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present. He gave the Spanish church the orthodox direction that was to characterize its future. The entire hierarchy followed his example and professed the orthodox faith.

These councils provide complete information of the Spanish church during its formative, Visigothic period. The councils insisted on clerical celibacy and imposed penalties on those who neglected it. They also settled disputes about the mutual rights of church and state.

PHILIP F. MULHERN, O.P.
St. Mary's Priory, New Haven, Conn.

TOLEDO Y FIGUEROA, tō-lā'thō ē fē-gā-rō'ā, **Francisco Alvarez de** (1515–1582), Spanish viceroy of Peru from 1569 to 1581. Born in Oropesa, Spain, on July 10, 1515, Toledo served in the personal (patrimonial) government of Charles V but held no office under Philip II until the extensive administrative reorganization of the Spanish empire in 1568.

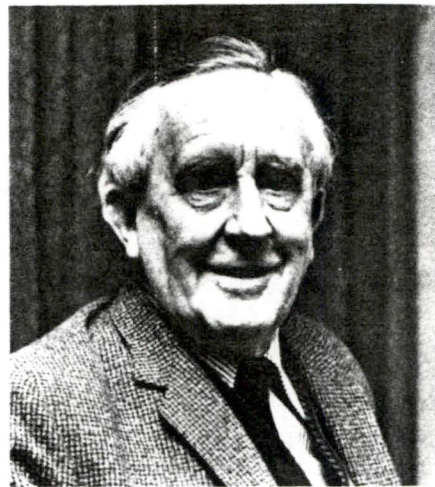
The Great Council that reformed the Council of the Indies (*Consejo de Indias*) also instructed Toledo in the laws and decrees for Peru. After a five-year inspection of the territory, he introduced reforms related to administration, finance, and police. By resettling the Indians in towns, he placed their taxes and labor services under the control of royal officials. He broke the power of the estate landholders (*encomenderos*) and restored viceregal authority. In 1576 he reorganized the University of San Marcos in Lima. After trouble between the Spanish and the Incas, Toledo unjustly executed the rebel Inca, Tupac Amaru. He returned to Spain in 1581 under criticism and died on April 21, 1582.

BENJAMIN F. ZIMDARS
Mary Washington College

TOLERATION ACT, the Act of 1689 passed in England during the reign of William and Mary, granting religious dissenters freedom of worship with certain conditions. Dissenters were allowed to maintain places of worship and to appoint their own ministers. However, they were required to swear allegiance to the crown, and their ministers had to sign the Thirty-nine Articles, with the exception of the two that refer to infant baptism. Quakers were allowed to make an affirmation instead of an oath. Roman Catholics and those who did not believe in the Trinity were not covered by the act.

The purpose of the act was to secure unity among English Protestants against a possible threat of a return of the deposed King James II, a Roman Catholic. Political disqualifications were not removed by the act, and dissenters were not allowed to hold public office until the Occasional Conformity Act of 1711.

TOLKIEN, tol'kēn, **John Ronald Reuel** (1892–1973), English scholar and writer, who is best known for the fanciful trilogy *The Lord of the Rings* (1954–1955) and its prelude *The Hobbit* (1937). He was born in Bloemfontein, South Africa, on Jan. 3, 1892. Tolkien grew up in England and, after graduation from Oxford in 1915, served in World War I and taught at the University of Leeds before returning to Oxford, where he was a professor of Anglo-Saxon and of English language and literature until his retirement in 1959. He died in Bournemouth, England, on Sept. 2, 1973.



J. R. R. Tolkien

Works such as an edition of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (1925; 2d ed., 1968) and the critical study *Beowulf: The Monsters and the Critics* (1936) established Tolkien's reputation as a scholar. But it was through his fiction—notably *The Hobbit* and the trilogy *The Lord of the Rings*, based on a mythology of his own creation—that Tolkien became widely known. Other works include essays, poems, and a play. Another mythological romance, *The Silmarillion*, was published posthumously in 1977.

Tolkien's popular works reflect his delight in real and imaginary languages, myths, and legends. Many of his heroes are questers, who undertake perilous journeys that result in their own moral growth and in restored health in their lands. Such a quester was the "hobbit" Frodo Baggins—a genial creature resembling both an English countryman and a rabbit. The intricate *Lord of the Rings* tells of a cosmic war between good and evil, in which the forces of good, through suffering and sacrifice, destroy a terrible ring of power and bring harmony to all creation.

CATHARINE R. STIMPSON,
Barnard College

TOLL ROADS are roads maintained wholly or in part by fees (tolls) collected from users. The tolls were collected in early times at barriers across the road in the form of turnstiles, often consisting of four pointed sticks called turnpikes. These were later replaced by tollgates. The roads were maintained and often built by a corporation—in the United States, usually a private corporation that had been chartered by the state.

History. Toll roads originated in England in 1346 and reached their high point there in the early 19th century. Toll roads did not appear in America until after the Revolution—in Virginia in 1785 and in Pennsylvania and Connecticut in 1792. They were built in response to the needs of urban business interests, particularly in sparsely settled rural areas where good roads could not be maintained through taxation.

The great era for toll road construction was 1790–1810. These roads were used until the 1840's. Over 170 turnpike companies were orga-

nized in New York, investing more than \$10 million (4,800 km) of toll roads were built. The New York Turnpike from New York City to Albany was 62 miles (100 km) long and cost \$7,500 per mile.

The cost of building toll roads was high. The cost of building the New York Turnpike from New York City to Albany was \$10,000 per mile. The number of toll roads was small, but the large sums, the pioneering in the transportation. Toll roads led to the growth of the transportation. Toll roads also led to increased economic development.

Limitations. Toll roads were an economic advantage. Toll roads were a good part of the success in moving goods. Toll roads were not successful except on short distances. Toll roads were a failure in heavy industrial areas. Toll roads were an economic point, but they were too expensive to build. Toll roads were not a yield further progress. Toll roads were not a road, it became feasible only in certain areas.

Revival. The revival of toll roads was seen in Pennsylvania Turnpike for superhighways. Toll roads were a failure as a federal system began in the 1950s.

TOLLER, tōl'ər, expressionist dramatist. Toller was born in the generation of writers who combine literature and politics. Toller was born in Poland on Dec. 1, 1893. Toller joined the army, but was discharged in 1915. Toller was a long enemy of war. Toller was in the army for reasons of conscience. Toller went to Munich, where he was involved in the Revolution of 1919. Toller was the Bavarian Soviet Republic (April 7–14) in 1919. Toller was imprisoned from 1919 to 1921. Toller was in political causes. Toller was in power, he went to the United States in exile he was in New York City and gave many lectures in New York City.

Toller's reputation was established by his play *Wandlung* (1919) and *Drums, Drums, Drums* (1922), and most of which deal largely with social revolution. Toller's change in human nature of the dramas are marked despair.

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under the crown. The royal supremacy, however, was no longer proclaimed in the old terms of the "supreme headship" of the monarch. Elizabeth was content to be "the only supreme governor of this realm." Her authority was perhaps as great as that of her father, but her ambiguous definition and restrained use of it made it acceptable to many Roman Catholics. Conciliation was the pivot of the Queen's ecclesiastical policy. She was determined to win the loyalty of all her subjects to a settlement that she hoped would provide a national spiritual unity. This settlement demanded a comprehensiveness in which the essentials of Christian faith and practice as they had been known for centuries would be retained, and yet the gains of the Reformation would be allowed to link English Christianity with the Christianity of the early church.

Elizabeth's settlement embodied the Anglican synthesis. The Prayer Book, in which the traditional structure of the church's worship was still enshrined—the faith of the ancient creeds, the centrality of the sacraments, and the preservation of the three orders of ministry in apostolic succession—ensured continuity with the essentials of Catholicism. On the reformed side, room was made for insights from the Christian learning of the Renaissance. The Bible was the source of all doctrine to be believed for salvation, and the interpretation of the Scriptures was to be, as the Canons of 1571 put it, what "the Catholic fathers and ancient bishops have gathered" out of the Old and New Testaments. The famous Anglican appeal to the Scriptures, the teachings of the early Fathers, and enlightened human reason were enshrined in one form at least in the settlement of Queen Elizabeth I. The settlement produced a statement of doctrine called The Thirty-nine Articles of Religion. See ARTICLES, THIRTY-NINE.

17TH TO 20TH CENTURY

A Century of Conflict. The Elizabethan synthesis was rejected by the small minority who refused to relinquish their loyalty to the pope. They resisted the conciliatory overtures of the government, and after the excommunication of the Queen in 1570 they withdrew from all contact with the established church, suffering the inevitable persecutions and deprivations that resulted. For over two centuries Roman Catholics in England, a small but devoted remnant, lived under severe disabilities.

The more aggressive attack upon the Reformation settlement came from the side of the extreme Reformers, many of whom had imbibed the stern and uncompromising Calvinism of Geneva and were determined to establish a Calvinist theocracy in England. To these Puritans, the Elizabethan settlement was an intolerable and impious halfway measure, scarcely better than no Reformation at all, because of its continuity with some traditional elements of Catholic Christianity. The Puritans kept the Elizabethan church in a ferment for many years, attacking the Book of Common Prayer, the episcopal ministry, the lack of a "godly discipline" that "a church rightly reformed according to the precept of God's word" should possess. Puritans even attacked the ecclesiastical authority of the crown itself.

Queen Elizabeth and her bishops curbed the Puritans, however, and the test of the English church's ability to survive attacks from Puritans

and secretaries was postponed until the mid-17th century. Then, during the years from 1645 to 1660, when the Stuart monarchy was overthrown by the forces of Parliament, the established church was shorn of its episcopacy and deprived of its Prayer Book. With its bishops and leaders persecuted and exiled, the church was controlled first by the Puritan Presbyterians and then by the Cromwellian Independents. Baptists, Congregationalists, and Quakers gained in strength, and the proliferation of sects brought confusion to the religious scenes.

The restoration of the monarchy in 1660 at the accession of Charles II brought a settlement of the religious conflict that was essentially the same as the Elizabethan settlement of more than a century before. After 15 years of deprivation, the Anglican Church with its Prayer Book, episcopal ministry, and constitutional relation to the crown was again established. However, Englishmen had come to the parting of the ways in their religious loyalties. The vision of spiritual unity that had surrounded the Tudor national ideal had vanished. The conflicts of the 17th century had separated men so far that dissent from the Anglican Church was now a permanent factor in English religious life. The Act of Toleration of 1689 recognized the reality that some Englishmen wanted to worship in other churches—and had the right to do so.

The Anglican Communion. By an ironic twist of history, however, just at the time when the Church of England ceased to be the "national" church save in name and legal establishment, it was embarking upon a potentially more significant role in Western Christendom—that of expansion into a fellowship of churches that is today the worldwide Anglican Communion. Already the religious conflicts in 17th century Scotland had resulted in the independence of the small Scottish Episcopal Church. When the American Revolution separated the former colonies from British rule, the Anglican Church, closely associated with colonial life for more than a century and a half, became an independent body, receiving an episcopate from Scotland and England, and organizing itself as the Episcopal Church in the United States of America. (See EPISCOPAL CHURCH.) In the next century the Anglican churches in Canada, India, Australia, and New Zealand steadily expanded, while in the Far East, the West Indies, and down through the African continent from Cairo to Capetown, Anglican mission fields slowly shaped themselves into what are today self-governing churches of the Anglican Communion.

The Evangelical Revival. Much of the missionary zeal that was displayed by the Church of England in the 19th century was the result of a remarkable revival of Christian commitment and personal devotion that swept England in the second half of the 18th century. The movement was at least in part a reaction against the sterile rationalism that had marked the immediate post-Reformation decades. A century and a half of violent religious strife had wearied men, and when exhaustion coincided with the revolution in thought that accompanied the beginnings of modern science, an undogmatic, deistic creed became the faith of many. Joseph Addison's "great Original" ruled the starry heavens in this vogue of "natural" religion. Christianity, shorn of its supernatural elements and traditional theology, was simplified to a Gospel of reasonable

morality and practical social benevolence. Against the sterility of this rationalism, John Wesley and the early Evangelicals recalled men to a redemptive experience of conversion and commitment to Jesus Christ. A warm Christocentric piety, a devotion to the Scriptures as both a source of enlightenment and a guide to conduct, a strong sense of missionary vocation both at home and abroad, an emotional spirituality that was marked by great moral earnestness, and a concern for Christian education—these were the signs of the evangelical Christian. See also **METHODISM**.

Long before Wesley's death (1791) the ties that bound the Methodist societies to the church had broken, and Wesleyanism had become a separatist movement. The cleavage was not entirely due to the inability of the 18th century established church to relate the movement to itself. Methodism was both theologically and in other ways closer to the ethos of dissent than to that of the Church of England. Sober followers of the Evangelical Revival, however, remained within the English church, gradually transforming its spirituality and exercising a reinvigorating influence upon its activity. The revival enabled the long-dormant Hanoverian church to have a new spiritual impact upon the nation. This impact took a variety of forms, and was evident in the work of such men as Charles Simeon, William Wilberforce, and John Venn and their associates and followers. The moral standards of society were lifted out of the degradation depicted by Hogarth, a widespread philanthropic movement sought to reach the poor and the underprivileged of the new manufacturing areas, and social and economic reform became a significant Christian concern.

The Exploration of a Catholic Heritage. The Evangelical Revival is sometimes said to have explored and extended the Anglican synthesis at the points of its closest kinship with Protestantism. In the 19th century the dominant activity in the English church was that of the Oxford Movement, whose leaders explored the other ingredient of the synthesis, the Catholic heritage of Anglicanism. The movement was launched in 1833 by a small group of distinguished Oxford scholars, of whom John Henry Newman, Edward Bouverie Pusey, and John Keble are the best known. Offended at the government's arbitrary interference in the affairs of the church, and aroused by the neglect of the sacraments, the minimal theology of the day, and the failure of the English church to set forth its divine nature and mission, they began the publication of an arresting series of pamphlets called *Tracts for the Times*.

The movement shook the church out of its torpor and complacency into a renewed theological understanding of itself and its mission, an enriched liturgical and sacramental life, and a more profound social and pastoral awareness. It bred too, a prolonged and bitter controversy among Anglicans. Ever since the 17th century a high doctrine of the church, the necessity of apostolic succession, a Catholic spirituality and sacramental life, an appeal to the ancient Church Fathers and to the authority of tradition had been familiar in the teaching of a continuous line of intellectual High Churchmen. To find these principles, however, clothed in a new and dynamic splendor and presented with challenging implications for change and renewal in the life of the church was alarming to those who saw in

them only the specter of popery and a denial of the gains of the Reformation. Controversy continued for many years, intensified by the conversion to Roman Catholicism of those who despaired of the ability of Anglicanism to recover and reassert its rightful Catholic heritage. In the end the influence of the Oxford Movement transformed both the Church of England and the other churches of the Anglican Communion, for today its principles are accepted as essential elements in the Anglican synthesis. See also **OXFORD MOVEMENT**.

DOCTRINE, LITURGY, AND ECUMENISM

Anglican Doctrine. Theological explorations of the Anglican heritage in both Catholic and Evangelical directions have been possible in the Church of England partly because the church is not a "confessional" body. At the time of the Reformation no elaborate set of doctrinal articles—like the Augsburg Confession of Lutheranism, for example—was adopted in England. The Thirty-nine Articles of Elizabeth's reign were restricted to certain controverted points, and were chiefly regarded as a shield against abuses of medieval Romanism or the radical views of such sectaries as the Anabaptists. The doctrines of the Church of England were not to be found in a new set of articles, but in the Scriptures, as their meaning was affirmed in the Apostles' and Nicene creeds, embodied in the dogmatic decisions of the early ecumenical councils, or set forth in the teachings of the Fathers of the undivided church.

Within such limits the Church of England tolerated a wide latitude of theological emphases and recognized the validity of more than one approach to truth. The tensions of freedom are hard to bear, theologically as well as politically. The Anglican conviction is that within freedom, insights are gained into the forms that Christian beliefs may take to be relevant to the constantly changing human scene.

Liturgy. The chief point of reference for the doctrines of the Church of England is its liturgy, contained in the Book of Common Prayer, a compilation that includes the daily offices of Matins and Evensong (Morning and Evening Prayer), the sacramental liturgies for Baptism and the Eucharist, forms for other rites and ceremonies, the ordination services, and a large collection of prayers for other occasions. Compiled by Archbishop Cranmer and first published in 1549, the Prayer Book consisted of a simplification and revision of the ancient and traditional services of the church, translated into English in order that the spiritual experience of Christian worship might be more fully appropriated by the people. The Prayer Book was revised several times, the 1662 revision remaining the official version in the English church down to the present time. Each separate church of the Anglican Communion has its own Prayer Book, but as their unity is one not only of a common faith and the same threefold ministry, but also a bond of worship that springs from the possession of a common heritage of liturgy, the differences among their various Prayer Books are not great. See also **BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER**.

The years following World War II saw considerable liturgical experimentation in the Church of England, as in all churches affected by the contemporary ferment of renewal. Anglicanism as a whole shares the strong sentiment through-

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See also GREAT BRITAIN. UNITED KINGDOM.

General Theology

Jeffrey, *The English Church 1870-1930*. Field, Guy, *The Church of England*, 2d ed. H. H. Mann, John R. H. Ed. Morehouse. Robert B., *The Church of England* (Yale U.). Stephen, *Anglicanism*. Robert E., *Anglicanism in England* (Univ. of Notre Dame). Overton, John F., *Anglicanism* (Wayne State U.).

While the Church of Scotland is the state church, it is comparatively free of government control. While traditionally conservative, it has become increasingly open to the currents of ecumenism and liberal theology that have begun to influence much of Christianity.

Roman Catholicism. The Roman Catholic Church in Britain derives from those who in the reign of Elizabeth I refused to accept the Reformation. Every effort was then made to liquidate this church because of the suspicions aroused by its foreign connections. The Roman Catholics had attempted a similar suppression of the Church of England when Mary Tudor was in power. Conditions made it impossible for them to have any regular form of church government at this time; for the continuity and training of their clergy they had to depend on the Continent, where they removed their seminaries. During the reign of James II (1685-1688) the Roman Catholics established a rudimentary organization, but further penal laws followed, and the beginning of the 18th century saw the low point of Roman Catholicism in England.

The penal laws were relaxed in 1778 by the British Parliament and were practically abolished in 1791, when, because of the French Revolution, many Roman Catholic exiles on the Continent returned to England, and many foreign priests came with them. Roman Catholic chapels then began to appear, and conversions took place. Until the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act (1829), however, Catholics remained under many civil disabilities, including prohibition from membership of either house of Parliament.

The potato famine drove many Irish to England between 1845 and 1849, and there was a rapid increase in Roman Catholic congregations. About the same time, the Roman Catholic Church received several very influential converts, such as from the Church of England: John Henry Newman, Henry Manning, and Frederick W. Faber.

The Roman Catholic hierarchy was restored in England in 1850 and in Scotland in 1878. Since then the church has grown steadily, its members consisting of roughly three groups: (1) hereditary English Roman Catholics; (2) converts and their children; and (3) immigrants (the largest category), among whom Irish and Italians predominate. Since 1870, Roman Catholics, often at very great sacrifice, have built many schools, which by 1970 had about half a million pupils attending them in England. There is no Roman Catholic university in Britain. Roman Catholics play a full part in British public life at all levels, and only a fringe minority of Britons still regard them as being in some way alien.

The Roman Catholic Church in Britain today takes a vigorous part in ecumenical activities, which seemed impossible to Romans and non-Romans only a decade earlier. Exchanges of pulpits, joint discussion, and Christian action (but not mutual access to the Sacraments) have become commonplace. Roman Catholics from other countries, however, often regard English Roman Catholics as conservative. A growing number of liberal English Roman Catholics, usually intellectuals, have also lamented that their church appears to be lagging behind its counterparts in other countries in the post-Vatican II self-renewal process.

The Roman Catholic Church in Britain is now organized on traditional lines. There are three hierarchies—England and Wales (4 archbishops,

14 diocesan bishops), Scotland (2 archbishops, 6 diocesan bishops), and Ireland, of which Northern Ireland (1 archbishop, 6 diocesan bishops) is part.

The Free Churches. "Free Church" is a vague term justified only by long usage. The Free Churches in England (omitting Roman Catholics, although it is inconsistent to do so) are the fruit of an attempt beginning at the time of the Reformation to return to New Testament Christianity, especially as it was interpreted by Luther and Calvin and other Continental Protestants. The Free Churches represent a positive thread in British life rather than a negative reaction against the establishment. They have made a real contribution culturally to the national heritage and have been a fruitful source of the "non-conformist conscience" that has brought about some of Britain's major reforms.

Origins. The English Free Churches began to take shape in the Elizabethan period. They objected to the state's claim to have a hand in the organization of the church. The first recognizable Congregational church was that organized by Richard Fitz in 1567, in defiance of Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity, a decade or so later another church was founded in Norwich. Such separatism was a heinous offence in a state desperately seeking unity against foreigners, and in 1593 three pioneer Congregationalist martyrs were hanged for it. In the same year the Conventicle Act was passed, which imprisoned anyone found at an unlawful conventicle until he made a declaration of conformity with the Prayer Book. If such a person resisted too stubbornly, he was banished overseas.

Persecution in England did much to strengthen links with continental Protestantism, and the first English Baptist church was closely connected with Amsterdam. The most famous of the English Dissenting churches was the one from Scrooby, which went first to Leiden in Holland and then sailed to America on the *Mayflower* in 1620. English Presbyterianism also had roots in the Puritan movement of the early days of Elizabeth's reign when it was still hoped by some that the English Church as a whole would adopt Presbyterianism.

Puritan Influence. Puritanism had its great moment in England during the Civil War and the Commonwealth, when a Calvinist system of church order was imposed and Church of England loyalists were summarily ejected. With the restoration monarchy (amid rejoicing that seemed to show that the English were not Puritans by nature) came the Act of Uniformity of 1662, by which some 2,000 Puritan ministers were dismissed and subjected to the severities of the Clarendon Code, a series of penal laws enacted between 1661 and 1670. This code was the last major attempt to establish one religious pattern for all Englishmen. It was followed by a period of persecution, but the congregations continued to gather, and faithful men served even at the risk of hanging. The Toleration Act of 1689, allowing Nonconformists freedom of worship in their own way, was their reward, although they still had to get their meeting places licensed and had to pass religious tests before being allowed public office.

