is still the anti-Semitism of the liberal intellectual. To say that anti-Catholic nativism has not been an enormous problem historically in this country is simply to be ignorant of history.

Surely, most Catholics no longer suffer economically because of their religion (though Slavic Catholics may still suffer because of their religioethnicity).

Yet, I wonder about academics who are so eager for minority balance on college faculties and do not inquire whether Catholics are a quarter of their own faculty. As a professor at Cal Tech said to me once, "Blacks and women have been excluded by prejudice. Catholics because of their intellectual deficiencies."

(In point of fact, Catholics are about a quarter of the faculties at the better state universities, but are not so represented on the faculties of the elite private universities. Perhaps that phenomenon is not the result of prejudice. Perhaps, as Jimmy Breslin said somewhere, that's just the way things work out.)

Finally, any group that is the object of prejudice suffers because of that prejudice. Granted that anti-Catholic nativism is not as bad as racism or anti-Semitism or homophobia or chauvinism, if one tolerates any prejudice, then one tolerates them all.

In this particular case, as long as the national Democratic leadership tolerates ignorance of American Catholics, it is very likely, barring economic disaster, to continue to lose presidential elections. ■

Telephone List for Religious Tolerance Sign-On Letter

For each call, get fax number.

If they agree to sign, confirm spelling of name, and full title.

Group One:

ph 011-41-22791-6111

FAX 011-41-22791-0361 — 011-41-22-732-

- 1. The Most Reverend Edmond Lee Browning-
(212) 867-8400

8595

- OK 2. Dr. William F. Schulz (617) 742-2100 617-367-3237 - FAX Faxed

3. Dr. David Ramage (312) ~~241-7800~~ 947-6300 - FAX 312-947-6273 Faxed

- OK 4. Saperstein (Tracy) Faxed letter.
387-2800

- OK 5. Father Robert Drinan (202) 662-9073 202-662-9444 Faxed

- OK 6. Bergstrom (Tracy) - will call David at 9:00 wed morning to sign off on letter
(508) 398-3864

7. Rev. Charles R. Stith
Union United Methodist Church FAX 617-424-7693
(617) 536-0872

Group Two:

Institute of Church-Related Studies
Baylor University

- OK 1. Prof. James Wood, Jr. - 817-755-3740 FAX Faxed
(817) 755-1510 will call tom. morning

2. Ron Thiemann
Dean Harvard Divinity School Liz Parsons
(617) 495-5000 617-496-8026
-4513 will let us know tomorrow Faxed
OR (if Thiemann not available)

3. Harvey Cox
Harvard Divinity School
(617) 495-5000

- NO 4. Martin Marty
University of Chicago FAX 708-447-9508
(312) ~~241-7800~~

702-1234

708-442-9453

faxed to home
late week

Bishop Thomas Gambelton - Detroit Archdiocese
(313) 237-5855 (313) 965-3989 FAX

Group Three:

1. Bishop Herbert Chilstrom 312-380-1465
(312) 380-2700 or 2600
Lutheran

2. Paul Sherry
President, UCC
(212) 870-2637

OR (if Sherry not available)

Robert Huston
UCC
(212) 870-2637

OK 3. Bishop J. Clinton Hoggard FAX 202-628-0627
African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church
347-1419 will call 1:30

letter → 4. Torkom Manoogian His Grace, Bishop Khajag Barsamian
Armenian Church of America 3:00
(212) 686-0710 FAX 212-999-3558

5. ~~Foy Valentine~~

OK Father Richard McBrien 239-5151 FAX
Notre Dame, South Bend (219) 239-5000 219-239-8209

Leo O'Donovan (202) 687-4134 - don't call
Georgetown Univ

NO Bishop Sullivan (Catholic) (804) 266-8387
Richmond, VA

FAX 804-358-9159 ←

Father Drinan suggested we include them

✓ President of Network - National Catholic Social Justice Lobby
- North Carolina - 526-4070 - Dorothy EHLing - President of the Board FAX
National Coordinator Nancy Sylvester (202) 832-4635
National Coordinator Ann Dunn

[Tom Fox - get letter to him]
National Catholic Reporter

NETWORK:

F.H.M.
IHM

David:

JB is doing a thank you note to these signatories. It should be faxed along with copy of letter to President to the signatories. I did not have fax numbers for Dale, Sherry, or Grieves. Please provide them to whomever ends up doing the faxing. I'll be out of town next M-W. Thanks.

