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**Series:** Speech File Backup Files  
**Subseries:** Chron File, 1989-1993

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**OA/ID Number:** 13775  
**Folder ID Number:** 13775-014

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**Folder Title:**  
Religious Alliance Against Pornography 10/10/91

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<b>G</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>

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Grant  
October 8, 1991  
A:PORNO / Draft 3

**PRESIDENTIAL DROP-BY: RELIGIOUS ALLIANCE AGAINST PORNOGRAPHY  
ROOM 450  
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1991  
2:15 P.M.**

[Acknowledgements]

It's a pleasure to take part in the Alliance's national conference, because we have all come here out of deep concern for one thing: **the well-being of our neighborhoods, our families, and our children.** Your group incorporates men and women of all faiths and all walks of life -- yet you stand united in your commitment to the dignity of human life, the integrity of the community and our moral responsibility to our children. I believe that no matter who you are or where you live, we all want a better Nation -- a better world -- for our children and grandchildren.

Most Americans feel very strongly that obscenity is not a part of that better world. It abuses, degrades and insults both women and men. We've all heard the stories -- innocent children drawn into the world of pornography, victimized by crimes whose consequences are beyond imagination. **This horror must stop.**

**Our Administration is committed to the fullest prosecution of obscenity and child pornography crimes, and as I have said before, it remains a top priority.** We've made tremendous progress at the federal level -- through such initiatives as Project Postporn, in which we virtually eliminated the mail order obscenity business. Imagine -- the indiscriminate mailing of hard-core pornography to American homes. I know nobody in this

room would want their children to have opened the mail that day.

In the last six months alone, the Department of Justice has obtained major indictments and convictions against some of the largest hard-core pornography producers and distributors in the country.

These successes would not have been possible without the leadership of the Department of Justice and the U.S. Attorneys in cities like Dallas, Birmingham, Tallahassee, Concord, New Hampshire and Alexandria, Virginia ... and the continued efforts of the Postal Inspection Service, the FBI, and the U.S. Customs Service.

Let me add: our prosecutors need more help in prosecuting sexual violence and child abuse cases -- that's why the Administration's crime bill includes new provisions to protect women and children from violence and abuse.

**Our crime bill is tough.** It weeds the needless technicalities out of our criminal law -- technicalities that often result in the release of violent criminals. It imposes strong sentences on drug traffickers and violent felons who use semi-automatic weapons. And for certain heinous crimes, it establishes an enforceable federal death penalty.

We need a tough crime bill -- our crime bill -- from the Congress. In the next few weeks, the House of Representatives will consider what the Democratic leadership calls a crime bill. Sadly, rather than a call to arms in the war against crime, their bill maps out a retreat from our current law. The bill handcuffs

police and prosecutors in their efforts to fight crime -- instead of the criminals who commit the crimes.

[I need your help in turning the crime bill around. Let your representatives in Congress know -- and know now -- that it's time for a **tough** crime bill -- one that cares about the victims of crime, not the criminals. Tell them it's time for law-abiding citizens to take back the streets. **Tell them it's time for our crime bill.** ]

But we also need something more ... for the federal system cannot stand alone. The legislative branch can pass strong laws, and the executive branch can present cases for prosecution in the courts -- but the rest lies in the hands of **decent men and women**. Whether it's as jury members representing their community for a just society ... and by the way, we've piled up convictions because of juries standing on the side of **community standards** ... or it's as parents instilling values in our children. Time and again, so many things come down to the **family**. In just about every decision I make, the question becomes one of "Will this strengthen the American family?" **I firmly believe that we must do everything we can to support the American family.**

You know what I'm talking about. We all have an inner sense of right and wrong ... that moral compass that delineates between what is tolerant and what is intolerable. We all want a decent America. As De Tocqueville observed: "America is great because she is good, and if America ever ceases to be good, America will cease to be great." Without the commitment of religious and

moral leaders like yourselves to preserve the good, America will fail to achieve the great.

Let me leave you with this challenge: **Keep up the good fight. Continue to educate Americans about the threat that obscenity and child pornography pose to our Nation. Together, we can build a better world for our children.**

Thank you very much and God bless each and every one of you.

# # #

"Slight"

91 OCT 2 P6:35

*Staffed*

Grant  
October 2, 1991  
A:PORNO / Draft one

PRESIDENTIAL DROP-BY: RELIGIOUS ALLIANCE AGAINST PORNOGRAPHY  
OMNI SHOREHAM HOTEL  
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1991  
TIME?

*fixed*

[Acknowledgements]

It's a pleasure to take part in the Alliance's national conference, because we have all come here out of deep concern for ~~one thing: the well-being of our neighborhoods, our families, and our children.~~ *our families, our communities, our children, & our moral direction as Americans.* No matter who you are or where you live, we all want a better Nation -- a better world -- for our children and grandchildren.

Most Americans feel very strongly that obscenity is not a part of that better world. It abuses, degrades and insults both men and women. *It confuses & corrupts our children. And it debases the moral discourse.*

Our Administration is committed to the fullest prosecution of obscenity and child pornography crimes. We've made tremendous progress at the federal level -- through such initiatives as Project Postporn, in which we virtually eliminated the mail order obscenity business. In the last six months alone, the Department of Justice has obtained major indictments and convictions against some of the largest pornography producers and distributors in the country.

*PT: Pedophiles use porno to break down inhibitions of child victims, then child has sex w/adult, & cycle of abuse continues when he/she grows up.*  
These successes would not have been possible without the leadership of the Department of Justice and the U.S. Attorneys in cities like Dallas, Birmingham, Tallahassee and Concord, New Hampshire ... as well as the Postal Inspection Service, the FBI and the U.S. Customs Service. They've all done a great job.

*PT: one mistake 2 yrs ago: cut a video, only endorsing w/facts v. child porno. Must be general hardcore adult*

*no ready statistics*

But let me add: our prosecutors need more help in prosecuting sexual violence and child abuse cases -- that's why the Administration's crime bill includes new provisions to protect women and children from violence and abuse.

**Our crime bill is tough.** It limits the chances of a violent criminal getting released on the basis of legal technicalities. It imposes strong sentences on drug traffickers and violent felons who use semi-automatic weapons. And for certain heinous crimes, it establishes an enforceable federal death penalty.

We need a tough crime bill -- our crime bill -- from the Congress. But we also need something more ... for the federal system cannot stand alone. The legislative branch can pass strong laws, and the executive branch can present cases for prosecution in the courts -- but the rest lies in the hands of decent men and women in the jury room, chosen at random to represent their community. We've piled up convictions ... because of juries casting votes on the side of **community standards** -- and standing on the side of our **neighborhoods, our families, and our children.**

Without the commitment of religious and community leaders like yourselves, we wouldn't be winning this battle. Let me leave you with this challenge: **Keep up the good fight. Continue to educate Americans about the threat that obscenity and child pornography pose to our Nation. Together, we can build a better world for our children.**

Thank you very much and God bless each and every one of you.