Nonconformists still lacked religious equality, but that mattered little to them compared with religious freedom. Between 1689 and 1709, nearly 1,000 chapels were built, and the Free Churches

had established their pattern. As late as 1711 the Occasional Conformity Act was passed imposing a fine of £40 and loss of office on any person holding civil or military posts who was found in a conventicle or in any religious meeting of more than 10 persons other than one conducted according to the rites of the Church of England. But the worst days were over. The tradition that nourished Fox, Bunyan, Baxter, Milton, and Cromwell was safe.

Period of Growth. The 18th century was a time of great growth for the "Dissenting Bodies," as they were then known, especially in urban areas. They became largely identified with the middle classes. By 1727 the Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists were able to set up a formal joint body to watch their interests, and five years later the Dissenting Deputies Body, with the right to approach the king, was set up to extend the rights of Dissenters. They were, however, still debarred from Oxford and Cambridge universities, which stimulated them to set up academies from which flowed a stream of ideas that nourished English cultural life.

Although Nonconformists did little for the English visual arts, such as architecture, they made a real contribution in music. The 18th century Free Churches also made important contributions to world missions, especially with the Baptist Missionary Society in 1792 and the London Missionary Society in 1795—though Anglicans had anticipated them with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1698 and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1701. The British and Foreign Bible Society, founded in 1805 and now mother of a worldwide family, is an example of early ecumenical co-operation since its original committee consisted of 15 Anglicans and 15 Free Churchmen. It was also in the 18th century that the Society of Friends (first organized in 1688) found its identity, that the Unitarians had their first congregation (1773), and that the Moravians began in England.

Methodism. The Moravians would be important if they had done no more than influence John Wesley, one of England's greatest religious geniuses. Wesley is the supreme example of the inflexibility of the Church of England at this time. He was ordained into it and always wished to remain in it, even though he found it lacking in spiritual vigor. But neither did he find himself at home among the Dissenters of his day. Although Wesley lived and died an Anglican, an independent system based on his life and teaching grew up within his lifetime. At the time of his death in 1791 there were 294 Methodist preachers and 71,668 members in Britain. By 1784, Methodism already had become a legal entity. From this there were minor secessions in 1797, 1805, 1810, 1815, and later; but through it all, this church grew both in numbers and in closer relationship with the other Free Churches. In 1932 the three main branches of Methodism came together, making the Methodist Church the largest nonconformist group.

The 19th century has been called the "confident era" of English Nonconformity, a time in which it had striking political as well as spiritual power. Its intense preaching and its closeness to the people were important factors, and the very disabilities it still suffered in equality before the law brought it a real sympathy at the expense of the Church of England.

Current Trends. The 20th century has not provided so happy a picture. The Free Churches have shared in the general recession; the crusades they fought have achieved their goals, and the churches have felt a loss of dynamism in consequence. It is almost as if they had thrived on opposition. It is significant also that Anglicans have held out friendly hands. What would once have provided fire for a Nonconformist platform is now discussed quietly in the British Council of Churches.

Plans for reunion of the Anglican and Methodist churches have been discussed for years. In 1969 a specific proposal for reunion was rejected by a narrow margin. The Methodist Conference gave the proposed scheme of reunion a 77% majority, but the Anglican Convocations gave only a 69% majority. A 75% figure had been agreed upon as the minimum for immediate action. Voting took place simultaneously but separately so that neither church could be influenced by the other's decision. After the vote authorities such as the Archbishop of Canterbury stated that the movement of Anglican opinion might soon enable the scheme of reunion to get approval. The Church of England is also discussing union with other Free Churches.

Statistical Information. In general, British churches are not statistically minded. Some give no figures other than the number of their clergy. Only in recent years has the Church of England, for example, attempted to give figures, and even now some of them are inevitably approximations. Furthermore, there is no commonly accepted definition of the term "membership." It may mean (1) baptized, (2) adults only, (3) communicants, or (4) adherents.

The following figures, obtained at various times during the late 1960's, while accurate in themselves, are only a rough guide in terms of comparisons. The terminology used by the various churches has been accepted here.

REPRESENTATIVE SELECTION OF BRITISH CHURCHES

Anglican Churches

CHURCH OF ENGLAND: Clergy 21,532; members, 27,658,000; buildings used for worship, approximately 20,500.

CHURCH OF IRELAND: Clergy, 776.

CHURCH IN WALES: Clergy, 780.

EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN SCOTLAND: Clergy, 290 permanent members, 94,364.

Roman Catholic

ENGLAND AND WALES: Priests, 7,750; estimated membership, 4,134,854; buildings used for worship, 4,770.

IRELAND: Priests, 6,031; members, 3,171,020.

SCOTLAND: Priests, 1,278; members, 880,000.

Presbyterian Churches

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND: Ministers, 2,000; communicants, 1,220,023.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF ENGLAND: Ministers, 279; members, 63,091.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN IRELAND: Ministers, 560; members, 399,807.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF WALES: Ministers, 403; members, 116,674.

UNITED FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND: Ministers, 79; members, 18,834.

Methodist Churches

INDEPENDENT METHODIST CHURCH: Ministers, 235; members, 6,957.

METHODIST CHURCH (Great Britain excluding Ireland): Ministers, 4,226; members, 666,713.

WESLEYAN REFORM UNION: Ministers, 26; members, 5,217.

The British Council of Churches. An early association of churches for common action (1727)

has already been
Church Council was
in 1892, and Bapti
prominent part in it.
cil of Evangelical
and in 1940 these
Free Church Federa
In 1942 the Briti
inaugurated as "a fel
British Isles "which
as God and Saviour
and therefore seek
mon-calling to the
Son and Holy Spir
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Ireland, and Wales
Local Councils of C
members, 30 repres
there are 3 Roman C
Judaism. Althoug
British Jewry has su
values, it is difficult
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410,000 Jews. The
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was provided) they
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Lionel Nathan Roth
century, Jews have
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English courts have
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met with only lukew
the League of Natio

Hungarian magnates they agreed that henceforth be hereditary. In the Peace of Carlowitz (1699) they acquired all of Transylvania and Slavonia was now

Turkey, Leopold I had undertaken to give them. So severe was the persecution by the Protestants in Sweden and German states. The rights were restricted to the city of Debrecen and bypassed by the Turks.

cities of Utrecht (1713), which marked the end of the Spanish Succession in the Netherlands, Milan, and Sardinia was excluded by the Peace of Utrecht (1713). The War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748) ended the War of the Austrian Succession in Naples and Piacenza. At the death of Maria Theresa's son-in-law, Francis II, he succeeded with Austria to France. By the Peace of 1763, territories in Italy

the Banat of Temesvár, Wallachia and Moldavia, the Habsburgs returned to Turkey of 1736-1739.

was greatly contested. In 1713 the partition known as the Pragmatic Sanction divided the Habsburg territories into separate and were not to have one, or of seniority, and the partition had never been the Habsburg line, his settlement from well as from the Pragmatic Sanction, a legal document of 1713. By it all the members of the Habsburg family were to accept as the one mutually agreed and Hungary.

Diplomatic preparations for a dispute arose over the youngest daughter, Maria Theresa, the Habsburg lands, came from Frederick II and claim to Silesia. He claimed all the Habsburg lands for the emperor elected in 1742. Maria Theresa was succeeded by her husband, Francis I was emperor. Henceforth it was Francis I that ruled both Habsburg lands.

The War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748) in its various phases developed into an international conflict in which, at times, Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Sardinia, Spain, and France opposed Austria and Britain. In the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), Frederick II's possession of Silesia was confirmed, and Austria was forced to cede some of its Italian lands to Sardinia and Spain. The powers, however, agreed to recognize the Pragmatic Sanction and also Francis I as emperor. The War of the Austrian Succession was continued in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), when Maria Theresa made an unsuccessful attempt to repossess Silesia from Prussia. This time Austria was aided by France and Russia, while Britain allied itself with Prussia. Only the death of Czarina Elizabeth of Russia in 1762, which brought the withdrawal of Russia, saved Frederick the Great of Prussia from defeat. Silesia remained in his hands by the terms of the Treaty of Hubertusburg (1763).

The losses in territory that Maria Theresa sustained were offset by the acquisition of Galicia and Lodomeria in the first partition of Poland (1772). In recognition of Austria's neutrality in its war with Russia, Turkey in 1779 acquiesced in Austrian occupation of Bukovina. These additions brought substantial numbers of Poles, Ruthenians, and Jews to Austria's conglomeration of nationalities.

Maria Theresa's wars necessitated financial reforms and greater centralization of administration. She established a state council, which was to act in an advisory capacity, and the Austrian and Bohemian chanceries were united. She did not abolish the local diets but simply neglected them. Even the important Hungarian Diet was called only four times during her reign. She enlarged the bureaucracy, which was chiefly composed of German-speaking officials.

Joseph II, an "Enlightened Despot." When Joseph II became sole ruler in 1780 on his mother's death, he attempted to centralize the realm overnight, feeling that it must become one territory with similar institutions and obligations. He divided the country into 13 new administrative districts with directors appointed by the crown. He gave serfs the right to leave their lands and to marry without the consent of their lords.

He was also an innovator in religious policy. His Toleration Patent of 1781 brought political equality to Protestants, Lutherans, Calvinists, and Orthodox were guaranteed free private exercise of their religion, but their churches could not have a tower, a bell, or an entrance from a main street. Joseph dissolved 700 monasteries, some of them long in a state of decrepitude. State-controlled seminaries for the education of priests were erected; all higher clergy were to be appointed by the crown. In general, Joseph so increased the restrictions on the Catholic Church that the term "Josephinism" came to be applied to his system of state control of the church.

Joseph was an exponent of the ideas of the Enlightenment. One of the most worthy recipients of the accolade "Enlightened Despot," he alienated many by his vigorous policy of reform from the top. His ventures in foreign policy, notably his various attempts to acquire Bavaria, failed. He suffered disastrous reverses in a war with Turkey, in which he was an ally of Russia. In the Spanish Netherlands he was confronted by a revolution in 1789. Sick and discouraged, on Jan. 28, 1790, he rescinded all his innovations ex-

cept the abolition of serfdom, the Toleration Patent, and the Religious-Educational Fund.

Turn of the Century. It was the task of Joseph's brother Leopold II (reigned as emperor 1790-1792) to make peace with Turkey and by judicious concessions to pacify the Belgians and other peoples of the realm. The policy of centralization was halted; the old diets and estates resumed their traditional powers. Although the religious laws were not repealed, the Catholic Church regained much of its old supremacy.

The events of the French Revolution and its repercussions in Belgium and Germany forced Leopold to take action. On Feb. 7, 1792, Austria and Prussia signed an offensive and defensive alliance. Leopold died before war broke out, and his son Francis II had to bear the burdens and defeats of the wars of the French Revolutionary era. Austria did not share in the Second Partition of Poland (1793) but did join with Russia and Prussia in the final dismemberment of that country in 1795.

After Napoleon had been proclaimed emperor of France in 1804, Francis, foreseeing the end of the Holy Roman Empire, proclaimed himself hereditary emperor of Austria on Aug. 11, 1804. His new ennoblement did not change the legal basis of his various lands, and he still carried his many subsidiary titles. For two years he wore the two imperial crowns, but after Napoleon had established the Confederation of the Rhine, Francis laid down the old imperial crown, and on Aug. 6, 1806, the Holy Roman Empire came to an end. As Francis II he was Holy Roman emperor (1792-1806); as Francis I he was emperor of Austria (1804-1835).

The disastrous campaigns of the first three coalitions against France led to many territorial losses. When Metternich replaced Johann von Stadion in 1809 as minister of foreign affairs, Austria drew closer to France for a time. Marie Louise, the daughter of Francis I, was married to Napoleon in 1810. Austria as France's ally was forced to supply a contingent for Napoleon's Grand Army when he invaded Russia in 1812. It was less than half-hearted cooperation, however, and Austria subsequently joined in the final coalition that brought Napoleon's downfall in 1814.

The Congress of Vienna. To straighten out the affairs of Europe, the powers assembled in Vienna (September 1814-June 1815). Here Francis I played host to the sovereigns of Europe. In spite of the continual round of receptions and parties, the Congress of Vienna under the presidency of Metternich accomplished a great deal. Austria regained many of its old territories, including Salzburg and most of Galicia, but not Cracow, which became a free city. The cession of Belgium to the Netherlands and the loss of Breisgau were more than offset by the acquisition of new Italian territories in Lombardy, Venetia, and the Illyrian provinces (Dalmatia). In addition, by dynastic agreements, Austria won dominance over many of the other Italian states, becoming the leading power in Italy. In Germany it managed to maintain a certain influence by assuming the presidency of the German Confederation, which succeeded the Holy Roman Empire.

The Age of Metternich. So completely did Metternich control the foreign policy of Austria and cast his influence over all Europe that the period 1815-1848 is often referred to as the Age of Metternich. In order to maintain the peace, he

Items to be fact-checked in the "TOLERANCE" speech to that was to be given to the Christian Coalition on September 9, 1992:

- 1). Top of page 2 -- the Bible quote
- 2). Bottom part of page 2 -- show Curt that "ZACHEUS" is spelled wrong.
- 3). Page 3 -- Find out who "Sheila Walsh" is -- and her connection with Pat Robertson.
- 4). Page 5 -- ask Curt about: "God ask us to hate the sin -- but, yes, to love the sinner."

to eat broccoli.]] // As a teenager, I memorized the Navy hymn:
"O hear us when we cry to thee / for those in peril on the sea" -
- and learned how death knows no ideology. /

OEOB Librarian's
CONFIRMED
The
church
HYMNARY
755

From Barbara I learned, as the Bible says, "to act justly,
to love mercy, and to walk humbly." [[Believe me, when I compare
my polls to hers, I have something to be humble about.]] /
Ironically, it was war that taught me civility. I was 18 --
same age as many of the enemy. Japanese or Americans -- it
didn't seem to matter. I knew how God would want us both to "be
thy brother's keeper." //

Then came the post-war years -- for me, a place called Texas
-- where I learned about something called tolerance. Lived the
dream -- Little League, PTA, backyard barbeques. Saw how black
or white, red or brown -- God was color-blind. It was here I
truly learned how to "do unto others." It was a lesson I never
forgot. //

Let's admit it: It's not easy to "love thy neighbor as
thyself." If it were, you and I would be camels passing through
the eye of a needle. Yet recall the Good Book: If Jesus could
break bread with Zacheus the tax-collector, so can Americans with
each other. // Zacchaeus

The Concise
Oxford Dictio-
ary of
the Christian
Church
564

Our Nation was forged on tolerance. First came a wave of
bigotry. Baptists preachers arrested for preaching without a
license / voting and property limited to chosen denominations /
clerical heresy could mean banishment -- or worse. Then came a
counter-wave. Jefferson said of intolerance: "It is a departure

"The ANNALS OF AMERICA"

VOL 3, PG 53, 12, 1786

3

from the plan of the Holy author of our religion." Washington spoke -- I quote -- of "how the government of the United States gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance." Recall Roger Williams and William Penn, the Huguenots and Quakers. They showed how in a pluralistic society tolerance could stir the melting pot -- and keep hate from setting it on fire. //

By tolerance, I mean the principle and the action: One without the other is like Pat Robertson without Sheila Walsh. /

Today, we need both to preach and practice tolerance -- not just to talk the talk, but to walk the walk. That is why I am troubled by what I see in America. I see people attacking not judgement -- but others' intent, and motive. I see certain topics declared off-limits -- people denied the right to honestly think and speak their mind. I hear insults hurled recklessly. "Bigot, racist, fellow traveler, redneck." I see our culture and our debate coarsened and cheapened. //

When America chooses a President -- you elect not only programs, but a person. Two men this year seek your support. You must know what I believe. //

I believe that the definition of a successful life must include serving others. We cannot serve each other if we demean each other. / I believe that decency and courtesy are not character flaws. I believe that family -- whether single-parent or traditional -- is America's heirloom of the heart -- and that the kind of family you come from means less than the responsibility you uphold as individuals. //

"The ANNALS OF AMERICA" VOL 3, PG 434

also means opposing a new intolerance: The leper known as "political correctness." / You know how the politically correct would ban classics like Tom Sawyer / insert ridiculous euphemisms into the English language / and attempt to silence those they disagree with. / Well, P.C. is not U.S.A. // There's no room for intellectual blackballing or brown-shirting in the land of the red, white, and blue. We haven't fought for freedom around the world -- only to now turn our backs on tactics that would place a gag on freedom of expression here at home. //

No group has the right to impose its will and dictate its view of morality on the rest of society. // I know you agree. Yet I mean to speak the whole truth -- and here it is: Intolerance is not a word stamped "Liberals only." / Too often we conservatives have not been vigilant -- but overzealous. Forgetting why America was founded -- to bring in, not drive away. Our politics have been of the closed door -- not the open door. We sometimes forget how God asks us to hate the sin -- but, yes, to love the sinner.

As conservatives we should ask ourselves: How can we condone homosexual- and lesbian-bashing / the burning of abortion clinics / the smearing of non-Americans as unAmerican? Have we not endorsed the view -- even accidentally -- that since only our way is good -- others must be bad? There are some who would build America up by keeping others out. Suggest that those not of a certain gender, race, or family structure are second-class citizens. Dismiss all feminists as extremists --

forgetting that this may inadvertently chastise all women who work for a living. / Yes, Murphy Brown is a single parent, but so was Andy Taylor. ((Course, he had Aunt Bea in reserve.))

When God looks down from Heaven, He does not divide black from white / rural from urban / stay-at-home mothers from single mothers. He says -- as we must: All are welcome at my table. //

When we sing the song, "Jesus Loves the Little Children," we don't mean just those who are affluent / suburban / who have two parents. We mean all the "children of the world." Each is "precious in His sight." //

CLAUDE CONFIRMS

Barbara and I had six kids -- one died, five are living. I believe all were precious -- just as all Americans will be welcome at the table as long as I am President. I believe, too, that different means neither better nor worse.

In the only election that really counts, God won't ask. Were you English-speaking? Were you "foreign" -- whatever that means? He won't ask, did you attend the finest parties? Were you -- quote, unquote -- "successful"?

Instead, God will ask. Were we kind? Were we selfless? Did we lend a hand, and tend a wound -- believe in prayer, and keep God's faith? Did we truly live -- did we try to live -- a good and honest life?

Let me close with a story about a man who did. It concerns a man of God. His father and grand-father were ministers. He himself was a Minister -- a Baptist -- had a lovely wife, Lydia. He had dedicated his life to the church.

NYT 9-7-92

Then, one day in 1982, his wife became infected with H.I.V., the virus that causes AIDS. She got it from a blood transfusion during pregnancy. // Since then his wife has died -- last year, at, 38, in their home in Dallas. So has their youngest child. Their first son, 10, also with H.I.V., has survived. But, you

NYT
9/7/92

know: I wonder if decency has.

You see, when some discovered that the minister's wife had H.I.V., they began avoiding him -- shunning him. Five times he and his family were discouraged from attending Baptist churches. In the end, he was asked to leave the ministry. / Today, the Reverend Scott Allen works on the National Commission on AIDS. Recalls his wife. Tries to sort out his life. Thinks about what he was taught in Divinity school: "God will bless your life if you believe in Him." //

NYT
9/7/92

^{"live"} The truth is that God didn't decide to shun Scott Allen. We did -- you and me. Too often we have fallen short -- ignored thy neighbor -- forgot that our fate is indivisible. The Bible says, "If one member suffers, all suffer together." If God works in mysterious ways -- we must work in earthly ways. We must be, until the end of time, a light unto the world. //

Tolerance allows -- demands -- the right of any American to take a stand on principle. You may dislike it / detest it / think it springs from another planet. / No matter -- we must respect it. America will not be divinely blessed as long as one American is denied the right to speak his mind ... to reveal his heart ... to be proud of what he is. //

to Keck
Howard B.
pensation of
onicle said. The

Wentz, chairman, \$275,000.
Lilly Endowment, Indianapolis, assets \$3.6
billion. Thomas H. Lake, chairman,
\$357,500.

Jr., counsel, \$205,086.
Lila Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund, New
York City, assets \$821 million. M. Chris-
tine DeVita, president, \$94,950.

will pave the way. Hopefully, we'll
learn enough from him. Hopefully, this
will not be the last."

AIDS Finds Closed Doors and Minds at Church



Mark Perlestein for The New York Times

aptist transfusion. His wife and his second son, Bryan,
l two have both died of AIDS. With Mr. Allen at his
blood home in Dallas was his first son, Matthew.

s. Even when church mem-
n to take care of those with
Allen said, often it is with the
uring" them of their homo-

With Strings Attached
ice, the love and accept-
ot unconditional," he said.
strings attached."

When Mr. Allen learned that
d children had H.I.V., he was
at the First Christian
Colorado Springs. Though he
as not infected, he said, he
by the pastor, the Rev. War-
leave his ministry.

did not return telephone
ng for comment about the
ays after Mr. Hile and other
members asked him to step
Allen said, he took his family
out of Colorado Springs in
of the night, heading home
he was fearful and angry, he
th God and man.
I blamed the gays in San
where the transfusion took

place," Mr. Allen recalled. "That is
completely illogical because transfu-
sions take place everywhere, and there
is nothing to say that the infected blood
came from a gay man. But I felt that
angry at first. I kept saying to myself:
'I'm innocent! I didn't do anything!'"

For a year, he said, he could not
bring himself to talk to his brother, who
is a homosexual.

'What Is This Blessing Stuff?'

Mr. Allen said that on the day his
wife became infected he had taught
Sunday school class, went to the home
of a sick child, preached a sermon, and
taught class again in the evening. "My
wife had a seizure in the evening on the
way home," he said. "They say that
God will bless your life if you live in
Him. But I lost everything. What is this
blessing stuff? What is the meaning of
innocence and guilt?"

The shocks continued as friends
stopped calling him.

His second son, Bryan, died not long
after the family returned to Texas. He
was seven months old. Mr. Allen said
he held Bryan as he died and placed the

boy's body in a small coffin beside the
hospital bed. He remembers vividly the
next moment:

"Bryan's head was over to the side,
and the funeral director reached out to
straighten it in the casket. But he
stopped and drew back. He said,
'Would you mind moving your son's
head for me?' That stung."

A Small Epiphany

But at the same time he had a small
epiphany, one that began to make his
anger dissolve.

"When Bryan died in my arms," he
said, "I realized that it was the virus
that died, not Bryan." His anger at gay
people began to fade, he said, adding,
"I realized then that I was dealing with
a virus, not with people."

For others, that realization has been
difficult.