FAX List for Religious Tolerance Sign-On Letter

Reverend Dr. Charles Bergstrom
Former Director, Office of Government Affairs
Lutheran Council
West Yarmouth, MA
NO FAX

Reverend Canon Robert J. Brooks
Washington Office of the Episcopal Church
Washington, DC
FAX 202 547-4457

Reverend John H. Buchanan, Jr.
Senior Vice President, People for the American Way
Washington, DC

Elder Robert L. Dale
Vice President for the North American
Division of the Seventh-day Adventist Church
Silver Spring, MD
FAX

Father Robert Drinan, S.J.
Professor of Law
Georgetown University Law Center
Washington, DC
FAX 202-662-9444

Reverend Brian J. Grieves
Peace and Justice Officer for the Episcopal Church
New York, NY
FAX

✓ / Auxiliary Bishop Thomas J. Gumbleton
Archdiocese of Detroit
Detroit, MI
FAX 313-965-3989

J 5. Bishop J. Clinton Hoggard
African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church
Washington, DC
FAX 202-628-0627

✓2 Reverend Richard P. McBrien
Crowley-O'Brien-Walter Professor of Theology
University of Notre Dame
South Bend, IN
FAX 219-239-8209

✓6 Rev. Dr. David Ramage, Jr.
President, McCormick Theological Seminary
Chicago, IL
FAX 312-947-6273

Rabbi David Saperstein
Religious Action Center
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
Washington, DC
Already Faxed

✓7 Reverend Dr. William F. Schulz
President, Unitarian Universalist Association
Boston, MA
FAX 617-367-3237

9 Reverend Dr. Paul H. Sherry
President, United Church of Christ
Cleveland, OH
FAX

(214) 736-2100

FAX
216-

736-2120

✓8 Reverend Charles R. Stith
Union United Methodist Church
Boston, MA
FAX 617-424-7693

✓4 Nancy Sylvester IHM
National Coordinator
NETWORK: National Catholic Social Justice Lobby
Washington, DC
FAX 202-832-4635

✓3 Dr. James E. Wood, Jr.
Director, Institute of Church-State Studies, Baylor University
Waco, TX
FAX 817-755-3740

Master list

✓ Presiding Bishop *Edmund Browning*
The Episcopal Church Center
815 Second Avenue
New York, NY 10017 212.867.8400
Reverend Browning ~~212.867.8400~~

Bishop Paul Moore
1047 Amsterdam Avenue
New York, NY 10025
Bishop Moore 212.867.8400

✓
CB Bishop Herbert Chilstrom
Evangelical Lutheran Church in America
8765 W. Higgins Rd.
Chicago, IL 60631
Bishop Chilstrom 312.380.2700 or 2600

✓
CB The Reverend Elenora Giddings Ivory
Director, Washington Office
Presbyterian Church (USA)
110 Maryland Avenue, NE, #104
Washington, D.C. 20002
Reverend Ivory 202.543-1126

+ press conf.
fax 543.7755 for signature

✓
CB Reverend James E. Andrews
Presbyterian Church (USA)
100 Witherspoon Street
Louisville, KY 40202
Reverend Andrews 502-569.5000

✓
CB Martin E. Marty
Fairfax M. Cone Distinguished Service Professor
University of Chicago
1025 E. 58th Street
Chicago, IL 60637 312.241.7800
Professor Marty