# # #

*Note: This exchange occurred following the remarks of President Rafael Calderón of Costa Rica and President Bush.*

**Remarks to the Religious Alliance  
Against Pornography  
October 10, 1991**

Let me welcome all of you to the White House. Good afternoon. And I'm pleased to see your Chairman, Dr. Jerry Kirk; His Eminence the Cardinal, Cardinal Bernardin, who is out in the forefront of this good work, the Archbishop of Chicago; Sarah Blankin, the chairperson of the National Women's Leadership Task Force; and Erv Duggan, FCC Commissioner. Welcome all to the White House.

It's a pleasure to take part in the alliance's national conference because we've all come here out of deep concern for one thing, and that is the well-being of our neighbors, our families, and particularly, I think, our children. Your group incorporates men and women of all faiths, all walks of life, and yet you stand united in your commitment to the dignity of human life, the integrity of the community, and our moral responsibility to our children. I believe that no matter who you are or where you live, we all want a better Nation, a better world for our children and grandchildren.

And most Americans feel very strongly that obscenity is not a part of that better world. It abuses, it degrades and insults both women and men. We've all heard the stories: Innocent children drawn into the world of pornography, victimized by crimes whose consequences are beyond imagination. This horror must stop.

Our administration is committed to the fullest prosecution of obscenity and child pornography crimes. And as I have stated before, and as I'm sure you will hear from my very able Acting Attorney General Bill Barr, who's doing a superb job, this will remain a priority. We've made tremendous progress at the Federal level, through such Federal initiatives as Project Postporn, in which we have virtually eliminated that horrible mail order obscenity business.

Imagine, the indiscriminate mailing of hardcore pornography into American homes. And I know nobody in this room would want their children to have opened the mail the day that that kind of filth arrived.

In the last 6 months alone, the Department of Justice has obtained major indictments and convictions against some of the largest hardcore pornography producers and distributors in this country.

These successes would not have been possible without the leadership of the Department of Justice, and then the U.S. Attorneys in the cities like Dallas and Birmingham and Tallahassee and Concord, New Hampshire, and over here in Alexandria, Virginia, and the continued efforts of the Postal Inspection Service, the FBI, and the U.S. Customs Service.

Let me add, our prosecutors need more help in prosecuting sexual violence and child abuse cases. And that's why the administration's crime bill includes new provisions to protect women and children from violence and abuse.

Our crime bill is tough. We need a tough bill, our crime bill. It's the one we need. It's been there too long, and I want to see the Congress move on it and act on it and do, in this instance, what the American people want. In the next few weeks, the House, the House of Representatives, will consider what the Democratic leadership calls a crime bill. Sadly, rather than a call to arms in the war against crime, that bill, in the House I'm talking about now, maps out a retreat from current law. The bill handcuffs police and prosecutors in their efforts to fight crime instead of the criminals who commit the crimes.

And so, I really didn't want to miss this opportunity to come over here and ask you for your help in turning the crime bill around. Let your Representatives in Congress know, and know now, that it is time for a tough crime bill, one that cares about the victims of crime more than it does the criminals.

We also need something more, for the Federal system cannot stand alone. The legislative branch can pass strong laws, and the executive branch can present cases for prosecution in the courts. But the rest lies in the hands of decent men and women, and

whether it's the jury members representing their community for a just society—and by the way, we've piled up convictions because of juries standing on the side of community standards—or it's as parents instilling values in our children. Time and again, so many things come down to family. And I firmly believe that we must do everything we can to support the American family. You know what I'm talking about. You just have an inner sense of what's right and wrong and that moral compass that delineates between what is tolerant and what is intolerable.

We all want, everyone wants I'm sure, a decent America. As de Tocqueville observed, "America is great because she is good, and if America ceases to be good, America will cease to be great." And without the commitment of religious and moral leaders like yourselves to preserve the good, America will fail to achieve the great.

So, let me leave you with this challenge, this exhortation: Please keep up the good fight. Please continue to educate Americans about the threat that obscenity and child pornography pose to our Nation. And together I am absolutely convinced that we can build a better world for these kids.

We're working this, as you know, in the international scene. One of the joys I take about what's happened as the Soviets now have come forward to accept many of our challenges in reducing nuclear weapons, one of the great joys I take is to think what this means to, in my case, our grandchildren, most of you all, children—[*Laughter*—but it's a wonderfully exciting thing. But that's just part of the equation. So much of it relates to what happens right here at home. And that, of course, is where each and every one of you come in.

So, thank you for being here. I'm preaching to the choir, I know, but thank you very, very much. [*Laughter*] Thank you, and God bless you all.

*Note: The President spoke at 2:16 p.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. In his remarks, he referred to Jerry Kirk, chairman of the Religious Alliance Against Pornography; Joseph Cardinal Bernardin of Chicago; Sarah Blankin, chairperson of the National Women's Leadership Task Force; Ervin Duggan, Commissioner of the Federal Communications Com-*

*mission; and Acting Attorney General William Barr.*

### Proclamation 6355—National Children's Day, 1991

October 11, 1991

By the President of the United States of America

#### A Proclamation

Few joys here on earth can compare to that of a happy childhood. As we advance in years, we begin to recognize it as one of life's greatest blessings. Of course, the ideal childhood is more than a precious age of innocence or of long, carefree days at play. It is also an exciting time of learning and discovery that shapes our values and our sense of identity, equipping us for the challenges and opportunities of the future. Because the person who enjoys a healthy, happy childhood is most likely to become a healthy, well-adjusted adult, we do well to recall our obligation—as parents and as a Nation—to protect, nurture, and provide for our children.

Most parents are keenly aware of their responsibilities of providing food, shelter, clothing, and basic health care—the fundamental material support that is essential to every youngster's physical and emotional well-being. Yet parents also have a responsibility to nurture the spiritual and intellectual development of the child whom God has entrusted to their care.

Indeed, whether he or she is their biological, adoptive, or foster child, every youngster needs encouragement and discipline, as well as attention and affection. By word, deed, and example, parents must help their children recognize the meaning of love and respect—and the difference between right and wrong. Parents can and should help their children to recognize their own talent and potential, and instill in them an appreciation of the American traditions of freedom and tolerance. Finally, because the days of childhood can never be reclaimed, we must allow our children to *be* children, never rushing them in our constant attempts to educate and inspire.

Of course, m parenting is no putting food on meet is an enor ing a child's en and material de fice, fortitude, that are the strength of fam giving our child discipline, and ed; statistics o pregnancy, and the consequenc late. And we k can and should their duties, it loving family lif

Thus, as we citizens on this us recall the healthy, happy. reaffirm our co American young ble start in life. "Train up a chil go, and when l from it."

The Congress 126, has design October 1991 a and has authori dent to issue a of this day.

Now, Theref dent of the U hereby proclaim as National Ch American peop appropriate p activities design emphasize the and emotional Americans to r stable, loving fi Nation.