On returning to the Dallas area he
asked the pastor of the First Bap-
tist Church in Arlington, the Rev.
Charles Wade, to accept him and his
wife into the church and their children
into Sunday school.

Mr. Wade, who is a friend of the Allen
family, said he would make discrete
inquiries among some of the younger,
more progressive parents to see how
they felt. The parents refused to go
along, he said, and dtold him they
would pull their children out of school if
Matthew came.

Rejected by Flagship Pastor

Later, Mr. Wade raised money to
help pay Mr. Allen's salary on the AIDS
project at the Christian Life Commis-
sion. "We are proud of that," Mr. Wade
said. "We did help him — just not as
much as we should have."

At another church, the Travis Ave-
nue Baptist Church in the Fort Worth
area where Mr. Allen and his family
was living, the pastor at the time was
the Rev. Joel Gregory, who has since
become known nationwide as the pas-
tor of the flagship of fundamentalist
Baptist churches, the First Baptist
Church in Dallas. President Bush has
consulted him, and went to that church
last month, when the Republican con-
vention was being held in Houston.

"Brother Joel knew of my situation,
knew my family and even visited my
house for a minute when my son Bryan
died," Mr. Allen said. "But he offered
no help at all. Not a call, not a word."

When asked about the situation in a
telephone interview last week Mr.
Gregory replied, "I don't remember
it." He said all people were welcome in
his church.

Several other times, Mr. Allen said,
he sought to join churches and have his
son openly attend Sunday school, and
several times he was rebuffed.

New Policy at One Church

But at one church, the Richardson
East Church of Christ, the pastor, the

Rev. Larry James, was disturbed
enough by the situation that he quickly
resolved to make new policy.

"There was a lot of paranoia," of
unnecessary, irrational fear," Mr.
James said. "I asked myself, 'What are
we getting into here?' It's like a family
secret that turns into illness and paral-
ysis for the whole family. I mean, here
we have a group of people who claim to
be Christians, a person who has always
followed Christ comes and is rejected
— that's news," he said.

Mr. James quickly educated himself
and his congregation on the issues of
AIDS, bringing in doctors and others to
talk about the disease. He adopted for
his day care program a new policy. He
notified all parents that the day care
center would be considered an "H.L.V.-
positive zone" where children attend-
ing may or may not be infected with
the virus. Everyone would be treated
the same, he said.

Mr. Allen has left the organized
church, at least for now, and is search-

Struggling over the meanings of innocence and guilt.

ing for a spiritual path that is more
open and accepting at its base.

"I was taught that once you were
saved, you were always saved," he
said. "Once you gave your life to Jesus,
your life would be blessed. All that was
important to me in life was God and my
church and my family. My family was
taken from me, my church turned its
back on me, and I felt as if God did, too."

"Then people said to me that I must
have never been saved in the first
place, or I am just wandering in the
wilderness, and will return to the fold,"
he continued. "That discredits who I
am now, and the journey I am on. I
have forever lost who I am."

Mr. Allen said he now sometimes
feels closer to people whom he former-
ly condemned than to people he linked
arms with at church.

"I once was at an interfaith confer-
ence and sat down with a man whose
lover had just died of AIDS," he said.
"I saw the pain and sadness in his
eyes; they were my eyes and I was
looking in a mirror. He told me there
was one thing I should always do —
take a lot of pictures. And I have."

NYT: 9/7/92

SEPTEMBER 11, 1992

MEMORANDUM TO CHRISTINA MARTIN

FROM: GARY GERSHOWITZ--SPEECHWRITING

SUBJECT: FAMILY BUDGET in Coalition Speech

SECOND PARAGRAPH, PAGE 6 (WHERE THE PRESIDENT DISCUSSES "THE SIXTH PART OF MY AGENDA"):

Just spoke to J. D. Foster in Council of Economic Advisors. He CANNOT CONFIRM "the family budget in 1945" -- his data only goes back to 1955. Foster said that if we use 1955, "the average family spent 5.5 percent of its adjusted gross income on federal taxes."

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

30 SEP 11 10:47

DATE: 09/11/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ASAP

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COALITION, VIRGINIA BEACH, VIRGINIA - 09/11

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MOORE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MULLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PROVOST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROSS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CALIO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTWILER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ZOELICK	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KAUFMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MCGROARTY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	GROOMES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	

REMARKS: Please provide any comments directly to Dan McGroarty AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY
 Assistant to the President
 and Staff Secretary
 Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 10, 1992

10:26

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH:

STEVE PROVOST *SP*

FROM:

CURT SMITH

SUBJECT:

NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COALITION

Tomorrow afternoon you will deliver remarks (16 mins./teleprompted) to a crowd of 11,000 Christian activists at the second annual Road To Victory Conference, sponsored by the National Christian Coalition and Rev. Pat Robertson.

Your remarks showcase your Agenda For American Renewal -- discussing how the six components will help reach the goal of a \$10 trillion economy by the beginning of the next century. The message of the day is that this campaign will be decided not by scare tactics -- but on the merit of serious ideas like the ones you present in your Agenda.

(Smith/Gershowitz)
Draft Two
September 11, 1992
ROBERTSON

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: EVANGELICALS
VIRGINIA BEACH, VA.
FRIDAY, SEPT. 11, 1992

Thank you Pat Robertson -- and I want to salute your leadership. May I also salute Dede Robertson -- and your sons, Tim ~~and~~ Gordon. Reverend Sweet -- thank you for that invocation. Members of the Board of the Christian Coalition. Dan Burton. *Stephen Schaeffer (Christian Coalition Field Director, Iowa)* ~~Dennis Hastert~~. Senators Mark Earley and Ken Stolle. The rest of the Beach Boys. //

((It is said of some groups that "They haven't got a prayer." Tonight I am pleased to be with an audience about whom that will never be said.)) //

I am delighted to be in the heart of America's evangelical community. ((It's always good to know that if it takes divine intervention to save my speech -- help is close at hand.)) //

You know, you and I are have been accused recently of focussing our debate and our energies on a narrow topic -- the American family.

Well, I think it is our critics who are being narrow, because in my mind -- and I'm sure yours -- the family is the root of all good. The center of everything that is right about America.

I talk about the American family, because of something I learn every day in the Oval Office. When confronting the

problems of America, it does no good to attack symptoms -- you have to go after root causes.

Ask any mayor, any governor, any teacher and, yes, any preacher -- they'll tell you the same thing. The one sure way to make America more safe and secure -- is to make our families more safe and secure. //

What are the pressures on families today? ~~You know them better than I do.~~ Schools with low academic standards -- that undermine our kids traditional values. ~~the~~ ^{ELEMENTS} coarseness of our culture -- as reflected on TV. Drugs and violence. But today, the single greatest threat to the American family -- is a weak economy.

Today, family budgets are stretched by rising health care costs. Low-income families are hurt, when welfare encourages dependency, not personal responsibility. And when a Mom or Dad loses a job -- the impact is felt first right at home.

~~So if we care about the family -- and we all do --~~ we have to figure out a way to make sure that America in the 21st century is more than a military superpower -- but that we are also an export superpower, and an economic superpower.

That's why yesterday in Detroit, I laid out my "Agenda for American Renewal." A comprehensive plan to make America the world's first \$10 trillion dollar economy by the first years of the 21st Century. With that kind of dynamic growth, we will be able to address our problems here at home -- and ~~make~~ ^{strengthen} the American family ~~stronger~~. //

Right now, in our factories, one of every 6 manufacturing jobs is tied to trade. On our farms, one in every three acres we harvest will be sold abroad.

In the century ahead -- in your lifetime -- the percentage of your paycheck that comes from what America sells abroad is ~~only~~ going to grow. And while my opponent goes around tearing down America, don't forget a simple fact. If you want to talk to the world's most productive workers, you don't buy a ticket to Japan or Germany -- you go to Tulsa, or Tampa or Tempe. The most productive workers in the world ~~can be found~~ ^{ARE} right here -- in the USA. //

I have faith that ~~we~~ ^{AS} we open ^{MORE} foreign markets, our workers will satisfy the demand for our products. So my agenda starts with a global trade strategy -- to build a network of new free trade agreements, not just with Canada and Mexico, but with Chile and other Latin America nations, as well as emerging democracies like Czechoslovakia and Poland. While some say America should turn ~~in~~ ^{AWAY} from the world economy, I say lets reach out. After all, the American worker will never retreat. We always compete -- and we will win.//

But understand -- developed economies need developing minds. That's why my "Agenda for American Renewal" takes aim at a second critical challenge -- preparing our children for the new Century ahead. That means a revolution in American education.

Competition works in our economy -- I believe it's time to bring some competition to the classroom. I know Secretary Lamar Alexander was with you today, and I'm sure he talked about our GI

Agenda for American Renewal

Secretary Alexander's Scheduling Office

~~Bill for Kids.~~ ^{ONE} It would give ~~thousand~~ ^{one} dollar scholarships to ~~parents~~ ^{MURPHY - AD} so that they can choose the school they want their child to attend. ^{Radio address 6/92}

My opponent says he supports a variety of choice in education. But if you'll look real ^{ly} close -- he wants parents to choose between public schools, public schools, public schools. I don't think that's right. Whether it's the public school across town or the private or religious school right across the street, I believe parents, not the government, should decide which school is best for their kids. //

?
 DISCUSSION
 OF
 SCHOOL
 PRAYER
 AMEND.
 ?
 .
 Now, the third key component of my agenda for American renewal: Helping America's businesses sharpen their competitive edge. Small businesses create 2/3 of all new American jobs -- and they're the first to turn change to advantage in a fast-moving economy. Pat Robertson is a businessman. He'll tell you what holds back business in America today -- regulation / taxation / and litigation. I want to cut them all.

BUSINESS CARD
 You know, America has become the land of the lawsuit -- ^{if} ~~catch~~ ^{that's} you A you fall off a ladder these days, a lawyer will be there to ~~catch~~ you -- before you hit the ground. Each year, consumers and companies spend up to \$200 billion dollars on direct payments to lawyers. That's crazy, and I want to do something about it. I believe as a nation, we must sue each other less and start caring for one another more. //

That brings me to the fourth part of my agenda -- providing economic security -- for all Americans.

In the past four years, we've done so much to bring peace to the world, but our victory is not complete, until we have peace of mind at home.

Whether your collar is blue or white, whether you till the farm or work on the assembly line, Americans today worry about health care. They ask -- can I afford it? What if I lose it?

Again, we have two alternatives. My opponent offers a plan that would have government set prices, and could eventually lead to having (13 percent of our GNP) under the same people who gave us the House Post Office.

(I used to say that his system would give us the efficiency of the House Post Office, and the compassion of the KGB. But I don't say that anymore, I'm afraid of getting letters from Russia saying -- "quit knocking the KGB.")

I have a different approach, a better approach. Cut costs by going after the root causes of the health care explosion -- like medical malpractice. Encourage small businesses to pool their coverage, driving down price. Use the principles of the marketplace, to make sure that when it comes to medicine, the intense pain only occurs at the doctor's office, not at home when you get the bill.

IT AFFORD TO WASTE THE ABILITIES OF A SIMPLE PERSON
 America can't ~~have no spare people~~ -- if we are to compete.

So the fifth part of our Agenda for American Renewal must mean an America that leaves no one behind. Welfare as we know it has to change. Today welfare drains taxpayers of hard-earned dollars - - and recipients of hard-to-replace dignity. But now, states

Detroit Econ Speech
 9/10/92

like Wisconsin are saying -- "enough is enough." With our help, they're experimenting with programs that reward work and personal responsibility. REMARKS IN APPLETON, WIS 7/27/92

We need a welfare system that encourages families to stick together -- and fathers to stick around. //

The sixth part of my Agenda For America will bring change to one of the most change-resistant institutions in America: The government. Think about the family budget in 1945. Back then, the average family spent 2 percent of its adjusted gross income on federal taxes -- today, the figure is almost 24 percent.

FEDERAL

5.5%
For
1955

Why are many Moms and Dads forced to spend less time with their children, so they can feed Uncle Sam.

My opponent has a boundless enthusiasm for government. He offers at least \$220 billion in new spending, and \$150 billion in new taxes -- that's just to start.

I take a different approach. I believe Government is too big, and it spends too much of your money. //

That's why my agenda includes a new idea to drive down the deficit -- by giving you -- the American taxpayer -- the power to earmark a full 10 percent of your federal tax dollars for one purpose, and one purpose only: to pay down the national debt. //

This is ~~the~~ ^{AN} outline of my Agenda for America. Many of the ideas are well underway, others are new. But all represent a serious response -- to the economic challenges of this new age -- an answer to the questions being asked around American's dining room tables.

ALTHOUGH OTHERS MAY ~~NOT~~ OPPOSE THEM.

7

I have diagnosed the problem, and offered specific solutions ~~not all of them~~
-- ~~not all of them are popular~~. And I'm asking for a mandate, so we can put my ideas into action immediately, and get this economy moving again.

For now, at least, my opponent has ^{HE} chosen a different strategy. Rather than talk about what ~~wants~~ to do for America, he spends all his time and energy belittling my ideas, and playing on fears.

One example. I want to talk about ways to limit the growth of government spending -- which every expert will tell you must be done. But instead of offering any spending restraint of his own, Governor Clinton simply goes around saying -- watch out seniors, watch out Veterans, watch our disabled.

I know times are tough. But ~~what do you think of a candidate, who is more interested in~~ playing on people's fears, ~~rather~~ than dealing with real problems. ~~I say that candidate will do anything to get elected.~~ ^{WILL NOT MOVE US FORWARD} ^{OF}

I believe America deserves a serious discussion ^{OF} on the issues. Issues like how to renew our nation by spurring economic growth, so that we can help strengthen our families. I will talk about ideas that can deal not just with our immediate challenges today, but will build a safer and more secure America tomorrow.

Before I leave, let me just say that I know you cannot endorse me, but I endorse you -- and all the work you are doing to restore the spiritual foundation of our nation.

Matthew 6:21 reminds us, "where your treasure is, there ^{will} your heart ~~will~~ be also."

Our treasure is America. With our Renewal agenda, and your efforts in the grassroots, we are joined in a crusade to create an American future -- that is worthy of proud past.

//

Thank you all for this warm welcome -- and may God bless this great nation, the United States of America.

#

→ The Open Bible Edition, 1975,
Page: 892

(Smith/Gershowitz)
Draft Two
September 11, 1992
ROBERTSON

Bob Marlow, Pres. Advance
Said President Will
Not be present during
the invocation.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: EVANGELICALS
VIRGINIA BEACH, VA.
FRIDAY, SEPT. 11, 1992

Pat Robertson -- and I want to salute your leadership. Dede
Robertson -- and their sons, Tim and Gordon. Reverend Sweet --
thank you for that invocation. Members of the Board, Christian
Coalition. Dan Burton. ~~Dennis Hastert~~ ^{John Warner}. Senators Mark Earley
and Ken Stolle. The rest of the Beach Boys. //

((It is often said of a group that "They haven't got a
prayer." Tonight I am pleased to be with an audience about whom
that will never be said.)) //

I am delighted to be in the heart of America's evangelical
community. ((It's always good to know that if it takes divine
intervention to save my speech -- help is close at hand.)) //

I want to talk to you about what we call family values.
Perhaps we should term them traditional values -- for they are as
old as Scripture and as young as the American Dream. They apply
to single and two-parent families / to stay-at-home and working
mothers. They can uplift all Americans -- black or white / rural
or urban / the privileged or the poor. //

Traditional values matter in a moral sense. Tim, you know
this as president of the Family Channel: We do need a Nation
closer to The Waltons than The Simpsons. / We need to live what
the Good Shepherd preached: Timeless teachings like tolerance,
compassion, faith, and courage. //

Stephen Scheffler
→ on chair instead of Hastert

Next, traditional values matter in a military sense -- helping us, as Christ said, "be a light unto the world." / A strong America can protect things like freedom of expression, and to worship as we please. Remember Panama / Eastern Europe / the fall of Communism / the Persian Gulf. Today, the times are on the side of peace -- because the world is on the side of God. //

Traditional values can also meet America's greatest challenge: You know what it is -- the economy. //

Think of the economy as an equation. Our economy depends on growth. Growth creates prosperity. Prosperity creates jobs, lifts hope -- above all, keeps families intact. Barbara and I have 5 kids, 12 grand-kids. ((That's the kind of expansion that makes even the Federal bureaucracy jealous.)) I know how the family matters. That is why I believe: Government should help keep families together -- not adopt policies to drive them apart.

By pro-family, I mean it isn't enough just to talk the talk about keeping taxes, spending, and regulation low. We have to walk the walk -- following policies that build on our strengths. Inflation down. Interest rates at a twenty-year low. An American standard of living the highest in the world. //

Detroit Economic Club Speech: 9/10/92

So yesterday I released my Agenda for American Renewal. My agenda for action -- by the year 2000 to bring our economy to ten trillion dollars strong. Can we achieve it? Can we ever -- for Americans are an extraordinary people. What we need is to give them the keys to do extraordinary things. I can -- and we will.

Detroit Economic Club, PAGE 2

The first key unlocks foreign markets. It's called Challenging the world. We've got to complete global trade negotiations, and get congressional approval of the North American Free Trade Agreement. Trade with Mexico and Canada already brings billion dollars into America each year. NAFTA would turn the whole country into a gigantic free-trade zone -- a \$6 trillion market from the Yukon to the Yucatan. // *Wash Post*

My opponent used to support this agreement -- then opposed it. Now he says: "I'm reviewing it carefully; when I have a definitive opinion I will say so." / Pat, I'm glad you have the "700 Club" -- but I think my opponent should have a "700 Club" of his own. That's the number of positions he takes on each issue. / I don't recall hearing leadership defined as "Please leave a message and we'll get back to you." //

The second key to opportunity is Preparing our Children. Developed economics demand developing minds ... our schools must prepare our kids to compete in an ever-shrinking world. / Already we spend more per pupil than almost any other country -- so money's not the answer. Raising standards -- community involvement -- and giving parents school choice is. //

((There's a tale I like about a teacher who asked a young boy, "So your favorite book is about Jonah and the Whale. What does that story teach us?"

The boy answered, "People make whales sick.")

Well, whether it's public, private or religious -- parents, not government, should choose where their children learn -- and

Detroit Econ Speech, 9-10-92 (Phased slightly different)

what they learn about. Jonah no less than Jane Fonda. // In fact, Jonah more than Jane Fonda. This President will never discriminate against religious-based schools. //

Here's my third key to unlocking the future: Sharpening Businesses' Competitive Edge. / Now, I spent half of my life as a businessman. I cringe when my opponent says he wants to do for businesses across America what he's done for businesses in Arkansas. // Governor Clinton doesn't seem to get that private dollars build more businesses -- public businesses build more bureaucracies. How could he? He's spent his professional life feeding at the government trough. I spent mine in business hating regulations that turn red tape into pink slips. That's why I want to cut Federal paperwork. And we've got to put a restraining order out on our legal system. /

My opponent's a lawyer. Nothing wrong with that -- I guess. But it takes a leap of faith even God might not request to imagine one running the entire country. /

((I don't want to get into trouble with the Bar Association. / Oh, why not? // I once quoted to someone that line, "An apple a day keeps the doctor away." He said: "What works for lawyers?))

I believe America needs more faith -- and fewer lawsuits. We'd be better off if we start caring for each other more -- and suing each other less. I also believe in the fourth key of my agenda for American Renewal: Promoting Economic Security. //

Detroit
ECON
9/10/92

Economic security means job training to ease workers into our new economy. It means health care reform -- my proposals would cut 394 billion dollars of health care costs over five years.

The good Governor has a different prescription: "take two aspirin and call me after the election." Sorry: An America headache would result from his binge. Nor do I agree with my opponent about helping the poor. He wants to give them a room with a view. I want to slip them the keys. This fifth key -- Leaving No One Behind -- focuses not on how much we hand out -- but how many we help up. I can't forget how past policies put a roof over people's heads -- but forget to build the door.

I want to open the door to housing vouchers, Enterprise Zones, and workfare reforms. And I want to strengthen it by our final key -- Rightsizing Government. Today, the Federal government spends almost a quarter of every dollar of the nation's income. My opponent doesn't think that's enough. He wants 150 billion dollars worth of new spending. And he wants your pot of gold up front to pay for his rainbow.

I disagree. I think government's not taxing too little -- it's spending too much. So the agenda I published yesterday contains caps on the growth of government spending and a freeze on domestic spending. A balanced budget and a line-item veto. I've also proposed a check-off box on tax returns -- to give taxpayers their own private veto pen. Some editorialists sneer at my check-off proposal. As usual, they know best. But the

A. Detroit Econ - 9-10-92

B. Page 2, "Agenda" for American Renewal

Pg 6, Toplin, Mos Speed - 9-11-92

Toplin, Mos Speed 9-11-92

old cut it should be 150 Billion in New Taxes Not "Spending"

In the "Agenda" booklet + Pg 8, Detroit Econ Speed, 9-10-92

American people seem to like my idea. As usual, they know better. //

It won't be easy to enact my agenda for American Renewal. The bureaucracy opposes it. The special interests detest it. / But I'm up for the fight -- and so are you. Just as we're ready for other causes. Things like the sanctity of life born and unborn. Parental leave which respects working and stay-at-home mothers. And, yes, let me say it again: I want a Constitutional Amendment restoring voluntary prayer to our schools. //

I know that you cannot endorse me. But I want to close by endorsing an America both great and good -- and recalling a glorious moment in the American story. It occurred on D-Day / June 6, 1944 / as Dwight Eisenhower addressed the sailors, soldiers, and airmen of the Allied Expeditionary Force. //

"You are about to embark," he told them, "upon a great crusade. The eyes of the world are upon you. The hopes and prayers of liberty-loving people everywhere march with you." And then Ike spoke this moving prayer: "Let us all beseech the blessing of Almighty God, upon this great and noble undertaking."

D. Eisenhower - Pg 19/13
PAPERS OF

American renewal is a great and noble undertaking. Military renewal. Economic renewal. Moral renewal. We cannot afford to fail -- and will not -- for we are Americans. Thank you for your kindness, and may God bless this wondrous land -- the United States of America.

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LEVEL 2 - 1 OF 16 DOCUMENTS

Public Papers of the Presidents

Remarks at a Breakfast With Community Service Clubs in
Riverside, California

28 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1359

July 31, 1992

LENGTH: 2084 words

... welfare, welfare said no. I want a system that rewards responsibility, and I want a system that says yes.