✓
Rabbi Balfour Brickner
175 East 62nd St.
New York, NY 10023
Rabbi Brickner 212.486.3885

✓
L Rev. William Sloane Coffin
President, Emeritus
SANE/Freeze
Box 55
Strafford, VT 05072
Reverend Coffin

- mail today -

✓ Dr. Robert J. Marshall *church met w/ 10/22;*
✓ 1700 E. 56th Street #901
CB Chicago, IL 60637
Dr. Marshall *312-363-4587*

✓ Rev. Sherman G. Hicks
✓ Bishop Chicago Synod, ELCA
18 S. Michigan Avenue, Rm. 605
CB Chicago, IL 60603
Rev. Hicks

2 Rev. E. Harold Jansen
CB Bishop Washington, DC Synod, ELCA
224 E. Capitol Street
Washington, DC 20003
Rev. Jansen

✓ Rev. Ronald A. Sell
✓ 900 S. Arlington Avenue, Rm 208
CB Harrisburg, PA 17109
Rev. Sell

✓ Bishop J. Clinton Hoggard
✓ African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church
CB 1511 K. Street, NW; Suite 10 *1419*
Washington, DC 20005 *202-347-1419*
Bishop Hoggard }

✓ Rev. Dr. Daniel E. Weiss
✓ American Baptist Churches
P.O. BOX 851 *1 800-334-1427, ask for office of General Sec'y.*
Valley Forge, PA 19482
Rev. Weiss

✓ Rev. Torkom Manoogian
✓ Armenian Church of America *212-686-0710*
630 Second Avenue
New York, NY 10016
Rev. Manoogian }

✓ Rev. Dr. John O. Humbert
✓ Christian Church (Disciples) *317-353-1491*
CB P.O. Box 1986
Indianapolis, IN 46206
Rev. Humbert

✓ Dr. J. Ralph Shotwell
✓ Council of Community Churches *Palos Heights*
900 Ridge Road; Suite LL1
Homewood, IL 60430 *708-448-5610 home*
Dr. Shotwell

✓ Dr. Donald E. Miller
Church of the Brethren
1451 Dundee Avenue
Elgin, IL 60120
Dr. Miller

General Secretary

708-742-5100 John Evans

✓ Dr. Paul Larsen
Evangelical Covenant Church
5101 N. Francisco Avenue
Chicago, IL 60625
Dr. Larsen

312-784-3000

✓ Stephen Main
Friends United Meeting
101 Quaker Hill Drive
Richmond, IN 47374
Mr. Main

801 317-962-7575

✓ Rev. Dr. C.J. Malloy, Jr. B
Prot. Nat. Baptist Convention
601 50th NE #304
Washington, DC 20019
Rev. Malloy, Jr.

- Church knows -
good, cultivated

✓ Rev. Dr. Edwin G. Mulder
Reformed Church in America
475 Riverside Drive; Room 1812
New York, NY 10115
Rev. Mulder

212-870-3071

✓ Bishop Walter Sullivan *
~~Roman Catholic Church~~
811-B Cathedral Place
Richmond, VA 23220
Bishop Sullivan

1 hr. teaching 10/23

✓ Rev. Dr. Paul Sherry
United Church of Christ
105 Madison Avenue
New York, NY 10016
Rev. Sherry

President, UCC

212-870-2637

✓ Rev. Dr. Robert W. Huston
United Church of Christ
475 Riverside Drive; Room 1300
New York, NY 10015
Rev. Huston

212 870-2637

✓ Professor Henry Cox
Harvard Divinity School
45 Francis Avenue

Cambridge, MA 02138

1-17-495-5000

Rev. Charles Adams
Pres.