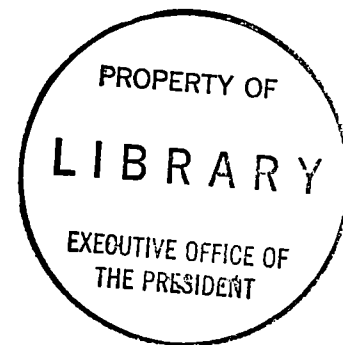
In Witness W my hand this the year of our ninety-one, and United States c and sixteenth.

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# Respectfully Quoted

A Dictionary of Quotations  
Requested from the  
Congressional Research Service

edited by **Suzy Platt**  
Congressional Reference Division



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SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN, "Of Architecture," *Parentalia; or Memoirs of the Family of the Wrens*, comp. by his son Christopher, Appendix, p. 351 (1750, reprinted 1965).

- 94** Bridges are America's cathedrals.  
Author unknown.

Arts

- 95** The more minimal the art, the more maximum the explanation.

HILTON KRAMER, *The New York Times* art critic, in the late 1960s when the term "minimal art" was in vogue.

- 96** I look forward to an America which will reward achievement in the arts as we reward achievement in business or statecraft. I look forward to an America which will steadily raise the standards of artistic accomplishment and which will steadily enlarge cultural opportunities for all of our citizens. And I look forward to an America which commands respect throughout the world not only for its strength but for its civilization as well.

President JOHN F. KENNEDY, remarks upon receiving an honorary degree, Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts, October 26, 1963.—*Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: John F. Kennedy, 1963*, p. 817.

Inscription on the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, Washington, D.C.

- 97** There is a connection, hard to explain logically but easy to feel, between achievement in public life and progress in the arts. The age of Pericles was also the age of Phidias. The age of Lorenzo de Medici was also the age of Leonardo da Vinci. The age of Elizabeth was also the age of Shakespeare. And the New Frontier for which I campaign in public life, can also be a New Frontier for American art.

Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, letter to Miss Theodate Johnson, publisher of *Musical America*, September 13, 1960.—*Musical America*, October 1960, p. 11.

Inscription on the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, Washington, D.C.

- 98** To further the appreciation of culture among all the people, to increase respect for the creative individual, to widen participation by all the processes and fulfillments of art—this is one of the fascinating challenges of these days.

President JOHN F. KENNEDY, "The Arts in America," *Look*, December 18, 1962, p. 110. Also *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: John F. Kennedy, 1962*, p. 907.

Inscription on the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, Washington, D.C.

Associations

- 99** Americans combine to give fêtes, found seminaries, build churches, distribute books, and send missionaries to the antipodes. Hospitals, prisons, and schools take shape in that way. Finally, if they want to proclaim a truth or propagate some feeling by the encouragement of a great example, they form an association. In every case, at the head of any new undertaking, where in France you would find the government or in England some territorial magnate, in the United States you are sure to find an association. I have come across several types of association in America of which, I confess, I had not previously the

## Associations

slightest conception, and I have often admired the extreme skill they show in proposing a common object for the exertions of very many and in inducing them voluntarily to pursue it.

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE, *Democracy in America*, ed. J. P. Mayer, trans. George Lawrence, vol. 2, part 2, chapter 5, pp. 513-14 (1969). Originally published in 1835-1840.

## Athenian oath

100 I will not disgrace my sacred arms  
Nor desert my comrade, wherever  
I am stationed.  
I will fight for things sacred  
And things profane.  
And both alone and with all to help me.  
I will transmit my fatherland not diminished  
But greater and better than before.  
I will obey the ruling magistrates  
Who rule reasonably  
And I will observe the established laws  
And whatever laws in the future  
May be reasonably established.  
If any person seek to overturn the laws,  
Both alone and with all to help me,  
I will oppose him.  
I will honor the religion of my fathers.  
I call to witness the Gods . . .  
The borders of my fatherland,  
The wheat, the barley, the vines,  
And the trees of the olive and the fig.

Athenian Ephebic Oath, trans. Clarence A. Forbes.—Fletcher Harper Swift, *The Athenian Ephebic Oath of Allegiance in American Schools and Colleges*, University of California Publications in Education, vol. 11, no. 1, p. 4 (1947).

"The true and exact text of the Athenian ephebic oath is no longer in doubt. In 1932, L'École Française d'Athènes discovered in the ancient Athenian deme (township) of Archarnae a fourth-century stele on which was engraved 'in dubitable letters of stone the true, ancient, authentic and official wording of the oath.'" (pp. 2-3)

"Less widely known [than the Oath of Hippocrates] but of equally surpassing nobility is the ancient Athenian oath of citizenship, dating probably from 'very early times.' Later, it was adopted as the oath to be taken by ephebi, young men of eighteen to twenty years, enrolled in the Ephebic College established in 335-334 B.C. to implement a state-supported system of military training. . . . every legitimate son of pure Athenian parentage who had reached the age of eighteen must, in order to be admitted to citizenship, be enrolled therein and undergo its two-year course of rigorous training in military and civic duties and activities." At the end of the first year each ephebus was given a spear and a shield; after receiving these arms, the ephebi took their oath. (pp. 1-2)

Adaptations of the oath, with varying translations, have been used by American colleges and universities.

**361** Let dull critics feed upon the carcasses of plays; give me the taste and the dressing.

LORD CHESTERFIELD, letter to Philip Stanhope, his natural son, February 6, 1752.—*The Letters of Philip Dormer Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield*, vol. 5, p. 1826 (1932).

**362** In the proudest nations of the Old World works were published which faithfully portrayed the vices and absurdities of contemporaries; La Bruyère lived in Louis XIV's palace while he wrote his chapter on the great, and Molière criticized the court in plays acted before the courtiers. But the power which dominates in the United States does not understand being mocked like that. The least reproach offends it, and the slightest sting of truth turns it fierce; and one must praise everything, from the turn of its phrases to its most robust virtues. No writer, no matter how famous, can escape from this obligation to sprinkle incense over his fellow citizens. Hence the majority lives in a state of perpetual self-adoration; only strangers or experience may be able to bring certain truths to the Americans' attention.

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE, *Democracy in America*, ed. J. P. Mayer, trans. George Lawrence, vol. 1, part 2, chapter 7, p. 256 (1969). Originally published in 1835–1840.

Death

**363** Show me the manner in which a nation or a community cares for its dead. I will measure exactly the sympathies of its people, their respect for the laws of the land, and their loyalty to high ideals.

Attributed to WILLIAM E. GLADSTONE.—“Successful Cemetery Advertising,” *The American Cemetery*, March 1938, p. 13. Unverified.

**364** How frighteningly few are the persons whose death would spoil our appetite and make the world seem empty.

ERIC HOFFER, “Thoughts of Eric Hoffer, Including: ‘Absolute Faith Corrupts Absolutely,’” *The New York Times Magazine*, April 25, 1971, p. 62.