Now, in making these changes, I've put my trust in the States more than Washington. That's the philosophical underpinning of our approach to welfare. So a big part of our efforts it to give Sates the freedom to make the changes they want, new ideas, new opportunities, new flexibility.

I asked Gail Wilensky, my very able welfare reform specialist who works with me in the White House, asked her this: What is the basic problem? She said that key old thinkers in the United States Congress and old thinkers in the

28 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1359

bureaucracy really believe -- it's a conviction with them -- really believe that welfare policy should be controlled and dictated from Washington, D.C. They are 100 percent wrong. We must put the trust in the States and in the communities and thus in the people.

Our initiatives come in many forms, and they take many shapes. From job training programs right here in Riverside to our successful effort to make sure that every eligible 4- ...

... one works even part-time, they can lose their check. Fathers faced an awful Hobson's choice: the kids or the weekly payment. And far too many chose the payment.

We've given States like Wisconsin the freedom to experiment with allowing moms or dads to work without losing payments. I believe it's time we encourage families to stick together and fathers to stick around. But when dads do take off, we don't ...

... child." Let some try that. I know this is a tough call, a tough decision, but so is a system in which poverty is handed down from generation to generation.

These ideas are happening in Wisconsin, in New Jersey, in Oregon, in Maryland, and yes, right here in California. Pete Wilson is fighting hard against an entrenched bureaucracy there in Sacramento to end the practice of welfare shopping, to ...

LEVEL 2 - 3 OF 16 DOCUMENTS

Public Papers of the Presidents

Remarks on Arrival in Appleton, Wisconsin

28 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1335

July 27, 1992

LENGTH: 566 words

... I do have an official announcement I want to make today. I first want to salute Governor Thompson, Senator Kasten, and our distinguished Members of the United States House of Representatives. Great to be back in this State that's built on faith and family and freedom. Wisconsin is a great example to the rest of America, just as America is to the entire world. And today I'm very proud to be in a place where programs like Learnfare and Workfare and the Parental Responsibility Act all tell America: Watch Wisconsin because Wisconsin works.

Governor Thompson wants Wisconsin to work even better, and that's why he's joined my crusade to reform our welfare system. Let's face it, we know the system has failed the people. It doesn't lift families from poverty; it traps

Last April my administration signed a first waiver for Wisconsin. And today it will sign a second giving Governor Thompson the freedom to further reform this State's welfare program. Governor Thompson's ultimate goal is to break the cycle of dependency that traps so many people and create incentives for recipients to work and learn. He understands that more important than having an America that helps people in need is building an America where fewer people need to be helped.

Today I want to challenge other States in our country to follow Wisconsin's lead in bringing new ideas to our welfare system. Last week we approved New Jersey's Family Development Program, whose reforms in the State welfare program reward work and unite families. And I am confident other States will now do what America does best, bring local genius to local needs.

In coming months, we are going to watch Wisconsin to see how Wisconsin works. Together, we can help change that welfare system and, in doing so, change America. I'm proud to sign this waiver. I congratulate Governor Thompson and the people of Wisconsin.

Thank you all very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 1:19 p.m. at the Outagamie County Airport.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SEPTEMBER 11, 1992

MEMORANDUM TO CHRISTINA MARTIN

FROM: GARY GERSHOWITZ--SPEECHWRITING

SUBJECT: FAMILY BUDGET in Coalition Speech

SECOND PARAGRAPH, PAGE 6 (WHERE THE PRESIDENT DISCUSSES "THE SIXTH PART OF MY AGENDA"):

Just spoke to J. D. Foster in Council of Economic Advisors. He CANNOT CONFIRM "the family budget in 1945" -- his data only goes back to 1955. Foster said that if we use 1955, "the average family spent 5.5 percent of its ~~adjusted gross income~~ on federal taxes."

→ family budget

TO TROOPS OF A.E.F.

[June 6, 1944]

Soldiers, Sailors and Airmen of the Allied Expeditionary Forces!: You are about to embark upon the Great Crusade, toward which we have striven these many months. The eyes of the world are upon you. The hopes and prayers of liberty-loving people everywhere march with you. In company with our brave Allies and brothers-in-arms on other Fronts you will bring about the destruction of the German war machine, the elimination of Nazi tyranny over oppressed peoples of Europe, and security for ourselves in a free world.

Your task will not be an easy one. Your enemy is well trained, well equipped and battle-hardened. He will fight savagely.

But this is the year 1944! Much has happened since the Nazi triumphs of 1940-41. The United Nations have inflicted upon the Germans great defeats, in open battle, man-to-man. Our air offensive has seriously reduced their strength in the air and their capacity to wage war on the ground. Our Home Fronts have given us an overwhelming superiority in weapons and munitions of war, and placed at our disposal great reserves of trained fighting men. The tide has turned! The free men of the world are marching together to Victory!

I have full confidence in your courage, devotion to duty and skill in battle. We will accept nothing less than full victory!

Good Luck! And let us all beseech the blessing of Almighty God upon this great and noble undertaking.¹

¹ G-1 prepared this Order of the Day and the following document under the date of May 4. On the draft Eisenhower had written: "To G-1. I've changed this a bit. Look it over and show it to C/S, before submitting to me again" (May 4, SHAEF SGS 335.18 Messages to Troops of A.E.F.). Smith made no changes in the document, which was issued exactly as Eisenhower had revised it. The text is reprinted in Pogue, *Supreme Command*, p. 545.

TO TROOPS OF THE A.E.F.

[June 6, 1944]

*Draft of Suggested Letter on Conduct of Troops in Liberated Countries:*¹

You are soon to be engaged in a great undertaking—the invasion of Europe. Our purpose is to bring about, in company with our Allies, and our comrades on other fronts, the total defeat of Germany. Only by such a com-



Christian Coalition

TELECOPY TRANSMISSION

DATE: 9-9-92

TO: Gary Gershowitz

FAX NO.: _____

NO. OF PAGE(S): 3 (Including cover sheet)

FROM: Ralph Reed (or - Mona)

RE: Speech

MESSAGE: Phone: 804 424-2630
Christian Coalition

424-5571



Christian Coalition

MEMORANDUM TO: GARY GERSHOWITZ
 FROM: RALPH REED
 SUBJ: PRESIDENT'S SPEECH
 DATE: SEPTEMBER 9, 1992

1. Where is event?

The Virginia Ballroom of the Founders Inn and Conference Center in Virginia Beach. An estimated 1,500 people will be in attendance.

2. Any noteworthy people?

Locally elected Republican state legislators: State Sen. Ken Stolle, Delegate Bob McDonnell, and five others known collectively as the "Beach Boys." Tim Robertson, Pat's son, president of the Family Channel, the fourth largest cable network in the nation. Pat McSweeney, chairman of the Virginia Republican Party. George Sweet, pastor of Atlantic Shores Baptist Church, will give the invocation.

EMPHASIS IS ON "FAMILY VALUES" - OWN exclusive RIGHTS TO "THE WALLONS"

3. Who will introduce President?

Pat Robertson.

4. Who is on Dais?

- Pat Robertson
- Dede Robertson (Pat's wife)
- Gordon Robertson (Pat's son, Chairman, 2nd District GOP)
- Ralph Reed, executive director, Christian Coalition
- Jim Chapman, Republican nominee for Congress in 2nd district
- Dick Weinholt, Board of Directors, Christian Coalition
- Billy McCormack, Board of Directors, Christian Coalition
- The Honorable Dan Burton (R-IN)
- The Honorable Dennis Hastert (R-IL)
- Pat McSweeney, Chairman, Republican Party of Virginia
- Sara Hardman, president, California Christian Coalition

5. Name of Closest High School?

Roberta Combs " " South Carolina " " "

Kempsville High School (Kempsville Chiefs)
 Colors: Red, Blue and Silver
 Won-loss record: (no games yet this year)

Last team played:
Score of Last Game:

First game is Friday night against Great Bridge High.

6. Any Local Event?

Laborfest just concluded: a Labor Day weekend holiday celebration at the beach, sponsored by the City of Virginia Beach.

Neptune Festival: coming up later this month to commemorate the end of the beach season, centered around a mythical King Neptune, lots of activities such as (sand castle contests.)



Christian Coalition URGENT FAX

DATE: 9/9/92

TO: Gary Gerшковitz

FAX TELEPHONE NUMBER: 202-456-6218

NUMBER OF PAGES: 2 (INCLUDING COVER SHEET)

FROM: Ralph Reed

MESSAGE:

“Giving Christians a voice in their government again.”

1801-L Sara Drive, Chesapeake, Virginia 23320 (804) 424-2530 Fax: (804) 424-9068

MEMO TO: GARY GERSHOWITZ
FROM: RALPH REED
DATE: SEPTEMBER 9, 1992

Sen. Mark Earley*

Sen. Ken Stolle* → (STOLLY)

Del. Bob Purkey

Del. Bob Tata ✓

Del. Bob McDonnell ✓

Del. Frank Wagner ✓

Del. Leo Wardrup ✓

*Gary, I think you can get away with just mentioning Mark Earley and Ken Stolle, and just referring to the others as "the rest of the Beach Boys."

(Smith/Gershowitz)
Draft Three
September 9, 1992
TOLERANCE

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: EVANGELICALS
VIRGINIA BEACH, VA.
FRIDAY, SEPT. 11, 1992

President __. Director __. My good friend Pat Robertson --
and I want to salute your leadership. Ladies and gentlemen.

((It is often said of a group that "They haven't got a
prayer." Tonight I am pleased to be with an audience about whom
that will never be said.)) //

I am delighted to be in the heart of America's evangelical
community. ((It's always good to know that if it takes divine
intervention to save my speech -- help is close at hand.)) //

I want to talk to you today less as President than as
husband, father, neighbor, friend. Talk a little bit about the
teachings of the Sermon on the Mount -- lessons which recall that
while God can live without man, man cannot live without God. //

The Good Shepherd taught us many things. Faith, fidelity,
compassion, courage. He also taught that we could not be a light
unto others if we embraced darkness in ourselves. / Nation or
individual -- we were put here to love, not hate, each other.
Which is why I believe that tolerance is a virtue -- not a vice.

All of us learn different lessons at different stages of our
lives. / For instance, I learned about prayer as a kid at the
dinner table -- when each day mother or dad read a Bible lesson.
[[Well, up to a point. I don't think that even God could get me

to eat broccoli.]] // As a teenager, I memorized the Navy hymn:
"O hear us when we cry to thee / for those in peril on the sea" -
- and learned how death knows no ideology. /

Jacqui Cragg
OEOB Librarian's
Confirmed
The Church
Hymnary
755,

From Barbara I learned, as the Bible says, "to act justly,
to love mercy, and to walk humbly." [[Believe me, when I compare
my polls to hers, I have something to be humble about.]] /
Ironically, it was war that taught me civility. I was 18 --
same age as many of the enemy. Japanese or Americans -- it
didn't seem to matter. I knew how God would want us both to "be
thy brother's keeper." //

Then came the post-war years -- for me, a place called Texas
-- where I learned about something called tolerance. Lived the
dream -- Little League, PTA, backyard barbeques. Saw how black
or white, red or brown -- God was color-blind. It was here I
truly learned how to "do unto others." It was a lesson I never
forgot. //

Let's admit it: It's not easy to "love thy neighbor as
thyself." If it were, you and I would be camels passing through
the eye of a needle. Yet recall the Good Book: If Jesus could
break bread with Zacheus the tax-collector, so can Americans with
each other. // Zacchaeus

The Concise
Oxford Dictionary
of
the Christian
Church
564

Our Nation was forged on tolerance. First came a wave of
bigotry. Baptists preachers arrested for preaching without a
license / voting and property limited to chosen denominations /
clerical heresy could mean banishment -- or worse. Then came a
counter-wave. Jefferson said of intolerance: "It is a departure

"The Annals of America"

Vol 3, Pg 53, 12, 1786

3

from the plan of the Holy author of our religion." Washington spoke -- I quote -- of "how the government of the United States gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance."

Recall Roger Williams and William Penn, the Huguenots and Quakers. They showed how in a pluralistic society tolerance could stir the melting pot -- and keep hate from setting it on fire. //

By tolerance, I mean the principle and the action: One without the other is like Pat Robertson without Sheila Walsh. /

Today, we need both to preach and practice tolerance -- not just to talk the talk, but to walk the walk. That is why I am troubled by what I see in America. I see people attacking not judgement -- but others' intent, and motive. I see certain topics declared off-limits -- people denied the right to honestly think and speak their mind. I hear insults hurled recklessly. "Bigot, racist, fellow traveler, redneck." I see our culture and our debate coarsened and cheapened. //

When America chooses a President -- you elect not only programs, but a person. Two men this year seek your support. You must know what I believe. //

I believe that the definition of a successful life must include serving others. We cannot serve each other if we demean each other. / I believe that decency and courtesy are not character flaws. I believe that family -- whether single-parent or traditional -- is America's heirloom of the heart -- and that the kind of family you come from means less than the responsibility you uphold as individuals. //

"The Annals of America" Vol 3, Pg 434

Documented in various American History Annals

I believe in the rule of reason -- not force. I know that we are all God's children -- and that we should treat each other gently. We can't just listen to each other. We have to hear. After all: Only God has a monopoly on truth. //

When the rights of unborn children are abolished -- that's not tolerance but intolerance. When our children's textbooks become value-neutral -- with the historical role of religion in America repudiated -- I call that amnesia about everything which tolerance conveys. /

When a teacher in Colorado is ordered to refrain from silent reading of the Bible during pre-class time and remove all Bibles from his class -- there's a word for this. Unfair. //

WASH TIMES
Inside the
Beltway, 9/2/92

And when television shows trash traditional values / when network TV offers countless programs which glorify sex and profanity / and when it refuses to even acknowledge the millions of Americans who believe in goodness, generosity, modesty, integrity. Here is my response. Not a rose is a rose is a rose. Enough is enough is enough. //

Here's an example of intolerance. Last week, the District of Columbia's health commissioner ordered school nurses to dispense condoms to students even -- get this -- if parents write letters asking that their children not be given them. / The silence has been deafening: Apparently, many stand with the bureaucracy. I refuse to be silent: I stand with parents. //

WASH. Post
Section D1, 9/4/92

Tolerance includes parents' rights to raise their kids -- teach them values -- a decent respect for right versus wrong. It

also means opposing a new intolerance: The leper known as "political correctness." / You know how the politically correct would ban classics like Tom Sawyer / insert ridiculous euphemisms into the English language / and attempt to silence those they disagree with. / Well, P.C. is not U.S.A. // There's no room for intellectual blackballing or brown-shirting in the land of the red, white, and blue. We haven't fought for freedom around the world -- only to now turn our backs on tactics that would place a gag on freedom of expression here at home. //

No group has the right to impose its will and dictate its view of morality on the rest of society. // I know you agree. Yet I mean to speak the whole truth -- and here it is: Intolerance is not a word stamped "Liberals only." / Too often we conservatives have not been vigilant -- but overzealous. Forgetting why America was founded -- to bring in, not drive away. Our politics have been of the closed door -- not the open door. We sometimes forget how God asks us to hate the sin -- but, yes, to love the sinner.

As conservatives we should ask ourselves: How can we condone homosexual- and lesbian-bashing / the burning of abortion clinics / the smearing of non-Americans as unAmerican? Have we not endorsed the view -- even accidentally -- that since only our way is good -- others must be bad? There are some who would build America up by keeping others out. Suggest that those not of a certain gender, race, or family structure are second-class citizens. Dismiss all feminists as extremists --

forgetting that this may inadvertently chastise all women who work for a living. / Yes, Murphy Brown is a single parent, but so was Andy Taylor. ((Course, he had Aunt Bea in reserve.))

When God looks down from Heaven, He does not divide black from white / rural from urban / stay-at-home mothers from single mothers. He says -- as we must: All are welcome at my table. //

When we sing the song, "Jesus Loves the Little Children," we don't mean just those who are affluent / suburban / who have two parents. We mean all the "children of the world." Each is "precious in His sight." //

Barbara and I had six kids -- one died, five are living. I believe all were precious -- just as all Americans will be welcome at the table as long as I am President. I believe, too, that different means neither better nor worse.

In the only election that really counts, God won't ask. Were you English-speaking? Were you "foreign" -- whatever that means? He won't ask, did you attend the finest parties? Were you -- quote, unquote -- "successful"?

Instead, God will ask. Were we kind? Were we selfless? Did we lend a hand, and tend a wound -- believe in prayer, and keep God's faith? Did we truly live -- did we try to live -- a good and honest life?

Let me close with a story about a man who did. It concerns a man of God. His father and grand-father were ministers. He himself was a Minister -- a Baptist -- had a lovely wife, Lydia. He had dedicated his life to the church.

}NYT
9-7-92

Then, one day in 1982, his wife became infected with H.I.V., the virus that causes AIDS. She got it from a blood transfusion during pregnancy. // Since then his wife has died -- last year, at, 38, in their home in Dallas. So has their youngest child. Their first son, 10, also with H.I.V., has survived. But, you

NYT
9/7/92

know: I wonder if decency has.

You see, when some discovered that the minister's wife had H.I.V., they began avoiding him -- shunning him. Five times he and his family were discouraged from attending Baptist churches. In the end, he was asked to leave the ministry. / Today, the Reverend Scott Allen works on the National Commission on AIDS.

NYT
9/7/92

Recalls his wife. Tries to sort out his life. Thinks about what he was taught in Divinity school: "God will bless your life if you believe in Him." //

"live"

?

The truth is that God didn't decide to shun Scott Allen. We did -- you and me. Too often we have fallen short -- ignored thy neighbor -- forgot that our fate is indivisible. The Bible says, "If one member suffers, all suffer together." If God works in mysterious ways -- we must work in earthly ways. We must be, until the end of time, a light unto the world. //

Tolerance allows -- demands -- the right of any American to take a stand on principle. You may dislike it / detest it / think it springs from another planet. / No matter -- we must respect it. America will not be divinely blessed as long as one American is denied the right to speak his mind ... to reveal his heart ... to be proud of what he is. //

Matthew 6:21 reminds us, "Where your treasure is, there your heart will be also." Our inheritance is America. Treasure it.

Recall how love can create a future worthy of our dreams. Thank you for your support, and your faith in the future. God bless this wondrous land -- the United States of America.

#

- (ii) Bar members of Congress (and senior Congressional staff) from lobbying Congress for one year -- a one-year "cooling-off" period -- as proposed in the 1988 Post-Employment Act.
- (iii) Provide for civil sanctions and proof of misconduct by a preponderance of the evidence for violation of 207's post-employment restrictions, as proposed in the 1988 Post-Employment Act.
- (iv) Provide for enhanced criminal sanctions for knowing and intended violation of 207's post-employment restrictions, as proposed in the 1988 Post-Employment Act.
- (v) Prohibit the use of confidential information in post-employment activity with civil and criminal sanctions impose both the former employee and his/her new employer in the private sector.

* * *

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF RELIGIOUS BROADCASTERS
Washington D.C.
February 2, 1987

I'd like to talk to you about some of the ways in which we can advance the ethical values of American society.

You here today are developing values through freedom of broadcasting and in some cases political action. Up until the end of the last century, evangelicals were actively involved in American politics, but there was great debate, and you gradually turned your spirituality inward. You withdrew for over a hundred years.

Not all withdrew. To their credit, the pastors of black churches took another route. They saw that political involvement could be of enormous importance in bettering the moral and spiritual life of their parishioners. They led the struggle for full civil rights for black Americans.

Everyone in this room knows why evangelicals returned. You had no choice. In your absence, it became wrong for a teacher to give an aspirin to a child without a written note from a parent, but OK for strangers to give birth control pills to a child without the parent knowing.

In your absence, the rights of schoolchildren to pray silently and voluntarily to their God were denied.

In your absence, the rights of unborn children were abolished.

In your absence, our children's textbooks became value-neutral -- with the historical role of religion in American society totally repudiated.

And in your absence, there was a lessening of the spiritual fiber of this country, a country which was created as one nation under God.

Now, I don't claim to agree with everything that everybody in the Evangelical movement stands for -- in fact, I have a concern I'll discuss with you in a minute -- but I know this. America needs your participation in the life of this country. We need your values. We need your strength. We need the balance you bring to public debate. And so, after a hundred years absence, I say welcome back.

Your presence is healthy for the political process. Your movement is one of the reasons the Republican party is stronger today than it was a decade ago, so we don't want to lose a single one of you. But the values you represent should transcend party lines. Daniel didn't get harmed when he walked among the lions. And I don't think you'd be eaten if you walked among the Democrats -- though you might get chewed up a bit. But the Democratic party is full of good people who need your values as much as we in the Republican party.

Now, another way we can improve the ethics of American society is to speak out. I believe there are times we must remind ourselves of what we represent as a people. I think we're going through such a period. We need to restate some of our basic ethics, the ethics necessary for the growth and success of our children.

There's been a lot of attention focused lately on ethics in business. A major bank in Boston launders money. Defense contractors are found guilty of cheating the taxpayer. A brokerage firm admits to checking abuses. What with insider trading schemes and the like so prominent in the news there's something very important our children must know. And it's this: Greed is not a legitimate force in this society.

We must teach our children that we believe in bettering our lives. We believe in the benefits that flow from capitalism. But we do not believe in the grasping desire for wealth. Because, as we read in Matthew 6:21, "Where your treasure is, there your heart will be also." We must teach our children of His treasures.

We must speak out on the disturbing incidents of racism we've seen in recent months. We must let our children know -- hatred has no place in American life. The Ku Klux Klan is an embarrassment to Christ, whose gospel is love, and an embarrassment to our nation, whose gospel is freedom. And there's no county, no borough, no area of this country that is off limits to any American. Any American should be able to walk anywhere in this land in dignity and freedom.

We must let our children know these things. We must make clear what is right and what is wrong. For as we read in First Corinthians 14:8, "If the trumpet is unclear, who shall prepare himself for battle."

You here today are the trumpet. But there are those who wish you were silent. I wish critics would respect your right to hold conservative views as willingly as they let liberal church activists hold theirs. I wish critics would defend your right to be on TV as freely as they defend the rights of everyone else.

Ladies and gentlemen, you have a right to be part of the social and political and broadcasting life of this country. The National Religious Broadcasters have as much right to be heard as the World Council of Churches. I say -- You are the trumpet, so let your trumpet sound.

Now besides speaking out and participating, there's another way to influence the ethical standards of America. I believe our schools should get back to the business of teaching values. And so do the American people. According to a Gallup poll, Americans in overwhelming numbers say they want schools to do two things: First, teach our children to read and write and add and think; and second, help our children develop standards of right and wrong to guide them through life.