Progressive Nat'l Baptist
Association Detroit

Bishop Robert C. Morgan
Pres. of the Nat'l Church & Society

Bishop of Mississippi

PO Box 931

Jackson, MS 39205-0931

601-948-4561

Rev. Dr. Paul H. Sherry

Cleveland, Ohio

216-736-2101

Rev. Dean M. Kelley
Counsellor for Religious Liberties
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive
New York, NY 10115
Reverend Kelley 212.870.2200

Joan Campbell
Pres. of Church
Pres., Nat'l Council of Churches

Rev. William F. Fore
Asst. Gen. Sec. for Communications
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive
New York, NY 10115
Reverend Fore 212.870.2200

Mary Cooper
Acting Director of the Washington Office
National Council of Churches
110 Maryland Avenue, NE
Washington, DC 20002
Ms. Cooper 202.544.2350

Richard Foltin
American Jewish Committee
165 E. 65th Street
New York, NY 10022
Mr. Foltin

Jacqueline Wexler
National Conference on Christians and Jews
71 5th Avenue
New York, NY 10005
Ms. Wexler 212.206.0006

Mr. Mark Stern
American Jewish Congress
Committee on Law & Social Action
15 E. 84th Street
New York, NY 10028
Mr. Stern

Terri Gress
Anti-Defamation League
1100 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Suite 1020
Washington, D.C. 20036
Ms. Gress 452.8310

Reverend James Dunn
Baptist Joint Committee
200 Maryland Avenue, NE
Washington, D.C. 20002
Reverend Dunn 202.544.4226

✓ The Most Reverend Edmond Lee Browning

!

Rev. Dean M. Kelley
Counsellor for Religious Liberties
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive,
New York, NY 10115
212-870-2200

*This has
many interviews!*

Rev. William F. Fore
Asst. Gen. Sec. for Communications
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive
New York, NY 10115
212-870-2200

Mary Cooper
Acting Director of the Washington Office
National Council of Churches
110 Maryland Avenue, NE
Washington, DC 20002
202-544-2350

Richard Foltin
American Jewish Committee
165 E. 65th Street
New York, NY 10022

Jacqueline Wexler
National Conference on Christians and Jews
71 5th Avenue
New York, NY 10005
212-206-0006

Frances Kissling
President
Catholics for a Free Choice
1436 U Street, NW
Washington, DC 20009
202-638-1706

Mr. Mark Stern
American Jewish Congress
Committee on Law & Social Action
15 E. 84th Street
New York, NY 10028

Terri Gross
Anti-Defamation League
1100 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Suite 1020
Washington, D.C. 20036
452-8310

!!

Rev.

Mr. James Dunn
Baptist Joint Committee
200 Maryland Avenue, NE
Washington, D.C. 20002
202-544-4226

The Most Reverend Edmond Lee Browning
Presiding Bishop
The Episcopal Church Center
815 Second Avenue
New York, NY 10017
212-867-8400

Bishop Paul Moore
~~The Episcopal Church Center~~
~~815 Second Avenue~~ 1047 Amsterdam Ave,
New York, NY 10017
212-867-8400 25

Bishop Herbert Chilstrom
Evangelical Lutheran Church in America
8765 W. Higgins Rd.
Chicago, IL 60631
312-380-2700

The Reverend Elenora Giddings Ivory
Director Washington Office
Presbyterian Church (USA)
110 Maryland Avenue, NE, #104
Washington, D.C. 20002
202-543-1126

Rev. James E. Andrews
Presbyterian Church (USA)
100 Witherspoon Street
Louisville, KY 40202

X Father Robert Brooks
Washington Office of the Episcopal Church
110 Maryland Avenue, NE
Suite 309
Washington, D.C. 20002
202-547-7300

X Dr. William F. Schulz
President
Unitarian Universalist Association
25 Beacon Street
Boston, MA 02108
617-742-2100

X Rev. Dr. Charles Bergstrom
21 Sierra Way
West Yarmouth, MA 02673
508-398-3864

X Rabbi David Sapperstein
Religious Action Center
Union of American Hebrew Congregations

2027 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20036
202-387-2800

Rev. David Ramage, Jr.