**365** It is not right to glory in the slain.

HOMER, *The Odyssey of Homer*, trans. George H. Palmer, book 22, line 412, p. 288 (1929).

Another translation is: “It isn’t right to gloat over the dead.”—*Homer’s Odyssey*, trans. Denison B. Hull, p. 252 (1978).

**366** ’Tis after death that we measure men.

JAMES BARRON HOPE, “Our Heroic Dead,” *A Wreath of Virginia Bay Leaves*, ed. Janey Hope Marr, p. 71 (1895).

As commander of the camp, he addressed the Confederate veterans on their first decoration day with this poem.—Samuel A. Link, *Pioneers of Southern Literature*, vol. 2, p. 423 (1903).

**367** Sweet and glorious it is to die for our country.  
(Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.)

HORACE, *Odes*, book 3, ode 2, line 13.—*The Works of Horace*, trans. J. C. Elgood, p. 58 (1893).

## Greatness

**827** If we are to be a really great people, we must strive in good faith to play a great part in the world. We cannot avoid meeting great issues. All that we can determine for ourselves is whether we shall meet them well or ill.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, governor of New York, speech before the Hamilton Club, Chicago, Illinois, April 10, 1899.—*The Strenuous Life* (vol. 13 of *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt*, national ed.), chapter 1, p. 322 (1926).

**828** In my stars I am above thee, but be not afraid of greatness. Some are born great, some achieve greatness, and some have greatness thrust upon 'em.

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, *Twelfth Night*, act II, scene v, lines 155–59. Malvolio is speaking.

**829** I sought for the greatness and genius of America in her commodious harbors and her ample rivers—and it was not there . . . in her fertile fields and boundless forests—and it was not there . . . in her rich mines and her vast world commerce—and it was not there . . . in her democratic Congress and her matchless Constitution—and it was not there. Not until I went into the churches of America and heard her pulpits flame with righteousness did I understand the secret of her genius and power. America is great because she is good, and if America ever ceases to be good, America will cease to be great.

Attributed to ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE by Dwight D. Eisenhower in his final campaign address in Boston, Massachusetts, November 3, 1952. Unverified.

The last two sentences are attributed to de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* by Sherwood Eddy, *The Kingdom of God and the American Dream*, chapter 1, p. 6 (1941). This appears with minor variations in *A Third Treasury of the Familiar*, ed. Ralph L. Woods, p. 347 (1970), as "attributed to de Tocqueville but not found in his works."

**830** This is the bare chronology of as great an American as ever lived. Ten thousand pages would be required to fill in the full story of his talents, his genius and his impact upon the foundation of America. He was ever the subject of white-heat controversy—in death even as in life. But for myself, summing it all up, I say that five words might be his epitaph: THE REPUBLIC IS HIS MONUMENT.

Senator ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, "Story of Alexander Hamilton as Told by Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg," *The Sons of the American Revolution Magazine*, February 1950, p. 9. Also *Congressional Record*, February 24, 1950, vol. 96, Appendix, p. A1378.

**831** There was never a nation great until it came to the knowledge that it had nowhere in the world to go for help.

CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER, "Comments on Canada," section 3, *Studies in the South and West with Comments on Canada*, p. 483 (1889).

## Greed

**832** We find greedy men, blind with the lust for money, trafficking in human misery.

Attorney General THOMAS C. CLARK, address before the Boston Chamber of Commerce, Boston, Massachusetts, October 8, 1947.—*Boston Business*, November 1947, p. 16.

**833** what man calls civilization  
always results in deserts

12255  
T. T. 37  
188  
WM

# TOCQUEVILLE

## *A Biography*



ANDRÉ JARDIN

*Translated from the French by Lydia Davis  
with Robert Hemenway*

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*Farrar Straus Giroux  
New York*

without routines, without shared ideas, without a national character, a hundred times happier than our own," a republic, grounded upon the private interest of each citizen,<sup>30</sup> "very different from the republics of ancient times," was probably the most suitable form of government.

We have lost one letter that Tocqueville sent by way of his mother to his favorite confidant, Louis de Kergorlay. But a short text preserved in his notebooks and dated May 18 could well be the fragment of a copy. Here Tocqueville notes: "Up to now, I haven't been roused to enthusiasm by anything I've seen because I know it's due more to the nature of things than to the will of man."<sup>31</sup> Clearly he was also offended by the "stinking" American arrogance; he was just as sensitive as the English travelers to a certain crudeness of manners illustrated by the fact that people would chew tobacco or spit during a conversation, or the demagogical habit of shaking hands with everyone and his brother.<sup>32</sup> On a deeper level, the Americans' exclusive love of profit and absence of interest in literature and the fine arts (which he exaggerated a little) made it difficult for him to feel a spontaneous sympathy for America.

Aside from this, from his very first days there, Tocqueville was impressed by the spectacle of the free activity of the Americans. In the fragment of the letter to Kergorlay from which we quoted the reservations he had about the American way of life, he adds: "The spectacle I have before my eyes is nonetheless an immense spectacle . . . Here, mankind's freedom acts in all the fullness of its power, and its energy is fed by everything that is useful to each person without harming anyone." In truth, Tocqueville had been induced to come to America much more by a profoundly uneasy desire to attempt to predict whether future societies would be capable of preserving mankind's freedom than by the project of observing how the American institutions operated. Certain of the defects that were so evident in American society—even the pride at being a part of it—might simply be the other side of the love of freedom. And couldn't this freedom, instead of resulting in an instinct for anarchy, induce a reasoned patriotism, a permanent foundation for the State's existence?

One event seemed to provide him with an answer. The two friends had left New York for the modest state capital of Albany to consult some administrative archives. They happened to be there on July 4 and because they were close to the seat of the government of the state of

good  
FYI

<sup>30</sup>Unpublished letter to Chabrol dated June 9, 1831.

<sup>31</sup>O.C. XIII, 1: 224.

<sup>32</sup>See White, "American Manners in 1830."

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all social needs. Man, thus accustomed to seek his well-being only through his own efforts, raises himself in his own opinion as he does in the opinion of others; his soul becomes larger and stronger at the same time.<sup>8</sup>

There were only two kinds of societies that dispensed with government, and they stood at the two extremes of civilization: primitive societies in which man is content with the satisfaction of his elementary needs, and very highly developed societies in which man, discovering that there are improvements to be made in society, calls for the willing collaboration of his fellow men, which presupposes "that he should have arrived at the social state in which his intellect allows him to have a clear perception of what is useful to him."

The key to this social state was a high level of education among the people as a whole. As Joseph Coolidge had said to him, Americans were the best educated in the world; here no one doubted, as some did in Europe, the usefulness of popular education. Tocqueville added a number of questions to his list; they concerned the freedom of teachers in the schools and the degree to which individual communities had a role in establishing the curriculum.

Popular education did not run the same risk it did in Europe, of producing an embittered people hostile to society, since society was too mobile and had no clearly demarcated classes—though Tocqueville did not use that phrase. Most important, American education remained Christian and conformed to the moral norm that regulated American society.