Now when I speak of teaching values in the schools, I'm not talking about sex or religious education. I'm talking about the core values of character and citizenship that a democratic society requires. You often hear that you can't teach values. I don't buy it. I think Americans are in fairly general agreement as to what constitutes good character. It includes qualities like decency, kindness, duty, tolerance, courage, self-discipline and respect for law.

Yet, for two decades, many schools have gone out of their way not to teach values. They have sought to remain value-neutral. A New York Times article quoted educators who said they deliberately avoided telling students what is ethically right and wrong.

The article told of a counseling session involving high school students. In the session, the students concluded that a fellow had been foolish to return \$1000 she found in a purse. When the students asked the counselor's opinion, he told them he believed that the girl had done the right thing, but that, of course, he wouldn't try to force his values on them. "If I come from the position of what is right and what is wrong," he explained, "then I'm not their counselor."

Well, in the words of Bill Bennett, our Secretary of Education, once upon a time a counselor offered counsel. He knew that an adult doesn't form character in the young by being neutral toward questions of right and wrong, or by merely offering "choices" or "options."

Teaching values and ethics in the schools is not a matter of liberal versus conservative. It's a matter of seeing that our young people develop the character they need to get through life.

Now, a few minutes ago, I mentioned I had a concern about one aspect of the evangelical movement. When you ended your social isolation, you came forward because you wanted freedom. You wanted your voice to be heard and your beliefs to be respected. You wanted the right to pass shared values to your children. Religious broadcasters in particular have filled a great need for spiritual awakening in our people. Your growth makes this clear.

But a dilemma is at hand. And I raise this as a friend who believes deeply in your involvement. Initially, you sought freedom. In the process, you gained power. And with power, a small minority now want control. There are those who would seek to impose their will and dictate their interpretation of morality on the rest of society.

There are those who would forget the need for tolerance. There is no reason Huckleberry Finn should be banned from the schools of this country. There is no reason The Diary of Anne Frank should not be read. Closing our children off from the outside world will not protect them.

The Bible itself is an extremely honest book. God's prophets never sheltered their readers from the ugliness of life. As you know, there are horrible stories of massacre and rape in the Bible. The Bible doesn't protect children from the dangers or the injustices or the evils of the world.

To that small minority, I say -- Please, don't take away generally accepted books now that you have greater influence. Remember what it was like.

Always respect that we are one nation under God, but at the same time, we believe in the separation of church and state. Be out front in your views, but respect those for whom religion is so personal they find public witnessing difficult.

We must be vigilant, but not overzealous.

Yes, by all means, we must remain active in supplying balance and removing the clearly inappropriate. But a basic question is -- How can we develop values in our children without intimidating the rights of minority faiths or those of no faith at all?

Yes, we want schools to reflect parental values -- and local communities, not the federal government must control such things -- but we also want schools to open up a child's life to the world beyond our immediate community.

Yes, we want history textbooks to reflect the important role that religion has played in American life. But we also want the rest of our history -- good and bad -- reflected. Because history is bound to repeat itself.

And if you will permit me a very personal, unofficial observation, I'll tell you my basis for believing in this openness. I believe the pursuit of truth will always lead to Christ, who is the truth.

And I want to tell you a true story in closing that shows how bright His light is. A remarkable thing happened at the funeral of Soviet leader Brezhnev. Things were run to a military precision, and a coldness and hallowness pervaded the ceremony -- marching soldiers, steel bayonets, Marxist rhetoric, but no prayers, no comforting hymns, no mention of God.

The Soviet leaders took their places on the Kremlin Wall as the Brezhnev family silently escorted the casket around to its final resting place. I happened to be in just the right spot to see Mrs. Brezhnev. She walked up, took one last look at her husband and there -- in the cold, gray center of that totalitarian state, she traced the sign of the cross over her husband's chest.

I was stunned and I was deeply moved. Anyone who witnessed that loving gesture, could not accept any moral foundation for communism. In that simple act, Christ had broken through the core of the communist system. And it became clear to me -- decades, even centuries of harsh, secular rule can never destroy the intuitive faith that is in us all.

You know, in my Book of Common Prayer, there's a phrase that goes, "Oh, God ... whose service is freedom." That's always been a beautiful passage to me. And it can mean so many different things. I believe that phrase has something to do with what I saw at the Kremlin that day. It has something to do with what you're trying to accomplish. And it has something to do with why we're here this afternoon.

And I just want to close by sharing His spirit and saying to you, "Praise God, whose service is freedom."

* * *

THE ARTS

The arts tell us who we are and what we can be. They contain the signposts of civilization and provide the symbols and vocabularies of our national identity. They contribute to a community's morale and thus improve its quality of life and contribute to its economic development. The arts provide for that diversity of expression that is peculiarly American, reflecting our many different origins and the bonds that unite us. A Bush Administration will encourage all of these contributions.

* * *

CHURCH AND STATE

America was founded as, remains, and will always be a "nation under God." The values religion imparts are reflected in our Constitution and in our daily lives, and I believe strongly that morality and ethics must always stand at the center of American society and government. "One nation under God" belongs in the Pledge of Allegiance. "In God We Trust" belongs on our currency.

America is a land of religious pluralism, and this is one of our society's great strengths. We must be tolerant of all religious beliefs. Harsh experience taught our founding fathers that when one religious group obtains control of the political system it sometimes seeks to impose its views on others.

I believe in the separation of church and state, and although government should remain neutral towards particular religions, it need not remain neutral towards traditional values that Americans support.

* * *

INSIDE THE BELTWAY

PAW's omissions

People for the American Way has issued its latest report on censorship. You can read about it somewhere else. What you probably won't read about is the response by Gary Bauer's Family Research Council on what PAW left out. For instance:

- The teacher in Colorado who was ordered to refrain from silent reading of his Bible during pre-class time and to remove all Bibles from his classroom.
- Attempts by the American Civil Liberties Union to ban the "Sex Respect" sex education program because of the pro-abstinence values it teaches.
- The systematic removal from school textbooks of all material that might be construed as endorsing traditional lifestyles and gender roles.

And so on.

"PAW wants to use the loaded term 'censorship' to disenfranchise parents," Mr. Bauer says. He thinks parents should have as much say in the matter as "elite experts."

A second look

The New American magazine takes a second look at that allegedly bogus photo that some people believe shows Maj. Albro Lundy Jr., Lt. Larry James Stevens and Col. John L. Robertson as prisoners of war.

The Defense Department says the photo is doctored, and it released for comparison a similar photo of Russian farmers it says was taken in 1923.

The magazine reports that a closer look at the photo of the Russians reveals several problems with the 1923 photo. For one thing, it includes a poster of Stalin at a time when Lenin was still the only hero the masses were allowed to worship. Stalin's hair in the poster is partially gray, which would date it at least seven years later, and his hairstyle and clothing all suggest a later period.

The New American's analysis

tends to deepen rather than resolve the photo controversy. It seems that DoD may be in too big a hurry in its effort to discredit any evidence of Americans abandoned behind enemy lines.

Curious business

A caller passed along what seemed an incredible story on how the Internal Revenue Service went about tracking down someone with whom it had a score to settle. Let's say this person's name is John Smith and he is a resident of New York City. The IRS, unable to locate the particular Mr. Smith in question, simply froze the bank accounts of all John Smiths in the city.

With the help of the tipster we located a very reluctant "John Smith" who, when promised anonymity, revealed that this happened to him and his teen-age son, John

Smith Jr.

"I'm amazed that something like this could happen in this country," Mr. Smith said. "When it happens, you have no recourse. Your car payments bounce, your house payments bounce. It took more than a week of phone calls and faxes to get it straightened out."

Mr. Smith said that ultimately the IRS agreed that neither he nor his son was the person it sought, and explained that "it was the only way they could be sure they got the right guy."

An IRS spokeswoman said that under the terms of the Privacy Act, the IRS cannot disclose whether this practice is being used.

She denies it

RNC spokeswoman Torie Clarke never got back to us, but a Beltway Irregular who had a long talk with her says she denies making the "conservative crap" remark. Miss Clarke also reportedly added, "You can't trust Evans and Novak," the columnists who reported it.

Smile, you're on . . .

Another caller reports that the Department of Veterans Affairs is investing about \$25,000 in two video films that will record its efforts on behalf of victims of Hurricane Andrew. This person thinks it's outrageous at a time when the department is reverberating with messages about tight budgets and a shortage of funds. The film work was contracted out to a private firm, according to our caller.

A VA spokeswoman initially said yesterday that the films would be used for "educational and evaluative purposes." Later in the day, a spokesman called to say that Sec-

retary of Veterans Affairs Ed Derwinski, when informed of the project, canceled it immediately, describing it as "an unnecessary and inappropriate use of VA money."

Where's Ross?

Ross Perot is running/not running what will have to go down in history as one of the most peculiar campaigns of all time. One Perot adviser insists the campaign is about to jump-start. The New York Daily News has issued the Texas billionaire an ultimatum: "Put up or shut up."

What is his hang-up anyway? According to a little tidbit in the Rockwell/Rothbard Report, Mr. Perot's spooked because Vanity Fair has dug up some little honey tucked back in the sandhills who has told all about her relationship with Ross the Hoss.

Religion & politics

There's a lot of talk about who's got God on their side in this election. It'll be interesting to see how one candidate makes out in results that will be known today. Emil Tolotti Jr. managed to get himself on the ballot in Nevada as "God Almighty." Under the rules of alphabetical order, he's listed at the top of the ballot in the Democratic primary against U.S. Sen. Harry Reid as "Almighty, God."

Mr. Tolotti says he's giving voters a chance to "support God and decency" over the "continuing abominations of a corrupt Congress."

Are you experienced?

NBC's Jay Leno questions Bill Clinton's assertion that he is capable of serving as commander in chief of the armed forces because he once called out the Arkansas National Guard.

"Isn't that like saying you can fly the space shuttle because you've seen every episode of Star Trek?" Mr. Leno muses.

— John Elvin

THE FAR SIDE GARY LARSON



To the horror of the lifeboat's other members, Madonna loses her balance and falls on her face.

Names & Faces

Gloria's Relief Effort

■ Gloria Estefan, no stranger to catastrophe herself, is pitching in to help the victims of Hurricane Andrew. The pop singer and Miami resident, who went through a torturous rehabilitation after fracturing her spine in a 1990 tour-bus accident, yesterday began putting together a private relief effort with husband-manager Emilio.

"I thought, 'I've got a roof, I've got space. Let's start a collection agency,'" she told reporters at a garage adjacent to her south Miami offices, which have been turned into a distribution center for donated diapers, food and water.

Estefan, lead singer of the Miami Sound Machine, lives on swank Star Island but said her spread suffered only landscaping damage from the hurricane, which battered south Florida last week.



Gloria Estefan: Pitching in.

Lorenzo and the Law

■ Countless airline union employees and onetime Continental passengers will no doubt be happy to hear about Frank Lorenzo's recent legal troubles. The former Continental chairman, who made few friends during ugly labor confrontations in the roaring '80s, yesterday pleaded no contest in a Houston court to a charge of drunk driving.

Lorenzo, who still sits on Continental's board, was placed on two years' probation and fined \$750. He was stopped July 28 by police who discovered him driving the wrong way down a one-way street. Police said Lorenzo, 52, had a 0.10 percent blood-alcohol level, the minimum amount for a person to be

considered intoxicated under Texas law, and also failed a field sobriety test.

Good thing he wasn't in the cockpit.

End Notes

■ Country legend Roy Acuff, 88, was hospitalized late Monday suffering from exhaustion. A hospital spokeswoman said

yesterday that "his vital signs are stable. He's alert and active" . . . Houston socialite Josephine Abercrombie is the stepmother of John Bryan, Fergie's confidant and "financial adviser," not the mother, as reported here last week . . . Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson was in stable condition yesterday after undergoing a heart bypass operation at Atlanta's St. Joseph's Hospital, doctors said . . . Steven Spielberg is being sued for at least \$4 million by a writer who says the filmmaker stole his idea for a movie about toy soldiers. His script was turned down by Spielberg's Amblin Entertainment Co., says Barry Spinello, who adds that he then read in an industry magazine that Amblin was working on a project called "Small Soldiers." Amblin had no comment . . . Robert P. Bergman, director of Baltimore's Walters Art Gallery since 1981, was appointed director of the Cleveland Museum of Art yesterday, effective next July . . . Motown, the record label that became synonymous with chart-topping rhythm and blues in the 1960s, said yesterday it will enter the jazz market next month with a new label called MoJazz. Artists signed to the label include pianist Eric Reed of Wynton Marsalis's band, guitarist Norman Brown, jazz-funk instrumentalist Foley, the Brazilian jazz group Terra Sul and vocalist Milira.

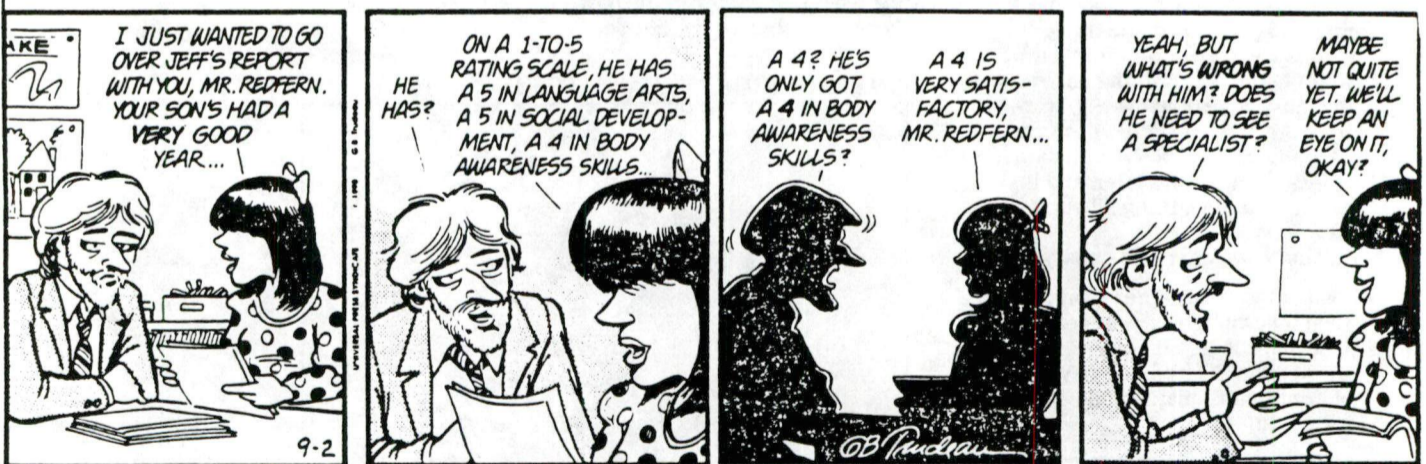
—Compiled from staff and wire reports by Mary Alma Welch

THE RELIABLE SOURCE

Lois Romano's column will resume Tuesday.

By G.B. Trudeau

DOONESBURY



Parents Skirted On Condoms In High School

District Nurses Are Ordered To Ignore Notes From Home

By Sari Horwitz
Washington Post Staff Writer

The District's health commissioner said yesterday that all public high school students will be eligible to receive condoms from school nurses, no matter what school officials say.

A policy split between the health commission and the school system appeared to be developing Monday when D.C. Superintendent Franklin L. Smith said parents who did not want their children to get condoms could prevent them from doing so by writing a note to him.

But D.C. Public Health Commissioner Mohammed Akhter, who oversees all the nurses in D.C. schools, said yesterday that his nurses will not pay attention to any such notes, will not call any parents and will keep confidential all visits to receive condoms. They will give a condom to any student who wants one, he said.

day and all his nurses Tuesday to deliver that message. He is also sending a letter to parents explaining the plan.

Smith now says that, despite his wish to involve parents, he will go along with the condom program, designed to slow the spread of AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases.

"Dr. Smith has the responsibility for the administration of the school system, and the principals and teachers are responsible for the education of the children," Akhter said. "But we are the ones responsible for the health care needs of the children These are my clinics. When a child crosses the door and enters into the nurse's suite, any communication that takes place between the child and the nurse is confidential."

"There is no way we are going to inform anyone about that communication," Akhter said. "I don't want to know the child's name. I don't want to know his or her grade. If he comes in, it is the nurse's job to provide educational material, counsel him and after counseling, if he wants to take a condom, that's the way it will be."

Akhter said that school officials have the right to exclude specific children from any AIDS or condom education program it runs outside of the nurses' offices.

Smith now acknowledges that he has no power to prevent students from receiving condoms from the school nurses.

"I'll accept notes from any parent," he said. "I will send the notes to the principals. And I will request that the principal show it to the nurse. But what they do with the notes, I have no control over at all."

But on Monday, after a news conference, Smith told a reporter, "if they write to me and say they don't want their child getting condoms, I will do everything in my power to make sure the nurse understands that, and we will not give condoms to that child."

Smith said yesterday that since he took the helm of the D.C. school system a little over a

See CONDOMS, D5, Col. 4

Washington
Post

High School Nurses to Distribute Condoms

CONDOMS, From D1

year ago, he has placed great emphasis on parental involvement. To exclude parents at this juncture flies in the face of his philosophy, he said.

"As superintendent, I feel a sense of obligation to notify the nurse if parents have notified me," Smith said. "If we have a letter from a parent saying their child is not supposed to be involved in the condom program, and that child goes to the nurse and asks for a condom, I would hope the nurse would let the parent know, 'you've got a child who is sexually active.'"

"If I had my druthers, the parents would know about it," Smith said. "But I have no control over it. This is not my program and if the direc-

tor is saying no, I am not going to interfere. It's his responsibility."

Smith said he has not received any calls or letters from parents asking for their child to be prohibited from receiving a condom.

A recent study by the U.S. Centers for Disease Control found that three-quarters of all District 10th-graders are sexually active, and 40 percent have had four or more partners.

Such a high rate of sexual activity worries public health specialists, who say it puts D.C. youngsters at great risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases, including the HIV virus, which leads to AIDS.

Shortly after becoming health commissioner last fall, Akhter said he would fight to make condoms available in public schools.

At the time, Smith said he would

oppose such a plan "because of the politics of it."

Last spring Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly announced she would allow school nurses to dispense condoms as part of a broad new strategy to combat AIDS.

Condoms will not be made available until each of the 16 high schools holds a schoolwide assembly on AIDS soon after the academic year begins next week, Akhter said.

More information about the condom program will be given out at meetings for each grade. Any student who wants a condom also will have an individual counseling session with a nurse, who first counsels the student on sexual abstinence and sexually transmitted diseases, including AIDS.

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A woman lay wounded in Bisho, South Africa, after soldiers fired on African National Congress supporters.

Reuters

Church Tests Faith of Cleric Touched by AIDS

By PHILIP J. HILTS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 7 — The Rev. Scott Allen was, in every particular, the ideal Baptist.

He was a minister with a lovely family, and he had dedicated his life to the church. His father and grandfather were ministers; his father, the Rev. Jimmie Allen, was president of the 17-million-member Southern Baptist Convention until 1979.

But now Mr. Allen's bond with his church, and with his whole past life, has been sundered.

Five times he and his family were discouraged from attending Baptist churches because his wife and two children were infected with H.I.V., the virus that causes AIDS.

Mr. Allen, who is 36 years old, does not have H.I.V. His wife became infected from a blood transfusion during a pregnancy in 1982, before blood was screened for the virus. Since then she and her infant son, Bryan, have died from AIDS. The older son, Matthew, now 10, has survived. Both sons were infected in their mother's womb.

What he learned about intolerance

since 1985, when he first found that his wife and children had H.I.V., has wounded him and sent him outside the fold to look for solace. His anger has subsided only gradually, and flashes of it can still be seen in conversation.

"My case proves that you don't have to be gay to be kicked out," he said in a recent interview. "I used to see bumper stickers in Dallas that said, 'You're Welcome in Our Church.' Every time I saw one I got angry and felt like suing

Continued on Page D14, Column 1

ubble of eight collapsed shade houses. "There isn't a salable plant on the property," Mr. Bullis said of his crop. "But see this pup here?" He picked up a battered specimen and pointed to a little green shoot poking out of the crusted potting soil. "I could get 25 new plants off this one — if the sun and the salt from the storm doesn't kill them. In a year, I might have something to sell."

Mr. Bullis's chances are not good. With broken irrigation lines, no power to pump water and no relief money in sight, Mr. Bullis, like 1,600 other nursery operators, fruit growers and farmers in Dade County, has little hope of saving what is left.

Hurricane Andrew damaged \$1 billion worth of crops, foliage plants and towering 40-foot palms. It smashed into processing plants, flinging off metal roofing and twisting it around trees like so much aluminum foil. It blew salt spray over vegetable fields four miles inland, making plating a bad gamble until scientists test the soil.

which packs 400 million wot
tables a year, sustained \$9
damages.

Exotics Are Today's D

"We have to get back on
15th of November," said Jo
who manages the Farmer
"If the farmer can't proces
rials, why plant?"

While state and Federal of
emergency funds are on the
is no money now for rebu
replanting. Because crop in
prohibitively expensive, only
of Dade County farmers ha
age; almost no nurseries do
Even before Hurricane

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A parachuting holiday ended tragically near a Hinckley airfield.

"We did the best we could," Mrs. Lee said. "We called. We ran. There was nothing left for us to do."

The highest salary went to Keck Foundation Chairman Howard B. Keck, who earned compensation of \$624,500 in 1991, the Chronicle said. The

Wentz, chairman of Lilly Endowment, billion. Thomas \$357,500.

Minister's Family Touched by AIDS Finds C

Continued From Page A1

them for false advertising."

Eventually, he stopped trying to find a welcoming church, quit his ministry and began to work on projects for the Christian Life Commission, an educational body of the General Baptist Convention of Texas. In 1989 Congress appointed him to the National Commission on AIDS, which advises the Federal Government on AIDS policy.

Until now, Mr. Allen kept quiet the details of his family's odyssey through the realms of prejudice, their struggle with AIDS and their rejection by the churches. His wife, Lydia, asked him not to speak openly about their trouble while she was alive. She was 38 years old when she died of AIDS last February at her home in Dallas.

One of his jobs with the Christian Life Commission from 1985 to 1990 was to find churches that would accept people with AIDS into their congregations. He sometimes succeeded, especially with adults and especially when those who were infected were willing to go into the church quietly. But he said, "I have never found day care for my son, not one center or church that that could accept him if other parents knew" of his infection.