X President, McCormick Theological Seminary
5555 South Woodlawn Avenue
Chicago, IL 60637
312-241-7800

Martin E. Marty

Fairfax M. Cone Distinguished Service Professor
University of Chicago
1025 E. 58th Street
Chicago, IL 60637
312-702-1234

Rabbi Balfour Brickner

Stephen Wise Synagogue

30 W. 68th Street

New York, NY 10023

212-877-4050 - FAX

486-3885 - home

Rev. William Sloane Coffin

President, Emeritus

SANE/Freeze

Box 55

Strafford, VT 05072

175 East 62nd St
NYC 10021

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. fax	Rabbi Lynne Landsberg to David Crane (4 pages)	10/14/1991	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 20049

FOLDER TITLE:

Religious Leaders

2013-0534-S

rc1632

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.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

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]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. letter	From Charles Bergstrom re: religious leaders (3 pages)	ca. 1992	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 20049

FOLDER TITLE:

Religious Leaders

2013-0534-S

rc1632

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.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

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]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003. paper	re: 1992 campaign (1 page)	10/1992	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 20049

FOLDER TITLE:

Religious Leaders

2013-0534-S

rc1632

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.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

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]

BREAKFAST (RELIGIOUS LEADERS) MONDAY, AUGUST 30, 1993 - 8:30 AM

THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. CLINTON

THE VICE PRESIDENT & MRS. GORE

Hon. Thomas F. "Mack" McLarty

Hon. Mark D. Gearan

Hon. David R. Gergen

Hon. (Ms.) Alexis Herman

Hon. Bruce Lindsey

Hon. Roy M. Neel

Hon. Carol Rasco

Hon. George R. Stephanopoulos

Hon. Margaret Williams

Hon. Melanne Vermeer

Hon. Michael Lux

Mr. Ben Johnson

Ms. Sara Ehrman

Mrs. Linda Lader

Mrs. Minyon Moore

Ms. Carolyn Staley

Ms. Carroll Willis

*Highlights have -
not RSVP'd*

The Reverend (Dr.) Charles G. Adams

Hartford Memorial Baptist Church

Bishop John Hurst Adams

AME Church & Congress of National Black Churches

Mr. Ray Bakke

Chicago, IL

The Reverend Willie Barrow

Operation PUSH

The Reverend (Dr.) John Binder

General Secretary, North American Baptist Conference

Bishop Cecil Bishop

Eighth Episcopal District

Bishop H. Hartford Brookins

AME

Dr. Amos C. Brown

San Francisco, CA

The Right Reverend Edmond L. Browning

Presiding Bishop, The Episcopal Church Center

The Reverend (Dr.) John A. Buehrens

President, Unitarian Universalist Association

Bishop J.L. Burris

Church of Christ Holiness, USA

The Reverend (Father) Bill Byron

Georgetown University Jesuit Community

The Reverend (Dr.) Joan B. Campbell

General Secretary, National Council of The Churches of Christ

Dr. Peggy Cantwell

National Presbyterian Church

Bishop Sharon Brown Christopher
United Methodist Church
The Reverend Nicholas C. Chun
Korean Presbyterian Church in America
Sister Bernice Coriel
Daughters of Charity National Health System
Bishop Phillip Cousins
AME
The Reverend (Father) Robert Drinan
Georgetown University Law Center
Dr. James M. Dunn
Executive Director, Baptist Joint Committee
The Reverend Thomas White Wolf Fassett
United Methodist Church