"[Here] everyone takes it for granted that education will be moral and religious. There would be a general outcry, a kind of popular uprising against anyone who tried to introduce a contrary system, and everyone would say that it would be better to have no education at all than an education of that sort. It is from the Bible that all our children learn to read," the minister Louis Dwight told Tocqueville.<sup>9</sup> Tocqueville thought that the American civic sense was based on the religious spirit, which called for both pure morals and the performance of civic duties. Whence the interest he showed in the country's religious evolution. Of course there were conflicts among the different sects, sometimes bitter ones, but the differences over dogma existed within a system of morality that was held in common. And Tocqueville thought that this morality would remain intact while religion in

<sup>8</sup>O.C. V, 1: 89.  
<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 85.

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*Alexis de Tocqueville*

SELECTED LETTERS  
ON POLITICS AND SOCIETY

Edited by Roger Boesche

Translated by James Toupin

and Roger Boesche

University of California Press  
Berkeley Los Angeles London

Besides, change seems to him the natural state of man, and how could it be otherwise? Everything is ceaselessly astir around him—laws, opinions, public officials, fortunes—the earth itself here changes its face every day. In the midst of the universal movement that surrounds him, the American could not stay still.

One must not look here either for that family spirit, or for those ancient traditions of honor and virtue, that distinguish so eminently several of our old societies of Europe. A people that seems to live only to enrich itself could not be a virtuous people in the strict meaning of the word; but it is *well ordered*. All of the trifles that cling to idle riches it does not have: its habits are regular, there is little or no time to devote to women, and they seem to be valued only as mothers of families and managers of households. Mores are pure; this is incontestable. The *roué* of Europe is absolutely unknown in America; the passion for making a fortune carries away and dominates all others.

You are sensing that everything I am telling you is approximate. I have been in this country such a very short time. But I have already had a multitude of opportunities for educating myself. My father undoubtedly told you that we had been received here with the utmost in good will. Not only have we encountered the greatest support among the people in office, but all the private homes have been opened to us and, if we have anything to complain about, it is the multitude of social obligations that the eagerness of our hosts imposes on us.

Living this way from morning to night with men belonging to all classes of society, speaking the language badly, but understanding it well enough so that little escapes us, having moreover an inordinate desire to understand, we are well enough placed to learn quickly. However, take all that I have just told you as only first impressions, which one day I will perhaps modify.

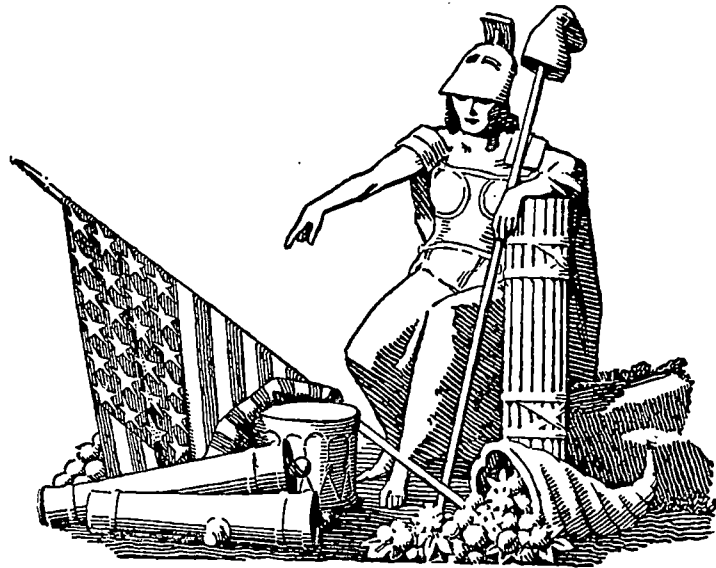
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Democracy  
IN AMERICA  
By ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE

THE HENRY REEVE TEXT  
AS REVISED BY FRANCIS BOWEN  
NOW FURTHER CORRECTED AND EDITED  
WITH INTRODUCTION, EDITORIAL NOTES,  
AND BIBLIOGRAPHIES BY  
PHILLIPS BRADLEY



Volume II

1989 ALFRED A. KNOPF NEW YORK

## Chapter XI

### HOW EQUALITY OF CONDITION CONTRIBUTES TO MAINTAIN GOOD MORALS IN AMERICA<sup>1</sup>

SOME philosophers and historians have said or hinted that the strictness of female morality was increased or diminished simply by the distance of a country from the equator. This solution of the difficulty was an easy one, and nothing was required but a globe and a pair of compasses to settle in an instant one of the most difficult problems in the condition of mankind. But I am not sure that this principle of the materialists is supported by facts. The same nations have been chaste or dissolute at different periods of their history; the strictness or the laxity of their morals depended, therefore, on some variable cause and not alone on the natural qualities of their country, which were invariable. I do not deny that in certain climates the passions which are occasioned by the mutual attraction of the sexes are peculiarly intense, but I believe that this natural intensity may always be excited or restrained by the condition of society and by political institutions.

Although the travelers who have visited North America differ on many points, they all agree in remarking that morals are far more strict there than elsewhere. It is evident that on this point the Americans are very superior to their progenitors, the English. A superficial glance at the two nations will establish the fact.

In England, as in all other countries of Europe, public malice is constantly attacking the frailties of women. Philosophers and statesmen are heard to deplore that morals are not sufficiently strict, and the literary productions of the country constantly lead one to suppose so. In America all books, novels not excepted, suppose women to be chaste, and no one thinks of relating affairs of gallantry.

No doubt this great regularity of American morals is due in part to qualities of country, race, and religion, but all these causes, which operate elsewhere, do not suffice to account for it; recourse

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix V.

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must be had to some special reason. This reason appears to me to be the principle of equality and the institutions derived from it. Equality of condition does not of itself produce regularity of morals, but it unquestionably facilitates and increases it.

Among aristocratic nations birth and fortune frequently make two such different beings of man and woman that they can never be united to each other. Their passions draw them together, but the condition of society and the notions suggested by it prevent them from contracting a permanent and ostensible tie. The necessary consequence is a great number of transient and clandestine connections. Nature secretly avenges herself for the constraint imposed upon her by the laws of man.

This is not so much the case when the equality of conditions has swept away all the imaginary or the real barriers that separated man from woman. No girl then believes that she cannot become the wife of the man who loves her, and this renders all breaches of morality before marriage very uncommon; for, whatever be the credulity of the passions, a woman will hardly be able to persuade herself that she is beloved when her lover is perfectly free to marry her and does not.