One minister suggested that Matthew could come to Sunday school if his infection was kept secret and if Mr. Allen sat in the room, too, to take care of his son should anything happen. Another minister suggested that Sunday school sessions could be taped so his son could see them without actually having to be with the other children.

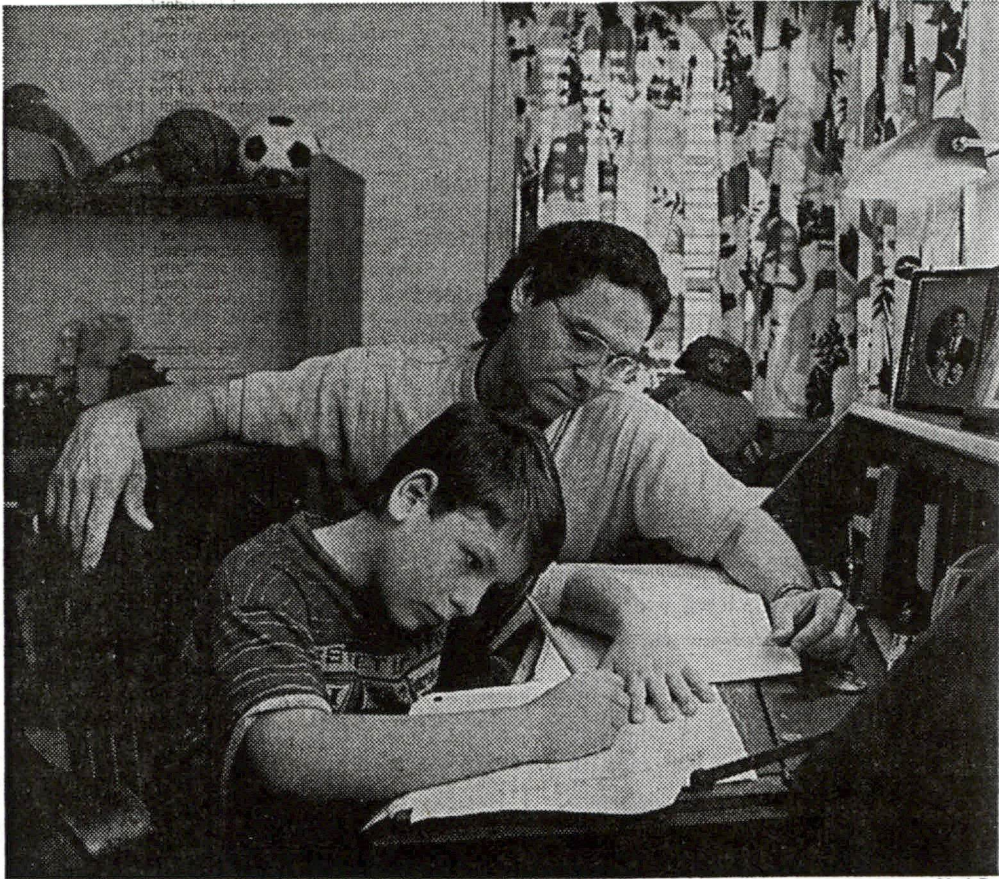
Painful Questions Raised

Mr. Allen's story raises painful questions about religion and AIDS, and about the gap that can sometimes separate word and deed in religion.

There is virtually no disagreement in principle among churches and synagogues in America. Most teach that church members should receive each other with unconditional love and caring — even if they are ill, and even if they are unrepentant sinners.

A Washington clergyman, the Rev. Kenneth South of the Church of Christ, who is director of the AIDS National Interfaith Network, says it is important to recognize that outside government, the churches are society's greatest source of help to people with AIDS. He has a list of 1,800 separate AIDS relief and education programs run by churches around the country.

But the effort in the churches did get started slowly, he said, and it is still a person-by-person, day-by-day effort, coming almost entirely from individual ministers and their churches rather than from the moral guidance at the top of any religious denomination.



Mark Per

The Rev. Scott Allen's bond with the Baptist church has been broken because his wife and two children were infected with H.I.V. from a blood transfusion. His wife and his son have both died of AIDS. With home in Dallas was his first son

The Rev. Travis Berry, a former pastor who is now a professor at Baylor University in Waco, Tex., advises churches on how to handle situations in which someone infected with AIDS asks to join the church. At most, he said, 25 percent of the churches in the United States have begun to deal with the issue of AIDS.

"That beats the heck out of the 1 percent or less of a few years ago," Mr. Berry said. "People at least realize there is a problem now, though I am still very concerned about the fact that churches still haven't belied up to the bar, so to speak. They still are not out of denial."

The problem begins with the confusion over proper attitudes. The churches of most denominations condemn homosexual behavior. This sends a confusing message not only to gay people with AIDS, but also to church members confronting the issue, theologians from several denominations said in interviews.

Rejection is prompted by fear of the disease, fear of homosexuals and fear

of drug users. Even when church members do begin to take care of those with AIDS, Mr. Allen said, often it is with the motive of "curing" them of their homosexuality.

Love With Strings Attached

"In practice, the love and acceptance are not unconditional," he said. "There are strings attached."

In 1985, when Mr. Allen learned that his wife and children had H.I.V., he was a minister at the First Christian Church in Colorado Springs. Though he himself was not infected, he said, he was asked by the pastor, the Rev. Warren Hile, to leave his ministry.

Mr. Hile did not return telephone calls asking for comment about the incident.

A few days after Mr. Hile and other church members asked him to step down, Mr. Allen said, he took his family and drove out of Colorado Springs in the middle of the night, heading home to Texas. He was fearful and angry, he said, at both God and man.

"At first I blamed the gays in San Francisco, where the transfusion took

place," Mr. Allen said. "I was completely illogical. My wife's death was nothing to say I'm innocent! I'm angry at first. I'm innocent! I'm innocent!"

For a year, Mr. Allen said, he brought himself to be a homosexual.

What Is It

Mr. Allen said his wife became ill in Sunday school class of a sick child, he taught class again. His wife had a seizure and died. He calls asking for comment about the incident. "God will bless Him. But I lost my blessing stuff? My innocence and my faith."

The shocks stopped calling.

His second son died. After the family was seven months later he held Bryan a

highest salary went to Keck
Chairman Howard B.
earned compensation of
1991, the Chronicle said. The

ton, N.J., assets \$4.1 million. Stanley J.
Wentz, chairman, \$275,000.
Lilly Endowment, Indianapolis, assets \$3.6
billion. Thomas H. Lake, chairman,
\$357,500.

Jr., counsel, \$205,086.
Lila Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund, New
York City, assets \$821 million. M. Chris-
tine DeVita, president, \$94,950.

will pave the way. Hopefully, we'll
learn enough from him. Hopefully, this
will not be the last."

AIDS Finds Closed Doors and Minds at Church



Mark Perlestein for The New York Times

Baptist and two a blood transfusion. His wife and his second son, Bryan, have both died of AIDS. With Mr. Allen at his home in Dallas was his first son, Matthew.

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completely illogical because transfu-
sions take place everywhere, and there
is nothing to say that the infected blood
came from a gay man. But I felt that
angry at first. I kept saying to myself:
'I'm innocent! I didn't do anything!'"

For a year, he said, he could not
bring himself to talk to his brother, who
is a homosexual.

'What Is This Blessing Stuff?'

Mr. Allen said that on the day his
wife became infected he had taught
Sunday school class, went to the home
of a sick child, preached a sermon, and
taught class again in the evening. "My
wife had a seizure in the evening on the
way home," he said. "They say that
God will bless your life if you live in
Him. But I lost everything. What is this
blessing stuff? What is the meaning of
innocence and guilt?"

The shocks continued as friends
stopped calling him.

His second son, Bryan, died not long
after the family returned to Texas. He
was seven months old. Mr. Allen said
he held Bryan as he died and placed the

boy's body in a small coffin beside the
hospital bed. He remembers vividly the
next moment:

"Bryan's head was over to the side,
and the funeral director reached out to
straighten it in the casket. But he
stopped and drew back. He said,
'Would you mind moving your son's
head for me?' That stung."

A Small Epiphany

But at the same time he had a small
epiphany, one that began to make his
anger dissolve.

"When Bryan died in my arms," he
said, "I realized that it was the virus
that died, not Bryan." His anger at gay
people began to fade, he said, adding,
"I realized then that I was dealing with
a virus, not with people."

For others, that realization has been
difficult.

On returning to the Dallas area he
asked the the pastor of the First Bap-
tist Church in Arlington, the Rev.
Charles Wade, to accept him and his
wife into the church and their children
into Sunday school.

Mr. Wade, who is a friend of the Allen
family, said he would make discrete
inquiries among some of the younger,
more progressive parents to see how
they felt. The parents refused to go
along, he said, and told him they
would pull their children out of school if
Matthew came.

Rejected by Flagship Pastor

Later, Mr. Wade raised money to
help pay Mr. Allen's salary on the AIDS
project at the Christian Life Commis-
sion. "We are proud of that," Mr. Wade
said. "We did help him — just not as
much as we should have."

At another church, the Travis Ave-
nue Baptist Church in the Fort Worth
area where Mr. Allen and his family
was living, the pastor at the time was
the Rev. Joel Gregory, who has since
become known nationwide as the pas-
tor of the flagship of fundamentalist
Baptist churches, the First Baptist
Church in Dallas. President Bush has
consulted him, and went to that church
last month, when the Republican con-
vention was being held in Houston.

"Brother Joel knew of my situation,
knew my family and even visited my
house for a minute when my son Bryan
died," Mr. Allen said. "But he offered
no help at all. Not a call, not a word."

When asked about the situation in a
telephone interview last week Mr.
Gregory replied, "I don't remember
it." He said all people were welcome in
his church.

Several other times, Mr. Allen said,
he sought to join churches and have his
son openly attend Sunday school, and
several times he was rebuffed.

New Policy at One Church

But at one church, the Richardson
East Church of Christ, the pastor, the

Rev. Larry James, was disturbed
enough by the situation that he quickly
resolved to make new policy.

"There was a lot of paranoia," of
unnecessary, irrational fear," Mr.
James said. "I asked myself, 'What are
we getting into here?' It's like a family
secret that turns into illness and paral-
ysis for the whole family. I mean, here
we have a group of people who claim to
be Christians, a person who has always
followed Christ comes and is rejected
— that's news," he said.

Mr. James quickly educated himself
and his congregation on the issues of
AIDS, bringing in doctors and others to
talk about the disease. He adopted for
his day care program a new policy. He
notified all parents that the day care
center would be considered an "H.L.V.-
positive zone" where children attend-
ing may or may not be infected with
the virus. Everyone would be treated
the same, he said.

Mr. Allen has left the organized
church, at least for now, and is search-

Struggling over the meanings of innocence and guilt.

ing for a spiritual path that is more
open and accepting at its base.

"I was taught that once you were
saved, you were always saved," he
said. "Once you gave your life to Jesus,
your life would be blessed. All that was
important to me in life was God and my
church and my family. My family was
taken from me, my church turned its
back on me, and I felt as if God did, too.

"Then people said to me that I must
have never been saved in the first
place, or I am just wandering in the
wilderness, and will return to the fold,"
he continued. "That discredits who I
am now, and the journey I am on. I
have forever lost who I am."

Mr. Allen said he now sometimes
feels closer to people whom he former-
ly condemned than to people he linked
arms with at church.

"I once was at an interfaith confer-
ence and sat down with a man whose
lover had just died of AIDS," he said.
"I saw the pain and sadness in his
eyes; they were my eyes and I was
looking in a mirror. He told me there
was one thing I should always do —
take a lot of pictures. And I have."

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THE VICE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE
Office of the Press Secretary

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE -- Tuesday, June 9, 1992 -- 9:00 a.m.

ADDRESS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT
TO THE SOUTHERN BAPTISTS' CONVENTION

Indianapolis, Indiana

You know, I was recently in Toledo, Ohio, and I made what we call an impromptu visit to a Kroger's grocery store. While I was there I bought some of my favorite chocolate chip cookies. On the way out I offered a little girl one of the cookies. And you know what she said? She said, "My mommy told me not to take things from a stranger." And I said, "But I'm not a stranger. I'm the Vice President." And I can tell you this: for all the slings and arrows I've endured in the last four years, nothing has quite humbled me like that child's reply. "That's okay" -- she told me, walking away -- "I'm really not hungry anyway."

When you think about it, though, that little girl's suspicion of strangers tells us something sad about the world in which our children are growing up. Sure, mothers have always told their children to be wary of strangers. But you just have to pick up the newspaper on any given day to realize that in our world, that advice is a little more urgent.

In some ways we're a nation of strangers. And, as a society grows, maybe that's inevitable. We cannot -- as the sophisticated folks are always reminding us -- "turn back the clock" to the America of Norman Rockwell and the small-town values he celebrated. And yet those values are still there. They live in our thousands of Southern Baptist churches, and in other places of worship across America. They live in our communities, both large and small, where families get to know their neighbors, and where parents get to know their kids' teachers, the school bus driver, and the cop on the beat. They live in every home where parents patiently pass their experience and their values along to their children. These values live because they are invaluable. They stand as our essential guide to a good and honest life.

Now change is a permanent part of life. As Americans, we do not fear change -- we're always confident we can shape our own future for the better. We believe that our destiny is not a matter of chance -- it's a matter of choice. But this means choosing wisely. It means realizing that some of the changes in our culture in recent decades have not been for the better. Some of these changes seem to have undermined the values we cherish.

In fact, these changes have created a cultural divide in our country. It is so great a divide that it sometimes seems we have two cultures -- the cultural elite, and the rest of us. Most of us look at these social changes and we say, "Yes, change is inevitable, and much of it is good. But some of it is not. Let us preserve the good and reject the bad." And, my friends, most of us believe we should not be afraid to continue to talk about values -- to try to judge what is right and what is wrong.

Yet, as I discovered recently, to appeal to our country's enduring, basic moral values is to invite the scorn and laughter of the elite culture. Talk about right and wrong, and they'll try to mock us in newsrooms, sitcom studios, and faculty lounges across America. But in the heart of America, in the homes and workplaces and churches, the message is heard. A sense of moral decency runs deep in the American people. We know that the simple things, the simple gifts, and the simple truths that Americans have always sought to live by are more relevant than ever in our complex times. Among the sophisticates, to talk about simple moral principles is considered an embarrassing "gaffe." I guess that means they're embarrassed about the views of the average American -- because moral values are what the American people care most about. And that's why I say this about the scorn of the media elite: "I wear their scorn as a badge of honor."

My friends, we need to have a discussion among ourselves on the importance of moral values. It's time that we Americans speak out for what we believe in and what we stand for. It is time we Americans stand up for our values, stand up for America, and say that America is great because of our people and our values.

The cultural elite in Hollywood and elsewhere may have a lot of money; they may have a lot of influence. But we have the power of ideas, the power of our convictions, and the power of our beliefs. And we shall carry the day -- because in their sense of morality, in their belief in personal responsibility, in their faithfulness, in their love of goodness and love of neighbor -- the American people are far ahead of our country's self-appointed cultural elites.

Often those of us who talk of values, who defend the traditional family, who distinguish right from wrong, are accused of being intolerant. Let us be clear: we defend the rights of all Americans. We are for compassion and tolerance. We are, after all, commanded to love our neighbor. But we do not believe that being compassionate and tolerant means abandoning our standards of right or wrong, good or bad. We do not think tolerance requires abandoning our belief in the family.

The cultural elites respect neither tradition nor standards. They believe that moral truths are relative and all "lifestyles" are equal. They seem to think the family is an arbitrary arrangement of people who decide to live under the same roof -- that fathers are dispensable, and that parents need not be married or even of opposite sexes. They are wrong.

We believe the family is a sacred institution entrusted with the world's most important work. It is not only "nature's masterpiece," as someone once said -- it is God's masterpiece. We believe society is only as strong as the families who live and grow within it. And we believe that the family and family values need our support. In a time when those values are denigrated, I say it's time for us to join together and speak up for the family, family values, and the values and principles that make America great.

Many in the cultural elite sneer at the simple but hard virtues -- modesty, fidelity, integrity. But when the tragic consequences of that moral cynicism become apparent, do they pause to rethink their views? No. Do they even acknowledge the consequences -- an ever-increasing rate of illegitimacy, youthful promiscuity, 1.6 million abortions every year? No. They deny that values have consequences. Their response often compounds the problem -- handing out condoms in the schools, or distributing sexual propaganda to third- and fourth-graders. Morally speaking, our children ask for bread and the cynics give them a stone. We believe our children were made for better lives than that -- and that moral and spiritual integrity are the key to human fulfillment.

The elite's culture is a guilt-free culture. It avoids responsibility and flees consequences. If, as a result of one's own actions, a child is conceived, they have a simple solution -- get rid of it. Our solution, for those mothers who feel they cannot raise the child, is adoption. They treat God's greatest gift -- new life -- as an inconvenience to be discarded. We believe life is a beautiful gift to be loved and cared for -- however "inconvenient." They believe in the right to dispose of life -- we believe in the right to life.

You know, we who talk about values are accused of nostalgia for a time that once was. But those who imagine an America without clear moral values yearn for something that could never be. If America ever lost its moral vision, it would cease to be America. To paraphrase my grandfather, I would say that America is good because America is free. But he understood that it works the other way around, too: that if America ceased to be good, it would cease to be free. We would become a soulless and divided nation, a nation under siege instead of a nation under God. Our common vision of the good and just life is what keeps the "united" in "United States."

Moral values make a nation great -- and they are the solid foundation of our lives as individuals and as families. They are not arbitrary. They are not "imposed." They are not handed down by politicians. People like to caricature these values, as if they arose from narrow-minded theological doctrines. But think about that word, "narrow-minded." "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you" ... "Love thy neighbor" ... "Walk humbly with thy God" ... "Choose Life" -- are those narrow-minded ideas? The fact is that the great faiths of the world ask much the same thing of their followers. Far from being narrow or intolerant, such moral values represent the consensus of humanity about what makes for a good life and a good society. In the face of that consensus, moral cynicism is an easy out. Confronted with life's great moral issues, a sneer is not an answer.

As I found after my recent speech on values, the real intolerance is to be found on the other side. And the tragedy of our time is that so many in the elite culture off-handedly dismiss moral values. Whether Christian or Jew, Catholic or Protestant, it is not we who are too restrictive. Those who turn away from moral truths restrict themselves. I know it is politically correct to be dismissive of those who speak of moral values. But political correctness is a form of intolerance.

And then there are people like yourselves, who don't just talk about values but seek to live by them. You know what it's like to bear the brunt of ridicule -- as does anyone who has ever tried to stand up for a good cause. In raising up faithful children, in church work like maintaining homes for unwed mothers, in supporting the superb work of your Christian Life Commission, by honoring God in all things -- you keep those values alive.

To the jaded, believers in traditional morality may seem to lead simple and plain lives, wanting only plain things. But I'm reminded of G.K. Chesterton's remark that "a plain word always covers an infinite mystery." Faith -- Fidelity -- Family -- Honor -- Duty -- Goodness -- Love. Such simple, plain words. But to anyone who tries to live by them -- such infinite mysteries.

Speaking to your convention ten years ago, Vice President George Bush described America as "a country born out of a spirit of renewal." And "looking out on such a group as this one," our President told Southern Baptists, "I think the renewal is well begun."

Well begun, and yet only just begun. The decade since then has seen some tragic developments continue to unfold. Two good men have held the office of President -- yet not even that is enough. We have made superb appointments to the courts of our land -- yet not even that is enough. Renewal, ultimately, is not

primarily the work of government. It's our work, the work of our churches, the work of each person, responding each day to the hard questions of life and faith. It's the work of choosing wisely. Choosing to live in falsehood -- or in fidelity. Choosing to follow man in his foolish ways -- or the Son of Man who walked the way of love and mercy, full of grace and truth.

Let us choose the way of love and mercy, of grace and truth. Thank you for your commitment. Thank you for your support. Thank you for joining in the struggle for the restoration of values in this great country of ours, the United States of America. God bless each of you, and God bless America.

#

our future as a nation.

Let me start with the freedom to create. From its inception, the United States has been a laboratory for creation, invention, and exploration. Here, merit conquers circumstance. Here, people of vision—Abraham Lincoln, Henry Ford, Martin Luther King, Jr.—outgrow rough origins and transform a world. These achievements testify to the greatness of our free enterprise system. In past ages, and in other economic orders, people could acquire wealth only seizing goods from others. Free enterprise liberates us from this Hobbesian quagmire. It lets one person's fortune become everyone's gain.

This system, built upon the foundation of private property, harnesses our powerful instincts for creativity. It gives everyone an interest in shared prosperity, in freedom, and in respect. No system of development ever has nurtured virtue as completely and rigorously as ours. We've become the most egalitarian system in history—and one of the most harmonious—because we let people work freely toward their destinies.

When governments try to improve on freedom—say, by picking winners and losers in the economic market—they fail. No conclave of experts, no matter how brilliant, can match the sheer ingenuity of a market that collects and distributes the wisdoms of millions of people, all pursuing their destinies in different ways.

Our administration appreciates the power of free enterprise, and our economic and domestic programs try to apply the genius of the market to the needs of the Nation. For example, we want to eliminate rules and redtape that bind the hands and the minds of entrepreneurs and innovators.

Our America 2000 educational strategy challenges the Nation to reinvent the American school, to compete in the race to unleash our national genius.

We've incorporated market incentives into our legislative proposals, so taxpayers will get a fair return on their dollars. Just look at last year's child-care legislation and the Clean Air Act, or this year's transportation bill.

We've proposed a comprehensive banking reform package that strengthens the financial system upon which economic

growth depends. We repeatedly have tried to slash the capital gains, so people with dreams have a chance of achieving them.

And we want to extend this dignity of home ownership to people who live now in government-owned apartments. Home ownership gives people dignity.

And although we have tried to transfer power into the hands of the people, we haven't done enough. In a world transformed by freedom, we must look for other ways to help people build good lives for themselves and their families. The average worker in the United States now spends more than 4 months of each year working just to pay the tax man, and increasing numbers of citizens see that burden as a barrier to achieving their dreams. We've tried to put on a lid on the spending that drives taxes and to concentrate government efforts on truly national purposes. It's only common sense. And if we want to build faith in government, we must demand public services that serve the people. We must insist upon compassion that works.

But the power to create also rests on other freedoms, especially the freedom—and I think about that right now—to think and speak one's mind. [Applause] You see—thank you. The freedom—I had this written into the speech, and I didn't even know these guys were going to be here.