The Reverend Walter Fauntroy
Baptist
Sister Maureen Fiedler
Co-Director, Catholics Speak Out
The Reverend Mark Foucart
St. Paul's Lutheran Church
Rabbi Matt Friedman
Congregation House of Israel
Rabbi Steven Fuchs
Ohabai Sholom Congregation
The Reverend Ernest R. Gibson
First Rising Mt. Zion Baptist Church
Rabbi Moshe Gorelik
President, Rabbinical Council of America
Rabbi (Dr.) Alfred Gottschalk
President, Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion
Bishop William Graves
First District CME Church
Rabbi Irving Greenberg
CLAL
Rabbi Rafael Grossman
Baron Hersch Congregation
The Most Reverend Thomas J. Gumbleton
Auxiliary Bishop of Detroit
Mr. Joe Hacala
Campaign for Human Development
Ms. Carolyn Hale
Georgetown, KY
Dr. Richard C. Halverson
Chaplain, United States Senate
The Reverend (Dr.) Richard Hamm
President & General Minister, The Christian Church
The Reverend Otto H. Hentz, S.J.
Georgetown University
Bishop J. Clinton Hoggard
AMEZ
Dr. Rex Horne, Jr.
Emmanuel Baptist Church

Bishop Frederick C. James
AME

Dr. J. T. Jemison
Baptist

The Reverend E. Edward Jones
~~Shreveport, LA~~ Baptist

The Reverend O.C. Jones
North Little Rock, AR

Dr. Thomas L. Jones
Habitat for Humanity International

The Reverend Fred Kammer, S.J.
President, Catholic Charities, USA

Rabbi (Dr.) Norman Lamm
President, Yeshiva University

Rabbi Eugene Levy
B'nai Israel Temple

Rabbi Mordechai Liebling
Federation of Reconstructionist Congregations

Bishop D.L. Lindsey
~~North Little Rock, AR~~ COGIC

Bishop S. C. Madison
United House of Prayer For All People

The Reverend (Dr.) Ed Matthews
Senior Minister, First United Methodist Church of Little Rock
Sister Maureen McCormack

President, The Loretto Community
The Reverend Dorothy McKinney-Wright

Presbyterian Assembly

Mr. Forest Montgomery
General Counsel, National Association of Evangelicals

Dr. Otis Moss
Shaker Heights, OH

The Most Reverend Francis P. Murphy
Archdiocese of Baltimore

The Reverend Mark Nakagawa
Japanese United Methodist Church

Mr. Paul David Neff
Christianity Today

The Reverend Victor H. Nixon
Little Rock, AR

The Reverend (Dr.) Randolph Nugent
United Methodist Church

The Reverend (Dr.) Albert M. Pennybacker
National Council of The Churches of Christ in the USA

Dr. John Perkins
President, The Harambee Christian Family Center

The Reverend (Dr.) Syngman Rhee
President, National Council of Churches, Global Mission Unit

The Reverend W. Franklyn Richardson
Grace Baptist Church

The Reverend Fleming Rutledge
Grace Church

Rabbi David Saperstein
Director, Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
President, Union of American Hebrew Congregations

Rabbi (Dr.) Ismar Schorsch
Chancellor, Jewish Theological Seminary of America

Rabbi Morris Sherer
President, Agudath Israel of America

The Reverend (Dr.) Cecil Sherman
Cooperative Baptist Fellowship

Mr. Donald W. Shriver, Jr.
New York, NY

Dr. Ron Sider
Founder & Chief Executive, Evangelicals for Social Action

Mr. Arthur Simon
Director, Washington Office, Christian Children's Fund

The Reverend Bennett Walker Smith
Williamsville, NY

The Reverend Robert G. Stephanopoulos
Holy Trinity Cathedral

The Reverend Charles R. Stith
Union United Methodist Church

The Most Reverend Joseph Sullivan
Auxiliary Bishop of Brooklyn, Catholic Charities

Archbishop Theodosius
Primate of the Orthodox Church in America

Mr. Oliver S. (Buzz) Thomas
Chairman of the Coalition for the Free Exercise of Religion,
Baptist Joint Committee