The same cause operates, though more indirectly, on married life. Nothing better serves to justify an illicit passion, either to the minds of those who have conceived it or to the world which looks on, than marriages made by compulsion or chance.<sup>2</sup>

In a country in which a woman is always free to exercise her choice and where education has prepared her to choose rightly, public opinion is inexorable to her faults. The rigor of the Americans arises in part from this cause. They consider marriage as a covenant which is often onerous, but every condition of which the parties are strictly bound to fulfill because they knew all those

<sup>2</sup> The literature of Europe sufficiently corroborates this remark. When a European author wishes to depict in a work of fiction any of those great catastrophes in matrimony which so frequently occur among us, he assures himself, in advance, of the compassion of the reader by bringing before him ill-assorted or compulsory marriages. Although habitual tolerance has long since relaxed our morals, an author could hardly succeed in interesting us in the misfortunes of his characters if he did not first excuse their faults. This artifice seldom fails; the daily scenes we witness prepare us beforehand to be indulgent. But American writers could never render these excuses credible to their readers; their customs and laws are opposed to it; and as they despair of rendering levity of conduct pleasing, they cease to depict it. This is one of the causes to which must be attributed the small number of novels published in the United States.

*Democracy in America*

vices. There are certain propensities which appear censurable to the general reason and the universal conscience of mankind, but which happen to agree with the peculiar and temporary wants of the American community: these propensities are lightly reproved, sometimes even encouraged; for instance, the love of wealth and the secondary propensities connected with it may be more particularly cited. To clear, to till, and to transform the vast uninhabited continent which is his domain, the American requires the daily support of an energetic passion; that passion can only be the love of wealth; the passion for wealth is therefore not reprobated in America, and, provided it does not go beyond the bounds assigned to it for public security, it is held in honor. The American lauds as a noble and praiseworthy ambition what our own forefathers in the Middle Ages stigmatized as servile cupidity, just as he treats as a blind and barbarous frenzy that ardor of conquest and martial temper which bore them to battle.

In the United States fortunes are lost and regained without difficulty; the country is boundless and its resources inexhaustible. The people have all the wants and cravings of a growing creature; and, whatever be their efforts, they are always surrounded by more than they can appropriate. It is not the ruin of a few individuals, which may be soon repaired, but the inactivity and sloth of the community at large that would be fatal to such a people. Boldness of enterprise is the foremost cause of its rapid progress, its strength, and its greatness. Commercial business is there like a vast lottery, by which a small number of men continually lose, but the state is always a gainer; such a people ought therefore to encourage and do honor to boldness in commercial speculations. But any bold speculation risks the fortune of the speculator and of all those who put their trust in him. The Americans, who make a virtue of commercial temerity, have no right in any case to brand with disgrace those who practice it. Hence arises the strange indulgence that is shown to bankrupts in the United States; their honor does not suffer by such an accident. In this respect the Americans differ, not only from the nations of Europe, but from all the commercial nations of our time; and accordingly they resemble none of them in their position or their wants.

In America all those vices that tend to impair the purity of morals and to destroy the conjugal tie are treated with a degree of severity unknown in the rest of the world. At first sight this seems

*Of Honor in the United States*

strangely at variance with the tolerance shown there on other subjects, and one is surprised to meet with a morality so relaxed and also so austere among the selfsame people. But these things are less incoherent than they seem to be. Public opinion in the United States very gently represses that love of wealth which promotes the commercial greatness and the prosperity of the nation, and it especially condemns that laxity of morals which diverts the human mind from the pursuit of well-being and disturbs the internal order of domestic life which is so necessary to success in business. To earn the esteem of their countrymen, the Americans are therefore forced to adapt themselves to orderly habits; and it may be said in this sense that they make it a matter of honor to live chastely.

On one point American honor accords with the notions of honor acknowledged in Europe; it places courage as the highest virtue and treats it as the greatest of the moral necessities of man; but the notion of courage itself assumes a different aspect. In the United States martial valor is but little prized; the courage which is best known and most esteemed is that which emboldens men to brave the dangers of the ocean in order to arrive earlier in port, to support the privations of the wilderness without complaint, and solitude more cruel than privations, the courage which renders them almost insensible to the loss of a fortune laboriously acquired and instantly prompts to fresh exertions to make another. Courage of this kind is peculiarly necessary to the maintenance and prosperity of the American communities, and it is held by them in peculiar honor and estimation; to betray a want of it is to incur certain disgrace.

I have yet another characteristic point which may serve to place the idea of this chapter in stronger relief. In a democratic society like that of the United States, where fortunes are scanty and insecure, everybody works, and work opens a way to everything; this has changed the point of honor quite around and has turned it against idleness. I have sometimes met in America with young men of wealth, personally disinclined to all laborious exertion, but who had been compelled to embrace a profession. Their disposition and their fortune allowed them to remain without employment; public opinion forbade it, too imperiously to be disobeyed. In the European countries, on the contrary, where aristocracy is still struggling with the flood which overwhelms it, I have often

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the angular features and lank England. It is evident that this which we have found him: his now that his earlier years were ety and that he belongs to that us race of men who do with the accounted for by the ardor of f savages for a time in order to ls.

at we were crossing his thresh- e hands, as is their custom; but opened the conversation by in- world; and when his curiosity if he were tired of the noise and e questioned him in our turn, he ed; he then attended sedulously, ts. While he was engaged in pro- l it happen that, in spite of our- on our lips? It is that our host, ospitality, seems to be obeying a he treats it as a duty imposed a pleasure.

t woman with a baby on her lap; g herself. Like the pioneer, this er appearance seems superior to ven betrays a lingering taste for pear shrunken, her features are ancholy; her whole physiognomy ion, a deep quiet of all passions, nquil firmness, ready to meet all d without braving them.

er, full of health, turbulence, and of the wilderness. Their mother with mingled melancholy and joy: languor, one might imagine that exhausted her own, and still she cost her.

se emigrants has no internal par-

Appendix I

tition or loft. In the one chamber of which it consists the whole family is gathered for the night. The dwelling is itself a little world, an ark of civilization amid an ocean of foliage: a hundred steps beyond it the primeval forest spreads its shades, and solitude resumes its sway."

APPENDIX V. — Vol. II, p. 204

It is not the equality of condition that makes men immoral and irreligious; but when men, being equal, are also immoral and irreligious, the effects of immorality and irreligion more easily manifest themselves, because men have but little influence over each other, and no class exists which can undertake to keep society in order. Equality of condition never creates profligacy of morals, but it sometimes allows that profligacy to show itself.

APPENDIX W. — Vol. II, p. 225

Aside from all those who do not think at all and those who dare not say what they think, the immense majority of Americans will still be found to appear satisfied with their political institutions; and I believe they really are so. I look on this state of public opinion as an indication, but not as a proof, of the absolute excellence of American laws. National pride, the gratification, by legislation, of certain ruling passions, fortuitous circumstances, unperceived defects, and, more than all the rest, the influence of the majority which shuts the mouth of all opponents, may long perpetuate the delusions of a people as well as those of a man.

Look at England throughout the eighteenth century. No nation was ever more prodigal of self-applause, no people were ever better satisfied with themselves; then every part of their constitution was right, everything, even to its most obvious defects, was irproachable. At the present day a vast number of Englishmen seem to be occupied only in proving that this constitution was faulty in a thousand respects. Which was right, the English people of the last century, or the English people of the present day?