No, but seriously, the freedom to speak one's mind—that may be the most fundamental and deeply revered of all our liberties. Americans, to debate, to say what we think—because, you see, it separates good ideas from bad. It defines and cultivates the diversity upon which our national greatness rests. It tears off the blinders of ignorance and prejudice and lets us move on to greater things.

Ironically, on the 200th anniversary of our Bill of Rights, we find free speech under assault throughout the United States, including on some college campuses. The notion of political correctness has ignited controversy across the land. And although the movement arises from the laudable desire to sweep away the debris of racism and sexism and hatred, it replaces old prejudice with new ones. It declares certain topics off-limits, certain expression off-

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Our administration appreciates the power of free enterprise, and our economic and domestic programs try to apply the genius of the market to the needs of the Nation. For example, we want to eliminate rules and redtape that bind the hands and the minds of entrepreneurs and innovators.

Our America 2000 educational strategy challenges the Nation to reinvent the American school, to compete in the race to unleash our national genius.

We've incorporated market incentives into our legislative proposals, so taxpayers will get a fair return on their dollars. Just look at last year's child-care legislation and the Clean Air Act, or this year's transportation bill.

We've proposed a comprehensive banking reform package that strengthens the financial system upon which economic

growth depends. We repeatedly have tried to slash the capital gains, so people with dreams have a chance of achieving them.

And we want to extend this dignity of home ownership to people who live now in government-owned apartments. Home ownership gives people dignity.

And although we have tried to transfer power into the hands of the people, we haven't done enough. In a world transformed by freedom, we must look for other ways to help people build good lives for themselves and their families. The average worker in the United States now spends more than 4 months of each year working just to pay the tax man, and increasing numbers of citizens see that burden as a barrier to achieving their dreams. We've tried to put on a lid on the spending that drives taxes and to concentrate government efforts on truly national purposes. It's only common sense. And if we want to build faith in government, we must demand public services that serve the people. We must insist upon compassion that works.

But the power to create also rests on other freedoms, especially the freedom—and I think about that right now—to think and speak one's mind. [Applause] You see—thank you. The freedom—I had this written into the speech, and I didn't even know these guys were going to be here.

No, but seriously, the freedom to speak one's mind—that may be the most fundamental and deeply revered of all our liberties. Americans, to debate, to say what we think—because, you see, it separates good ideas from bad. It defines and cultivates the diversity upon which our national greatness rests. It tears off the blinders of ignorance and prejudice and lets us move on to greater things.

Ironically, on the 200th anniversary of our Bill of Rights, we find free speech under assault throughout the United States, including on some college campuses. The notion of political correctness has ignited controversy across the land. And although the movement arises from the laudable desire to sweep away the debris of racism and sexism and hatred, it replaces old prejudice with new ones. It declares certain topics off-limits, certain expression off-

limits.
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RELIGIOUS BROADCASTERS
SHERATON HOTEL
MONDAY, JANUARY 28, 1991
8:45 A.M.

PRESIDENT ROSE AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR GUSTAVSON
-- AND I WANT TO SALUTE YOUR LEADERSHIP OF THE NRB.
BILLY GRAHAM, JERRY FALWELL, PAT ROBERTSON, JAMES
DOBSON, AND CHUCK COLSON. FCC COMMISSIONERS ALFRED
SIKES AND ERWIN DUGGAN [DUG-IN]. THIS MARKS THE FIFTH
TIME I HAVE ADDRESSED THE ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE
NATIONAL RELIGIOUS BROADCASTERS. ONCE AGAIN, IT IS AN
HONOR TO BE BACK. //

LET ME BEGIN BY CONGRATULATING YOU ON YOUR THEME OF
"DECLARING HIS GLORY TO ALL NATIONS." IT IS A THEME
ECLIPSING DENOMINATIONS -- AND WHICH REFLECTS MANY OF
THE ETERNAL TEACHINGS IN SCRIPTURE. /

I SPEAK, OF COURSE, OF THE TEACHINGS WHICH UPHOLD
MORAL VALUES LIKE TOLERANCE, COMPASSION, FAITH, AND
COURAGE. THEY REMINDE US THAT WHILE GOD CAN LIVE
WITHOUT MAN, MAN CANNOT LIVE WITHOUT GOD. HIS LOVE AND
HIS JUSTICE INSPIRE IN US A YEARNING FOR FAITH AND A
COMPASSION FOR THE WEAK AND OPPRESSED AS WELL AS THE
COURAGE AND CONVICTION TO OPPOSE TYRANNY AND INJUSTICE.
// MATTHEW ALSO REMINDS US IN THESE TIMES THAT THE
MEEK SHALL INHERIT THE EARTH.

AT HOME, THESE VALUES IMBUE THE POLICIES WHICH YOU AND I SUPPORT. LIKE ME, YOU ENDORSE ADOPTION, NOT ABORTION. AND LAST YEAR, YOU HELPED ENSURE THAT THE OPTION OF RELIGIOUS-BASED CHILD CARE WILL NOT BE RESTRICTED OR ELIMINATED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. I COMMEND YOUR CONCERN ON BEHALF OF AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES. AND YOUR BELIEF THAT STUDENTS WHO GO TO SCHOOL TO NOURISH THEIR MINDS, SHOULD ALSO BE ALLOWED TO NOURISH THEIR SOULS. // I HAVE NOT LESSENER MY COMMITMENT TO RESTORING VOLUNTARY PRAYER IN SCHOOLS. //

THESE ACTIONS CAN MAKE AMERICA A KINDER, GENTLER PLACE BECAUSE THEY REAFFIRM THE VALUES I SPOKE OF EARLIER -- VALUES THAT MUST BE CENTRAL TO THE LIVES OF EVERY INDIVIDUAL AND THE LIFE OF EVERY NATION. / THE CLERGYMAN RICHARD CECIL ONCE SAID: "THERE ARE TWO CLASSES OF THE WISE; THE MEN WHO SERVE GOD BECAUSE THEY HAVE FOUND HIM, AND THE MEN WHO SEEK HIM BECAUSE THEY HAVE NOT FOUND HIM YET." ABROAD -- AS IN AMERICA -- OUR TASK IS TO SERVE AND SEEK WISELY THROUGH THE POLICIES WE PURSUE. //

NOWHERE IS THIS MORE TRUE THAN IN THE PERSIAN GULF -- WHERE DESPITE THE PROTESTATIONS OF SADDAM HUSSEIN, IT'S NOT IRAQ AGAINST THE UNITED STATES. IT'S THE REGIME OF SADDAM HUSSEIN AGAINST THE WORLD. // SADDAM HAS TRIED TO CAST THIS CONFLICT AS A RELIGIOUS WAR -- BUT IT HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH RELIGION PER SE. IT HAS -- ON THE OTHER HAND -- EVERYTHING TO DO WITH WHAT RELIGION EMBODIES. GOOD VERSUS EVIL. RIGHT VERSUS WRONG. HUMAN DIGNITY AND FREEDOM VERSUS TYRANNY AND OPPRESSION. //

THE WAR IN THE GULF IS NOT A CHRISTIAN WAR OR A JEWISH WAR -- OR A MOSLEM WAR -- IT IS A JUST WAR, AND IT IS A WAR IN WHICH GOOD WILL PREVAIL. //

I AM TOLD THAT THE PRINCIPLES OF A "JUST WAR" ORIGINATED WITH CLASSICAL GREEK AND ROMAN PHILOSOPHERS LIKE PLATO AND CICERO. LATER, THEY WERE EXPOUNDED BY SUCH CHRISTIAN THEOLOGIANS AS AMBROSE, AUGUSTINE [AW-GUS-TUN], AND THOMAS AQUINAS. /

THE FIRST PRINCIPLE OF A JUST WAR IS THAT IT
SUPPORT A JUST CAUSE. // OUR CAUSE COULD NOT BE MORE
NOBLE. WE SEEK IRAQ'S WITHDRAWAL FROM KUWAIT --
COMPLETELY, IMMEDIATELY, AND WITHOUT CONDITION; THE
RESTORATION OF KUWAIT'S LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT; AND THE
SECURITY AND STABILITY OF THE GULF. // WE WILL SEE
THAT KUWAIT ONCE AGAIN IS FREE, THAT THE NIGHTMARE OF
IRAQ'S BRUTAL OCCUPATION IS ENDED, AND THAT NAKED
AGGRESSION WILL NOT BE REWARDED. // WE SEEK NOTHING
FOR OURSELVES. AS I HAVE SAID, U.S. FORCES WILL LEAVE
AS SOON AS THEIR MISSION IS OVER, AS SOON AS THEY ARE
NO LONGER NEEDED OR DESIRED. //

AND LET ME ADD, WE DO NOT SEEK THE DESTRUCTION OF
IRAQ. WE HAVE RESPECT FOR THE PEOPLE OF IRAQ, FOR THE
IMPORTANCE OF IRAQ IN THE REGION. WE DO NOT WANT A
COUNTRY SO DESTABILIZED THAT IRAQ ITSELF WILL BE A
TARGET FOR AGGRESSION.

BUT, A JUST WAR MUST ALSO BE DECLARED BY LEGITIMATE
AUTHORITY. OPERATION DESERT STORM IS SUPPORTED BY
UNPRECEDENTED UNITED NATIONS' SOLIDARITY. THE
PRINCIPLE OF COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE. 12 SECURITY
COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS, AND IN THE GULF, 28 NATIONS FROM
SIX CONTINENTS UNITED -- RESOLUTE -- THAT WE WILL NOT
WAVER -- AND THAT SADDAM'S AGGRESSION WILL NOT STAND.
// I SALUTE THE AID -- ECONOMIC AND MILITARY -- FROM
COUNTRIES WHO HAVE JOINED IN THIS UNPRECEDENTED EFFORT
-- WHOSE COURAGE AND SACRIFICE HAVE INSPIRED THE WORLD.
// WE'RE NOT GOING IT ALONE -- BUT BELIEVE ME, WE ARE
GOING TO SEE IT THROUGH. //

EVERY WAR IS FOUGHT FOR A REASON. BUT, A JUST WAR IS FOUGHT FOR RIGHT REASONS -- FOR MORAL, NOT SELFISH REASONS. LET ME TAKE A MOMENT TO TELL YOU A STORY -- A TRAGIC STORY -- ABOUT A FAMILY WHOSE TWO SONS, EIGHTEEN AND NINETEEN, REPORTEDLY REFUSED TO LOWER THE KUWAITI FLAG IN FRONT OF THEIR HOME. FOR THIS CRIME, THEY WERE EXECUTED BY THE IRAQIS. THEN, UNBELIEVABLY, THEIR PARENTS WERE ASKED TO PAY THE PRICE OF THE BULLETS USED TO KILL THEM. // SOME ASK WHETHER IT IS MORAL TO USE FORCE TO STOP THE RAPE, PILLAGE, AND PLUNDER OF KUWAIT. MY ANSWER: EXTRAORDINARY DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS HAVING BEEN USED TO RESOLVE THE MATTER PEACEFULLY, IT WOULD BE IMMORAL NOT TO USE FORCE. //

A JUST WAR MUST BE A LAST RESORT. AS I HAVE OFTEN SAID, WE DID NOT WANT WAR. BUT YOU ALL KNOW THE VERSE FROM ECCLESIASTES: THERE IS "A TIME FOR PEACE, A TIME FOR WAR." // FROM AUGUST 2, 1990 TO JANUARY 15, 1991 -- 166 DAYS -- WE TRIED TO RESOLVE THIS CONFLICT. SECRETARY OF STATE JIM BAKER MADE AN EXTRAORDINARY EFFORT TO ACHIEVE PEACE. MORE THAN 200 MEETINGS WITH FOREIGN DIGNITARIES. TEN DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS. SIX CONGRESSIONAL APPEARANCES. OVER 103,000 MILES TRAVELED TO TALK WITH -- AMONG OTHERS -- MEMBERS OF THE U.N., THE ARAB LEAGUE, AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. // SADLY, SADDAM HUSSEIN REJECTED OUT-OF-HAND EVERY OVERTURE. HE MADE THIS JUST WAR AN INEVITABLE WAR. //

WE ALL KNOW WAR NEVER COMES EASY OR CHEAP. WAR IS NEVER WITHOUT THE LOSS OF INNOCENT LIFE -- AND THAT IS WAR'S GREATEST TRAGEDY. BUT WHEN A WAR MUST BE FOUGHT FOR THE GREATER GOOD, IT IS OUR GRAVEST OBLIGATION TO CONDUCT A WAR IN PROPORTION TO THE THREAT. THAT IS, WE MUST ACT REASONABLY, HUMANELY, AND MAKE EVERY POSSIBLE EFFORT TO KEEP CASUALTIES TO A MINIMUM. // AND WE HAVE DONE SO. FROM THE FIRST DAY OF THE WAR, THE ALLIES HAVE WAGED WAR AGAINST SADDAM'S MILITARY MACHINE. WE ARE DOING EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO AVOID HURTING THE INNOCENT. SADDAM'S RESPONSE? WANTON, BARBARIC BOMBING OF CIVILIAN AREAS. AMERICA AND HER ALLIES VALUE LIFE. WE PRAY THAT SADDAM HUSSEIN WILL SEE REASON. TO DATE, HIS INDISCRIMINATE USE OF SCUD MISSILES -- NOTHING MORE THAN WEAPONS OF TERROR -- HAS OUTRAGED THE WORLD.

THE PRICE OF WAR IS ALWAYS HIGH. SO IT MUST NEVER -- EVER -- BE UNDERTAKEN WITHOUT TOTAL COMMITMENT TO A SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME. IT IS ONLY JUSTIFIED WHEN VICTORY CAN BE ACHIEVED. // I HAVE PLEDGED THAT THIS WILL NOT BE "ANOTHER VIETNAM." IT WON'T. // WE ARE FORTUNATE TO HAVE IN THIS CRISIS THE FINEST ARMED FORCES EVER ASSEMBLED. WE WILL PREVAIL BECAUSE WE HAVE THE FINEST SOLDIERS, SAILORS, AIRMEN, MARINES, AND COAST GUARDSMEN ANY NATION HAS EVER HAD. //

ABOVE ALL, WE WILL PREVAIL BECAUSE OF THE SUPPORT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- ARMED WITH A TRUST IN GOD AND IN THE PRINCIPLES THAT MAKE MEN FREE. PEOPLE LIKE EACH OF YOU IN THIS ROOM. I SALUTE VOICE OF HOPE'S LIVE RADIO PROGRAMMING FOR U.S. AND ALLIED TROOPS IN THE GULF. AND YOUR "OPERATION DESERT PRAYER" -- AND WORSHIP SERVICES FOR OUR TROOPS HELD BY -- AMONG OTHERS -- THE MAN WHO OVER A WEEK AGO LED A WONDERFUL PRAYER SERVICE AT FORT MYER: THE REVEREND BILLY GRAHAM. //

AMERICA HAS ALWAYS BEEN A RELIGIOUS NATION --
PERHAPS NEVER MORE THAN NOW. JUST LOOK AT THE LAST
SEVERAL WEEKS. CHURCHES, SYNAGOGUES AND MOSQUES
REPORTING RECORD ATTENDANCE AT SERVICES. CHAPELS
PACKED DURING WORKING HOURS AS AMERICANS STOP IN FOR A
MOMENT OR TWO. WHY? TO PRAY FOR PEACE. // I KNOW
THAT SOME DISAGREE WITH THE COURSE THAT I HAVE TAKEN.
I HAVE NO BITTERNESS IN MY HEART ABOUT THAT, NO ANGER.
I AM CONVINCED WE ARE DOING THE RIGHT THING -- AND
TOLERANCE IS A VIRTUE, NOT A VICE. / BUT WITH THE
SUPPORT AND PRAYERS OF SO MANY, THERE CAN BE NO
QUESTION IN THE MINDS OF OUR SOLDIERS -- OR IN THE
MINDS OF OUR ENEMY -- ABOUT WHAT AMERICANS THINK. WE
KNOW THAT THIS IS A JUST WAR, AND WE KNOW THAT, GOD
WILLING, THIS IS A WAR WE WILL WIN. BUT MOST OF ALL,
WE KNOW THAT OURS WOULD NOT BE THE LAND OF THE FREE IF
IT WERE NOT ALSO THE HOME OF THE BRAVE. //

NO ONE WANTED WAR LESS THAN I. NO ONE IS MORE DETERMINED TO SEIZE FROM BATTLE THE REAL PEACE THAT CAN CREATE A NEW WORLD ORDER. // WHEN THIS WAR IS OVER THE UNITED STATES, ITS CREDIBILITY AND RELIABILITY RESTORED, WILL HAVE A KEY LEADERSHIP ROLE IN HELPING BRING PEACE TO THE REST OF THE MIDDLE EAST.

I HAVE BEEN HONORED TO SERVE AS PRESIDENT OF THIS GREAT NATION FOR TWO YEARS NOW, AND BELIEVE -- MORE THAN EVER -- THAT ONE CANNOT BE AMERICA'S PRESIDENT WITHOUT TRUST IN GOD. I CANNOT IMAGINE A WORLD -- A LIFE -- WITHOUT THE PRESENCE OF THE ONE THROUGH WHOM ALL THINGS ARE POSSIBLE. //

DURING THE DARKEST DAYS OF THE CIVIL WAR, A MAN WE REVERE NOT MERELY FOR WHAT HE DID -- BUT WHAT HE WAS -- WAS ASKED WHETHER HE THOUGHT THE LORD WAS ON HIS SIDE. SAID ABRAHAM LINCOLN: MY CONCERN IS NOT WHETHER GOD IS ON OUR SIDE -- BUT WHETHER WE ARE ON GOD'S SIDE.

//

MY FELLOW AMERICANS, I BELIEVE THE TIMES WILL SOON
BE ON THE SIDE OF PEACE. BECAUSE THE WORLD IS
OVERWHELMINGLY ON THE SIDE OF GOD. THANK YOU FOR THIS
OCCASION. MAY GOD BLESS OUR COUNTRY. AND PLEASE
REMEMBER ALL OF OUR COALITION'S ARMED FORCES IN YOUR
PRAYERS.

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THE VICE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE
Office of the Press Secretary

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE -- Tuesday, June 9, 1992 -- 9:00 a.m.

ADDRESS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT
TO THE SOUTHERN BAPTISTS' CONVENTION

Indianapolis, Indiana

You know, I was recently in Toledo, Ohio, and I made what we call an impromptu visit to a Kroger's grocery store. While I was there I bought some of my favorite chocolate chip cookies. On the way out I offered a little girl one of the cookies. And you know what she said? She said, "My mommy told me not to take things from a stranger." And I said, "But I'm not a stranger. I'm the Vice President." And I can tell you this: for all the slings and arrows I've endured in the last four years, nothing has quite humbled me like that child's reply. "That's okay" -- she told me, walking away -- "I'm really not hungry anyway."

When you think about it, though, that little girl's suspicion of strangers tells us something sad about the world in which our children are growing up. Sure, mothers have always told their children to be wary of strangers. But you just have to pick up the newspaper on any given day to realize that in our world, that advice is a little more urgent.

In some ways we're a nation of strangers. And, as a society grows, maybe that's inevitable. We cannot -- as the sophisticated folks are always reminding us -- "turn back the clock" to the America of Norman Rockwell and the small-town values he celebrated. And yet those values are still there. They live in our thousands of Southern Baptist churches, and in other places of worship across America. They live in our communities, both large and small, where families get to know their neighbors, and where parents get to know their kids' teachers, the school bus driver, and the cop on the beat. They live in every home where parents patiently pass their experience and their values along to their children. These values live because they are invaluable. They stand as our essential guide to a good and honest life.

Now change is a permanent part of life. As Americans, we do not fear change -- we're always confident we can shape our own future for the better. We believe that our destiny is not a matter of chance -- it's a matter of choice. But this means choosing wisely. It means realizing that some of the changes in our culture in recent decades have not been for the better. Some of these changes seem to have undermined the values we cherish.

In fact, these changes have created a cultural divide in our country. It is so great a divide that it sometimes seems we have two cultures -- the cultural elite, and the rest of us. Most of us look at these social changes and we say, "Yes, change is inevitable, and much of it is good. But some of it is not. Let us preserve the good and reject the bad." And, my friends, most of us believe we should not be afraid to continue to talk about values -- to try to judge what is right and what is wrong.

Yet, as I discovered recently, to appeal to our country's enduring, basic moral values is to invite the scorn and laughter of the elite culture. Talk about right and wrong, and they'll try to mock us in newsrooms, sitcom studios, and faculty lounges across America. But in the heart of America, in the homes and workplaces and churches, the message is heard. A sense of moral decency runs deep in the American people. We know that the simple things, the simple gifts, and the simple truths that Americans have always sought to live by are more relevant than ever in our complex times. Among the sophisticates, to talk about simple moral principles is considered an embarrassing "gaffe." I guess that means they're embarrassed about the views of the average American -- because moral values are what the American people care most about. And that's why I say this about the scorn of the media elite: "I wear their scorn as a badge of honor."

My friends, we need to have a discussion among ourselves on the importance of moral values. It's time that we Americans speak out for what we believe in and what we stand for. It is time we Americans stand up for our values, stand up for America, and say that America is great because of our people and our values.

The cultural elite in Hollywood and elsewhere may have a lot of money; they may have a lot of influence. But we have the power of ideas, the power of our convictions, and the power of our beliefs. And we shall carry the day -- because in their sense of morality, in their belief in personal responsibility, in their faithfulness, in their love of goodness and love of neighbor -- the American people are far ahead of our country's self-appointed cultural elites.

Often those of us who talk of values, who defend the traditional family, who distinguish right from wrong, are accused of being intolerant. Let us be clear: we defend the rights of all Americans. We are for compassion and tolerance. We are, after all, commanded to love our neighbor. But we do not believe that being compassionate and tolerant means abandoning our standards of right or wrong, good or bad. We do not think tolerance requires abandoning our belief in the family.

The cultural elites respect neither tradition nor standards. They believe that moral truths are relative and all "lifestyles" are equal. They seem to think the family is an arbitrary arrangement of people who decide to live under the same roof -- that fathers are dispensable, and that parents need not be married or even of opposite sexes. They are wrong.

We believe the family is a sacred institution entrusted with the world's most important work. It is not only "nature's masterpiece," as someone once said -- it is God's masterpiece. We believe society is only as strong as the families who live and grow within it. And we believe that the family and family values need our support. In a time when those values are denigrated, I say it's time for us to join together and speak up for the family, family values, and the values and principles that make America great.