Ms. Kathleen Thornton
National Coordinator, NETWORK

Bishop Kenryu Tsuji
Ekoji Buddhist Temple

The Reverend (Dr.) Daniel E. Weiss
General Secretary, American Baptist Churches in the USA

Rabbi Seymour Weller
Synagogue Agudath Achim

The Reverend (Dr.) J. Philip Wogaman
Washington, DC

Rabbi Gerald Zelizer
President, Rabbinical Assembly

Rabbi Sheldon Zimmerman
President, Central Conference of American Rabbis

BREAKFAST (RELIGIOUS LEADERS) AUGUST 30, 1993

REGRETS

The Reverend (Father) Robert Brooks
Washington Office of the Episcopal Church
Dr. Anthony Campollo
Professor of Sociology, Eastern College
Rabbi Rachel Cowan
Director, Jewish Life Programs, Nathan Cummings Foundation
Hon. Robert Edgar
President, Claremont College School of Theology
The Right Reverend John Egan
Office for Community Affairs
The Reverend Clay Evans
Fellowship Baptist Church
Bishop Louis Ford
COGIC
Mr. Millard Fuller
Founder & President, Habitat for Humanity
Dr. S.M. Lockridge
Missionary Baptist
Rabbi Haskell Lookstein
President, Synagogue Council of America
The Reverend David John Lux
Broken Bow, NE
The Reverend Edward A. Malloy
President, The University of Notre Dame
The Reverend (Dr.) Martin Marty
Senior Editor, The Christian Century
The Reverend (Dr.) Cecil (Chip) Murray
First AME Church
Mr. Dave Ostendorf
Executive Director, Prairie Fire
The Reverend (Dr.) David Ramage, Jr.
President, McCormick Theological Seminary
The Reverend Daniel F. Romero
United Church Board for World Ministries
The Reverend Tom Skinner
Tracys' Landing, MD
Ms. Joyce Sohl
United Methodist Church
Bishop Walter Sullivan
Bishop of Richmond
The Reverend Gardner Taylor
Brooklyn, NY
The Reverend (Dr.) James Wall
The Christian Century
Mr. Jim Wallis
Director & Editor, Sojourners

file ref. leaders.

Date: 08/30/93 Time: 11:30

Clinton Tells Religious Leaders Political World Sometimes 'Too

WASHINGTON (AP) Saying he was ready for a "new beginning" upon his return from an 11-day vacation, President Clinton told religious leaders today that the political world is sometimes "entirely too secular."

The president, a Baptist, said religious solutions can't be found for every problem facing society, but faith can remind leaders to "work with one another if we're ever going to push the common good."

"Sometimes I think the environment in which we operate is entirely too secular," Clinton said at a breakfast meeting with religious leaders from several denominations.

"The fact that we have freedom of religion doesn't mean we need to try to have freedom from religion, doesn't mean that those of us who have faith shouldn't frankly admit that we are animated by that faith, that we live by it and it does effect what we feel, what we think and what we do," Clinton said.

But the president said Americans should approach their faith with "a certain amount of humility that we be careful when we say that because we seek to know and do God's will, God is on our side and therefore against our opponent."

Saying he had pondered "these kinds of things" on vacation, Clinton said: "It's hard for me to take a totally secular approach to the fact that there are cities in this country where the average murderer is now under the age of 16."

Clinton, who has been accused of compromising too easily, said there is nothing evil about striving for consensus.

"We can't pass a health care program without a conviction that this is in the common interest, that over the long run we will all win," Clinton said. "If this becomes some battle where I'm trying to slay some dragon of special interest and that's all it is, we'll never get where we want to go."

He called for "a new ethic" of responsibility in the country.

"We can't possibly do anything for anybody in this country unless they're also willing to do something for themselves," Clinton said. "There has to be a new ethic of personal and family and community responsibility in this country that should unite people across the lines of different faiths and even different political philosophies," he said.

Clinton asked the crowd to pray for him and his administration.

APNP-08-30-93 1129EDT