The same thing occurred in France. It is certain that, during the reign of Louis XIV the great bulk of the nation was devotedly at-

Executive Office of the President

91 OCT 3 <sup>066705</sup> Office of Legislative Affairs

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FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL SHEET

NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER 2

DATE 10-3-91

TO Nancy

FAX NUMBER \_\_\_\_\_

OFFICE NUMBER \_\_\_\_\_

COMMENTS Invitation for Religious Alliance.

FROM Jim

FAX NUMBER \_\_\_\_\_

OFFICE NUMBER \_\_\_\_\_

\* This is the insert for the Presidential Remarks for the Religious Alliance Against Pornography. Look in accompanying text for indicator (pg 2)

FROM: Jack Howard

★ In the next couple of weeks, the House of Representatives will consider what the Democratic Leadership calls a crime bill. Sadly, rather than a call to arms in the war against crime, their bill maps out a retreat from our current law. The bill handcuffs police and prosecutors in their efforts to fight crime, not the criminals who commit the crimes. Their bill deals more compassionately with everyone but the victims of crime.

I need your help in turning the bill around. Amendments will be offered that call for habeas corpus reform and impose tougher death penalty sentences. Others will reform the exclusionary rule, so more evidence to convict criminals can be used in court. Call your Representatives today and demand that they support my crime bill so we drive the hoods and criminals from our streets, and law abiding citizens can reclaim their neighborhoods.

But let me add: our prosecutors need more help in prosecuting sexual violence and child abuse cases -- that's why the Administration's crime bill includes new provisions to protect women and children from violence and abuse.

Our crime bill is tough. It limits the chances of a violent criminal getting released on the basis of legal technicalities. It imposes strong sentences on drug traffickers and violent felons who use semi-automatic weapons. And for certain heinous crimes, it establishes an enforceable federal death penalty.

We need a tough crime bill -- our crime bill -- from the Congress. <sup>ATP</sup> But we also need something more ... for the federal system cannot stand alone. The legislative branch can pass strong laws, and the executive branch can present cases for prosecution in the courts -- but the rest lies in the hands of decent men and women in the jury room, chosen at random to represent their community. We've piled up convictions ... because of juries casting votes on the side of community standards -- and standing on the side of our neighborhoods, our families, and our children.

Without the commitment of religious and community leaders like yourselves, we wouldn't be winning this battle. Let me leave you with this challenge: Keep up the good fight. Continue to educate Americans about the threat that obscenity and child pornography pose to our Nation. Together, we can build a better world for our children.

Thank you very much and God bless each and every one of you.

# # #

91 OCT 2 P2:41

CHILD EXPLOITATION AND OBSCENITY SECTION  
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CRIMINAL DIVISION  
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WASHINGTON, DC 20530

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COMM FAX: 202-514-1793  
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COMM: 202-514-5780 *tel*

TO Lugh Ann Metzger

DESTINATION'S FAX 456-6218

DESTINATION'S PHONE \_\_\_\_\_

AGENCY \_\_\_\_\_

FROM Pat Trueman PAT TRUEMAN

# OF PAGES FAXED \_\_\_\_\_

MESSAGE I sent this to Mary Kate Grant at her request.

What do you think?

I have some ~~other~~ other thoughts

PLEASE CALL TO VERIFY RECEIPT, THANKS!

I want to repeat what I have said before on this issue: Obscenity and child pornography prosecution is a top priority of this Administration and of this President. I also want you to know that it will remain as long as I have the privilege of holding this office.

Your presence today is representative of something each of us in this room cares deeply about: the well-being of our communities, our families and our children. We have no more important responsibility than ensuring a better world for our children and grandchildren. It is clear that Americans feel passionately that illegal pornography is not a part of that better world.

The sexual exploitation and degradation of another human being is never an acceptable form of "entertainment". Yet, that is exactly the message that is sent by hardcore and child pornography. Pornography gives children a distorted view of sexuality. It abuses, degrades and insults both men and women. It robs anyone exposed to it of the highest values in our nature.

Those who elevate hardcore pornography to one of the "blessings of liberty" under the Constitution send an invidious message: that pornography is all right. Nothing could be further from the truth. Obscenity and child pornography have never been protected by the First Amendment -- the Supreme Court has been clear about this in every decision over the last 30 years.

I want to remind everyone of one of the basics of our federal system. Congress passes laws and the executive branch presents cases for prosecution within the forum of the judicial branch - but one thing we can never forget: it is a jury chosen at random from the community that determines guilt or innocence. And what we have seen over and over is that the democratic process, juries casting their votes which determine community standards of obscenity, is resulting in conviction upon conviction. To fail to understand these principles allows obscenity businesses to vitiate a communities right of self government. This we can never allow. On the same note, I am encouraged by news that some family video rental businesses, including some of the big ones, have said no pornography and will not bring obscenity into their community.

We have made tremendous progress in our efforts over the past five years. Because of the federal leadership in this area we are now winning the battle. Project Postporn which is a good example which virtually eliminated the major mailorder obscenity businesses in our nation. I assure you that the FBI and the United States Attorneys fully support this Administration initiative.

As part of my Administration's efforts, former Attorney

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General Thornburgh upgraded the obscenity prosecution team to a full and permanent section within the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice. We have a full-court press on the major producers ....And am confident that the next Attorney General will have a similar commitment to the efforts of the Child Exploitation and Obscenity Section within the Department of Justice.

In this battle we are now able to go head-to-head in any jurisdiction in the country against the tremendous legal resources of pornography kingpins -- and we are doing exactly that. The Department of Justice has obtained major indictments over the last six months against some of the largest producers and distributors in the country.

Let me summarize the recent accomplishments of Department of Justice efforts in the last three months:

There have been major convictions in four cities - Dallas, Birmingham, Tallahassee, and Concord (New Hampshire) on obscenity charges. In Dallas, perhaps the largest Los Angeles distributor and its owners were convicted of obscenity charges. The jury verdict on assets for forfeiture to the United States is over \$10 million.

Indictments against major Los Angeles producers and distributors of obscene materials have been returned in Phoenix, Yakima (Washington), Mobile, and Oxford (Mississippi).

[add updates to include now through speech date]

This success would not have been possible without the experienced team of prosecutors within the Child Exploitation and Obscenity Section and the United State Attorneys. And I might add here a complement to the continued efforts of the Postal Inspections Service, The FBI, and the U.S. Customs Service.

You have applauded our efforts, now I want to applaud your efforts to organize and make a difference.

Without the involvement of citizen groups and religious and community leaders these successes would not be possible. Our law enforcement efforts standing alone are not enough. I want to challenge each of you to continue to educate about the harm that pornography can do. With each of us doing our part, the better world for our children will be a reality.

# RELIGIOUS ALLIANCE AGAINST PORNOGRAPHY

DR. JERRY R. KIRK, CHAIRMAN  
JOSEPH CARDINAL BERNARDIN, VICE-CHAIRMAN

May 30, 1991

The Honorable George W. Bush  
President, United States of America  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We are writing you on behalf of the Religious Alliance Against Pornography (RAAP), the Business & Professional Leader's Council and the National Women's Leadership Task Force (NWLTF) to request that you provide the opening keynote address to our 1991 National Conference in Washington, D.C. on the evening of October 9.

We would be grateful for your attendance and believe it would send a strong signal to the public that eliminating illegal obscenity and child pornography remains a high priority of your Administration. Each of our united networks is a mainstream alliance of concerned citizens. We share a deep common respect for the law and the First Amendment.

The Religious Alliance Against Pornography was formed in 1986. Our RAAP membership includes the top leaders of nearly 50 denominations, faith groups and inter-faith organizations (see enclosures). RAAP leaders serve over 100 million citizens.

The Business and Professional Leader's Council and National Women's Leadership Task Force have both been formed with the same objective as RAAP: reducing sexual victimization by eliminating illegal and child pornography. We have chosen a narrow focus of illegal material around which to build a broad base of citizen and leadership support.

Mr. President, we are thankful for the firm commitment you expressed to us in our private meeting on September 25, 1990: "Obscenity and child pornography prosecution is a top priority of this Administration and of this President." We are also thankful for the enthusiasm you expressed at addressing our 1991 National Conference. The nation needs your encouragement as it fights this difficult problem and a well-entrenched opponent.

We believe our 1991 National Conference on October 9-10, 1991 is an opportune time for you to draw the nation's attention to our collective need to combat illegal pornography, sexual violence and exploitation of women, children and families. Past speakers at our bi-annual national conference have included Chief Justice Warren Burger, Attorney General Thornburgh, Mrs. Susan Baker and Dr. James Mason.

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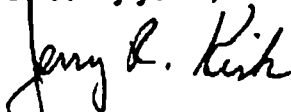
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Task Force, National Coalition Against  
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General Overseer, The Church of God  
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Secretary, North America Fellowship  
Baptist World Alliance  
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DR. JERRY R. KIRK  
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DR. RICHARD LAND  
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Christian Life Commission  
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Executive Secretary, General Board  
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REVEREND DR. EILEEN W. LINDNER  
Associate General Secretary  
National Council of Churches  
CHIEF JOHN MARACLE  
Chief, North American  
Native Christian Council  
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Bishop of Southern California  
Church of God in Christ  
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DR. BILLY MELVIN  
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COMMISSIONER ANDREW S. MILLER  
The Salvation Army, Retired

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President George Bush  
May 30, 1991

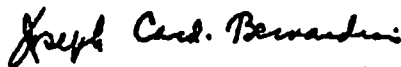
The month of October also includes Pornography Awareness Week; millions of citizens will be displaying white ribbons to indicate their determination and support. The conference gathering of the religious, business and women leaders provides a unique opportunity for us to collectively express our support for your Administration's efforts. We plan on presenting you with over 500,000 citizen petitions in support of your efforts in this area.

Mr. President, we are deeply thankful for your leadership of our country and pray regularly for God's help as you face the many concerns and responsibilities of the Presidency.

Sincerely yours,



Dr. Jerry R. Kirk  
Chairman, RAAP



Joseph Cardinal Bernardin  
Vice-Chairman, RAAP



Sarah Blanken  
Chairperson, NWLTF



Marvin D. Heaps  
Chairman, Business Leader's Council

cc: Governor John Sununu  
Mr. Roger Porter  
Ms. Cathy Super  
Ms. Leigh Ann Metzger

Enclosures

# RELIGIOUS ALLIANCE AGAINST PORNOGRAPHY

As religious leaders, we believe in the inherent dignity of each human being. Created in God's image and likeness, the human person is the clearest reflection of God's presence among us. Because human life is sacred, we all have a duty to develop the kind of societal environment that protects and fosters its development. This is why we address a broad range of life threatening and life diminishing issues. These assaults on human life and dignity are all distinct, each requiring its own moral analysis and solution. But they must be confronted as elements of a larger picture.

The purpose of RAAP is to bring into clear focus a major factor in the assault on human dignity and the consequent dehumanization that it promotes: hard-core and child pornography. This concern brought us together following the release of the Report of the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography. *We are in unanimous agreement that hard-core and child pornography, which are not protected by the Constitution, are evils which must be eliminated.*

As religious leaders, our primary responsibility is to teach and to motivate. We can and must help people understand the moral dimensions of the problem of hard-core and child pornography and what their responsibility is in this regard, while fully respecting freedom of expression guaranteed by the First Amendment. In particular, we wish to make it clear that *we do not and will not advocate censorship*. Our understanding of censorship implies actions being taken against materials which are protected by the First Amendment.

As teachers, we will do all in our power to proclaim the truth of human dignity and freedom, and to promote the God-given human values needed for the moral health of our society. Given the information and motivation, people will do what is necessary to affect public policy.

The membership of RAAP, representing a broad spectrum of America's religious community, is an indication of the seriousness of the problem and our commitment to addressing it. This represents the beginning of an ongoing process which will facilitate greater cooperation on this vital issue among religious bodies.

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National Conference of  
Christians and Jews

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Archdiocese of North and South America  
BISHOP PHILIP OF DAPHNOUSIA  
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• REVEREND MILTON B. EFTHIMIOU  
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Archbishop of Chicago

HIS EMINENCE JOHN CARDINAL KROL  
Archbishop of Philadelphia, Retired

HIS EMINENCE BERNARD CARDINAL LAW  
Archbishop of Boston

HIS EMINENCE  
JOHN CARDINAL O'CONNOR  
Archbishop of New York

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Archbishop of Los Angeles

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• MR. BRUCE OLSEN  
Managing Director, Public Affairs

• EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

# NATIONAL WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP TASK FORCE

The National Women's Leadership Task Force, in partnership with the National Coalition Against Pornography and the Religious Alliance Against Pornography, mobilizes and equips women to eliminate child pornography and to remove illegal pornography from the open market.

## Supportive Concepts:

We are women of faith who have prayerfully come together to commit ourselves to the preservation and enhancement of human dignity.

We are women united in commitment to the task of eradicating child pornography and illegal pornography from our nation and our world.

We are concerned citizens who serve as business executives, church leaders, community leaders, educators, and government officials living in a society where illegal pornography degrades and dehumanizes women, destroys children, and corrupts men, those caught up in addiction and those exploited.

We are women focused on the goals of protecting ourselves, our families, our neighborhoods, and our communities by raising awareness that child pornography and other illegal pornography promotes sexual violence and victimization of children, women, men and families; developing regional and community task forces across America called WIN groups; and working with the Religious Alliance Against Pornography and National Coalition Against Pornography to influence local, state and federal governments. We encourage networking and/or joining with other decency organizations wherever feasible.

We are women who care and will encourage other women of diverse religious persuasions and philosophical motivations to join us in the challenge of freeing our nation from sexual abuse and degrading

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