Many in the cultural elite sneer at the simple but hard virtues -- modesty, fidelity, integrity. But when the tragic consequences of that moral cynicism become apparent, do they pause to rethink their views? No. Do they even acknowledge the consequences -- an ever-increasing rate of illegitimacy, youthful promiscuity, 1.6 million abortions every year? No. They deny that values have consequences. Their response often compounds the problem -- handing out condoms in the schools, or distributing sexual propaganda to third- and fourth-graders. Morally speaking, our children ask for bread and the cynics give them a stone. We believe our children were made for better lives than that -- and that moral and spiritual integrity are the key to human fulfillment.

The elite's culture is a guilt-free culture. It avoids responsibility and flees consequences. If, as a result of one's own actions, a child is conceived, they have a simple solution -- get rid of it. Our solution, for those mothers who feel they cannot raise the child, is adoption. They treat God's greatest gift -- new life -- as an inconvenience to be discarded. We believe life is a beautiful gift to be loved and cared for -- however "inconvenient." They believe in the right to dispose of life -- we believe in the right to life.

You know, we who talk about values are accused of nostalgia for a time that once was. But those who imagine an America without clear moral values yearn for something that could never be. If America ever lost its moral vision, it would cease to be America. To paraphrase my grandfather, I would say that America is good because America is free. But he understood that it works the other way around, too: that if America ceased to be good, it would cease to be free. We would become a soulless and divided nation, a nation under siege instead of a nation under God. Our common vision of the good and just life is what keeps the "united" in "United States."

Moral values make a nation great -- and they are the solid foundation of our lives as individuals and as families. They are not arbitrary. They are not "imposed." They are not handed down by politicians. People like to caricature these values, as if they arose from narrow-minded theological doctrines. But think about that word, "narrow-minded." "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you" ... "Love thy neighbor" ... "Walk humbly with thy God" ... "Choose Life" -- are those narrow-minded ideas? The fact is that the great faiths of the world ask much the same thing of their followers. Far from being narrow or intolerant, such moral values represent the consensus of humanity about what makes for a good life and a good society. In the face of that consensus, moral cynicism is an easy out. Confronted with life's great moral issues, a sneer is not an answer.

As I found after my recent speech on values, the real intolerance is to be found on the other side. And the tragedy of our time is that so many in the elite culture off-handedly dismiss moral values. Whether Christian or Jew, Catholic or Protestant, it is not we who are too restrictive. Those who turn away from moral truths restrict themselves. I know it is politically correct to be dismissive of those who speak of moral values. But political correctness is a form of intolerance.

And then there are people like yourselves, who don't just talk about values but seek to live by them. You know what it's like to bear the brunt of ridicule -- as does anyone who has ever tried to stand up for a good cause. In raising up faithful children, in church work like maintaining homes for unwed mothers, in supporting the superb work of your Christian Life Commission, by honoring God in all things -- you keep those values alive.

To the jaded, believers in traditional morality may seem to lead simple and plain lives, wanting only plain things. But I'm reminded of G.K. Chesterton's remark that "a plain word always covers an infinite mystery." Faith -- Fidelity -- Family -- Honor -- Duty -- Goodness -- Love. Such simple, plain words. But to anyone who tries to live by them -- such infinite mysteries.

Speaking to your convention ten years ago, Vice President George Bush described America as "a country born out of a spirit of renewal." And "looking out on such a group as this one," our President told Southern Baptists, "I think the renewal is well begun."

Well begun, and yet only just begun. The decade since then has seen some tragic developments continue to unfold. Two good men have held the office of President -- yet not even that is enough. We have made superb appointments to the courts of our land -- yet not even that is enough. Renewal, ultimately, is not

primarily the work of government. It's our work, the work of our churches, the work of each person, responding each day to the hard questions of life and faith. It's the work of choosing wisely. Choosing to live in falsehood -- or in fidelity. Choosing to follow man in his foolish ways -- or the Son of Man who walked the way of love and mercy, full of grace and truth.

Let us choose the way of love and mercy, of grace and truth. Thank you for your commitment. Thank you for your support. Thank you for joining in the struggle for the restoration of values in this great country of ours, the United States of America. God bless each of you, and God bless America.

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DOUG GAMBLE

Sept. 7/92

424 - 36th Place
Manhattan Beach, CA 90268
(310) 546-6409

TO: CHRISTINA MARTIN
2 Pages

PAT ROBERTSON CROWD, VA. BEACH (Curt Smith)

I PLAN TO BE BRIEF TODAY. AS ZSA ZSA GABOR SAID TO EACH OF HER HUSBANDS,
"I'LL LET YOU GO FAIRLY SOON."

I INTEND TO KEEP MY REMARKS SHORTER THAN MY CONVENTION SPEECH. A NETWORK
EXECUTIVE TOLD ME HE'D PRODUCED SOME TV SERIES THAT DIDN'T ~~LAST~~ AS LONG AS
THAT SPEECH.

I ENJOY PAT ROBERTSON ON THE "700 CLUB," BUT THE DEMOCRATS HAVE A "700 CLUB"
OF THEIR OWN. THAT'S THE NUMBER OF POSITIONS BILL CLINTON TAKES ON EACH ISSUE.

WHEN I WAS GROWING UP, I LEARNED ABOUT TOLERANCE AT THE DINNER TABLE WHEN MOM
OR DAD READ A BIBLE LESSON. WELL, UP TO A POINT. I DON'T THINK THAT EVEN
DIVINE INTERVENTION FROM ON HIGH COULD MAKE ME TOLERATE BROCCOLI.

BARBARA HELPED TEACH ME, AS THE BIBLE SAYS, TO ACT JUSTLY, TO LOVE MERCY AND
TO WALK HUMBLLY. AND WHEN I COMPARE MY POLLS TO HER'S, I HAVE A LOT TO BE
HUMBLE ABOUT.

MORE...

- 2 -

DOUG GAMBLE

TO: CHRISTINA MARTIN - VIRGINIA BEACH (CONT'D)

WE'VE SEEN A NEW INTOLERANCE LATELY IN THE FORM OF WHAT HAS BECOME KNOWN AS "POLITICAL CORRECTNESS." THE SO-CALLED POLITICALLY CORRECT WOULD BAN SUCH CLASSICS AS "TOM SAWYER" AND "HUCKLEBERRY FINN," INSERT RIDICULOUS EUPHEMISMS INTO THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND ATTEMPT TO SILENCE THOSE THEY DISAGREE WITH. WELL, P.C. IS NOT USA. THERE'S NO ROOM FOR INTELLECTUAL BLACKBALLING OR BROWN-SHIRTING IN THE LAND OF THE RED, WHITE & BLUE. AND WE HAVE NOT FACED UP TO THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM AROUND THE WORLD, ONLY TO NOW ~~NOT~~ TURN OUR BACKS ON TACTICS THAT WOULD PLACE A GAG ON FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION HERE AT HOME.

I WANT ALL AMERICANS TO KNOW THAT THE GRAND OLD PARTY OF LINCOLN IS ALSO THE GRAND NEW PARTY OF INCLUSION.

✓ CONVICTION WITHOUT TOLERANCE IS LIKE PAT ROBERTSON WITHOUT (name of the Scottish woman who co-hosts ~~the~~ the "700 Club.")

AS WE STRIVE FOR SCHOOLS THAT FEED THE INTELLECT, LET'S CONTINUE THE FIGHT FOR THE RIGHT OF VOLUNTARY PRAYER IN SCHOOLS, TO NOURISH THE SOUL.

DOUG GAMBLE

Sept. 7/92

424 - 36th Place
Manhattan Beach, CA 90266
(310) 546-6409

TO: CHRISTINA MARTIN

MORE PAT ROBERTSON (Curt Smith)

(re: school)

UNFORTUNATELY, THE TOLERANCE DISPENSED BY THE LIBERAL MEDIA STOPS AT THE CHURCHHOUSE DOOR. THOSE WHO BELIEVE IN TREATING OTHER SEGMENTS OF SOCIETY WITH POLITICAL CORRECTNESS, DON'T THINK IT APPLIES TO THOSE WHO BELIEVE IN GOD. ~~THOSE WHO PREACH TOLERANCE OF EVEN THE MOST BIZAARE LIFESTYLES, ARE~~ *include you* INTOLERANT OF THOSE WHO FOLLOW THE PREACHINGS OF THE SAVIOUR. *Jesus* THE MEDIA HAS DECIDED IT'S NOT TRENDY TO EMBRACE THE PRINCE OF PEACE. ~~BUT JUST AS HE~~ WITHSTOOD TORMENT, RIDICULE AND PERSECUTION TO LIVE FOREVER, SO WILL THE FAITH WE CARRY IN OUR HEARTS OVERCOME THE INTOLERANCE WHICH HAS INVADED THE HEARTS OF THE CULTURAL ELITE.

*Thine and I appear to have. This is wrong. Involvement is political -
end
part: can't be understood. Unlike the other side, we
cannot be understood. To us we have great ideas. Involvement
is the only - success. We have had the
part is
political, religious, and social. We have promised the
part, the success. To be so
the good*

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ZABARELLA, FRANCESCO (1360–1417), Italian canonist. Created cardinal by *John XXIII in 1411, he conducted the negotiations with the Emp. Sigismund for the Council of *Constance. His conduct at the Council contributed to healing the schism. His writings on canon law long remained standard works.

ZACCHAEUS. A *publican, he climbed a tree to see Christ, and was called by name to come down and give Him lodging in his house (Lk. 19: 1–10).

ZACHARIAH. The father of St. *John the Baptist. A Jewish priest, he received a vision in the *Temple promising him a son; he celebrated the birth of the child and the coming redemption of Israel in the '*Benedictus'.

ZACHARIAS, St. (d. 752), Pope from 741. He induced the Lombard king, Liutprand, to restore her patrimonies to the Church and to abandon his attack on *Ravenna. He supported the missionary work of St. *Boniface, confirmed the deposition of the last of the Merovingians, and had *Pepin anointed by Boniface. He denounced the *Iconoclastic policy of the Emp. Constantine Copronymus.

ZACHARIAS SCHOLASTICUS (d. after 536), *Monophysite Bp. of Mitylene on the island of Lesbos. His most important work was a Church history, valuable for the period 450–91. He also wrote lives of *Severus of Antioch, Peter the Iberian, and others, and works directed against the *Neoplatonists and the *Manichees.

ZADOKITE DOCUMENTS. See *Dead Sea Scrolls*.

ZAHN, THEODOR (1838–1933), German NT and patristic scholar. His standpoint was that of sober conservatism and his work was marked by erudition and thoroughness. His long series of studies on the NT *Canon contained much pioneer work. In the field of

patristics he wrote on *Marcellus of Ancyra, St. *Ignatius, and on the Acts of *John.

ZARATHUSTRA. See *Zoroastrianism*.

ZEALOTS. A Jewish party of revolt. Acc. to *Josephus they were followers of John of Gischala who inspired the fanatical resistance in Jerusalem which led to its destruction by the Romans in A.D. 70. They have commonly been identified with (1) the followers of Judas of Gamala who led a revolt in A.D. 6, and (2) the Sicarii, who tried to achieve their ends by assassinating their political opponents and refused to surrender to the Romans at Masada. There is no good reason for either identification. The epithet 'zealot' applied to St. *Simon 'the Less' in Lk. 6: 15 may mean that he belonged to the Zealot party, or may merely describe his character.

ZECHARIAH, Book of. *Minor Prophet. Chs. 1–8, written by Zechariah, date from 519–517 B.C. An introductory prophecy is followed by an account of 8 visions. In one of these Zerubbabel, the contemporary head of the royal house of Judah, is exhorted to complete the restoration of the *Temple and is perhaps identified with the Davidic prince (see *Messiah*; 4: 6–10). In chs. 7–8 Zechariah asserts the need for righteousness rather than fasting, and prophesies the future glory of Judah when the Gentiles seeking God should voluntarily join themselves to the Jews. Chs. 9–14 contain two anonymous prophecies of a different style and reflecting the circumstances of a later age.

ZENO, St. (d. c. 375), Bp. of *Verona from 362. He was an African. His sermons (*Tractatus*) have affinities with the writings of *Tertullian and *Cyprian; they did not come into circulation until the early Middle Ages.

ZENO (c. 450?–91), E. Emperor from 474. His reign was marked by a series of disastrous wars, and his *Henoticon (482) did nothing to bring about the desired union of the *Monophysites with the orthodox.

ZEPHANIAH, Book of. *Minor Prophet. The Book announces the approaching judgement of all nations in the Day of the Lord, but holds out the hope of future conversion among the heathen and of a faithful remnant among the Jews. The prophecy claims to have been delivered in the reign of Josiah (d. 608 B.C.) The opening words of the '*Dies irae' are taken from the *Vulgate version of 1: 15 f.

ZEPHYRINUS, St. (d. 217), Pope from 198. Little is known of him. St. *Hippolytus charged him with laxity in enforcing discipline and failure to suppress the heresies (esp. *Sabellianism) prevalent in Rome, but he excommunicated *Theodotus the Cobbler and his disciple Theodotus the Money Changer who defended the cause of 'Adoptionist *Monarchianism'.

ZIGABENUS, EUTHYMIUS. See *Euthymius Zigabenus*.

ZILLERTHAL EVANGELICALS. A body of Protestants living in the Zillertal, one of the valleys of the Tyrol, who seceded from the RC Church in 1829 and the following years. They were ordered to leave the country and settled in Prussia.

ZINZENDORF, NIKOLAUS LUDWIG, GRAF VON (1700–60), founder of the *Herrnhuter 'Brüdergemeine'. From 1722 he received on one of his estates Protestant emigrants from Austria, many of them descendants of the *Bohemian Brethren. He gave up his government post in 1727 and devoted himself to the care of the colony, called Herrnhut. He was attacked as an innovator by orthodox *Lutherans and exiled from Saxony from 1736 to 1747. In 1737 he secured *Moravian episcopal consecration. He founded communities in the Baltic provinces, *Holland, England, the *West Indies, and N. America.

Opposed alike to the unbelieving rationalism and the barren Protestant orthodoxy of his time, Zinzendorf proclaimed a 'religion of the heart', based on an intimate fellowship with the Saviour. Though he hoped to realize his ideals within the framework of the different Protestant Churches, he was forced to give his work a separate organization. His emphasis on the place of feeling in religion profoundly influenced 19th-cent. German theology.

ZION. *David's city. The name (Is. 1: 1) city (Hel

ZITA, S. domestic entered the Lucca, w She was f

ZONAR. Byzantine high official before h. *Universa would ot and cover He also w law.

ZOROASTRIANISM. tem asc. which bec Zoroas He taught *Wise Lor and six of These spi who is he. life on ear will trium over the some mu and enjoy times held

ZOSIMUS. 417. His ders. The *Augustine favourable he was o. *Nicene a Council of sentence pa Sicca.

ZOSIMUS. torian. His extending t. secular hist. anti-Christia to the bettu tical affairs

422 PSYCHOLOGY OF RELIGION

PSYCHOLOGY OF RELIGION. A modern field of study in which the concepts and methods of psychology are applied to religious experience and behaviour. One of the first to investigate such possible applications of psychology was W. *James; the topics he studied included the experience of well-being or of conflict in human response to God, and the experiences of religious conversion and of saintliness and mysticism. The early work of S. Freud (1856-1939) on psycho-analysis also contributed to the psychology of religion. Though his reductionist views of religion no longer command respect, his observations about the relations of certain religious practices and obsessional behaviour, and his speculations about patterns of early personal and religious growth, laid the foundations for later work. It is, however, generally agreed that merely psychological methods cannot fully answer questions about the validity of religious behaviour and experience, even if they can account for some aspects of both in non-religious terms.

PTOLEMAIC SYSTEM. The body of astronomical doctrines elaborated by Ptolemy (2nd cent. A.D.). It explained the apparent motions of the sun, moon, and planets on the assumption that the earth was stationary.

PUBLIC WORSHIP REGULATION ACT (1874). An Act designed to suppress the growth of ritualism in the C of E. The imprisonment of four priests for contumacy between 1877 and 1882 discredited the Act. It was repealed by the *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction Measure, 1963.

PUBLICAN. The word used in the traditional English versions of the Bible to translate the Gk. term *τελώνης* (Lat. *publicanus*), a member of one of the financial organizations which farmed taxes in the service of the Roman government. In view of the abuses and corruptions to which the system led, the publicans were the object of widespread hatred.

PUDENS, St. A Christian of Rome, mentioned in 2 Tim. 4: 21 as sending greetings to *Timothy. Tradition makes him St. *Peter's host at Rome. There are no sufficient grounds for identifying him with the Pudens (prob. 3rd cent.) who gave his house (*titulus*

Pudentis or *ecclesia Pudentiana*) to the Roman Church.

PUDENTIANA, St. She is supposed to have been an early Christian Roman virgin, but her cult prob. rests on the mistaken notion that the 'ecclesia Pudentiana' in Rome, which is the church of St. *Pudens, presupposed a St. Pudentiana.

PUFENDORF, SAMUEL (1632-94), German professor of natural and international law. Developing the system of H. *Grotius, he divided law into natural, civil, and moral, and maintained that while moral law was based on revelation and civil law on the positive enactments of the State, natural law had its basis in the instincts of society, and therefore ultimately in human reason.

PUGIN, AUGUSTUS WELBY NORTHMORE (1812-52), architect and *ecclesiologist. He was the chief initiator and inspirer of the 'Gothic Revival'. His works include St. Giles', Cheadle, and St. George's (RC) Cathedral, *Southwark. He collaborated with C. Barry on the designs for the Houses of Parliament.

PULCHERIA, St. (399-453), E. Empress from 450. From 414 to 416 she was guardian of her brother, *Theodosius II. A stalwart supporter of orthodoxy, she induced him to condemn *Nestorius and in the *Monophysite controversy she was on the orthodox side. As Empress she arranged for a General Council to meet at *Chalcedon in 451.

PULLEN, ROBERT (d. 1146), theologian. He was one of the earliest known masters in the schools of *Oxford and he later taught in *Paris. He was made a cardinal in 1143-4 and c. 1144 he became papal chancellor. At Rome he used his influence against Peter *Abelard.

PULPIT. An elevated stand of stone or wood for the preacher or reader. They first became general in the later Middle Ages. Except in *cathedrals, the north side of the nave is considered the proper place for the pulpit. The workmanship is sometimes elaborate. Pulpits are also generally found in monastic refectories.

PURCELL, HENRY (1659-95), English composer. From 1680 he was organist at

*Westminster Abbey and from 1682 also at the *Chapel Royal. His most famous ecclesiastical work is the *Te Deum* and *Jubilate in D* (1694). He developed the verse anthem, foreshadowed by W. *Byrd; much of the music is elaborate and highly dramatic; the words are nearly always from the OT. Even more extensive are his secular compositions.

PURCHAS JUDGEMENT, The. The judgement given in 1871 by the *Judicial Committee of the Privy Council against the Rev. John Purchas that *Eucharistic Vestments, the *Eastward Position, the *Mixed Chalice, and Wafer *Bread were illegal. The decision meant that the ritualists were henceforth held to be law-breakers, but it was widely disregarded.

PURGATIVE WAY, The. The first stage of mental prayer, acc. to the scheme commonly adopted by *ascetic theologians. The chief activity of the soul at this stage is the eradication of bad habits, with repentance for past sins; to this end the imagination and intellect are called into play.

PURGATORY. Acc. to RC teaching the place or state of temporal punishment, where those who have died in the grace of God expiate their unforgiven *venial sins and undergo such punishment as is still due to forgiven sins, before being admitted to the *Beatific Vision. 2 Macc. 12: 39-45 is adduced in support of the doctrine, while Christ's words on the sin against the Holy Spirit which will be forgiven 'neither in this world nor in that which is to come' (Mt. 12: 31 f.) seem to imply a state beyond the grave where expiation is still possible. Without the conception of purgatory the practice of offering prayers for the *dead (q.v.) is held to be unintelligible.

The doctrine of Purgatory was developed systematically in the W., explicit teaching being evolved in order to avoid confusion of thought about the state of souls between death and the *General Judgement. Acc. to St. *Thomas Aquinas, the guilt (*culpa*) of venial sin is expiated immediately after death by an act of perfect charity and only the punishment remains to be borne; the smallest pain in Purgatory is greater than the greatest upon earth, but it is relieved by the certitude of salvation which establishes the Holy Souls in peace, despite their sufferings; and they may be helped by the prayers of the faithful

and esp. by behalf. The Church was *Lyons (1274) view to reach the Latins co-tence of Pur prayer and departed.

The exist by the Reform freed from si. out any wor! straight to h. reaffirmed th. and Florenco. tions. The E. less explicit RC Church. teaching on th.

PURIFICA feast kept of the BVM's 1: 2: 21-39); 1: (q.v.).

PURIFICA linen used at cleanse the *

PURIM. A spring. It co the Jews for Empire (473 *Esther.

PURITANS Protestants v. gious settlem further purifi. posedly uns. They were is. cantile class. things as cl. *surplices, * and ecclesia. 1570s the n. the instituti. *James I's *Millenary P. unsuccessful' (1604). The called the '1 1642 led to byterianism.

THE
CHURCH HYMNARY
THIRD EDITION

STAFF

Melody and most of the harmony by
THOMAS TALLIS, c. 1505-85

C.M.

...ER, whose will is life and good
... of mortal breath,
... along the bond of brotherhood
... those who fight with death.

...er the hands and hearts and wills
...ends in lands afar,
...ttle with the body's ills,
...wage thy holy war.

...r they heal the maimed and blind,
...ve of Christ attend:
...a the good Physician's mind,
...rove the Saviour friend.

...his love works wondrous charms,
...as in days of old,
...s the wounded to his arms,
...ears them to the fold.

...r, look from heaven and bless,
...e'er thy servants be,
...orks of pure unselfishness,
...consecrate to thee!

Hardwicke Drummond Rawnsley, 1851-1920

INTERCESSION: FOR TRAVELLERS AND THE ABSENT

527 MELITA 8888 88

JOHN BACCHUS DYKES, 1823-76

ETERNAL Father, strong to save,
Whose arm hath bound the restless
wave,
Who bidd'st the mighty ocean deep
Its own appointed limits keep:
O hear us when we cry to thee
For those in peril on the sea.

2 O Christ, whose voice the waters
heard,
And hushed their raging at thy word,
Who walkedst on the foaming deep,
And calm amid the storm didst
sleep:
O hear us when we cry to thee
For those in peril on the sea.

3 O Holy Spirit, who didst brood
Upon the waters dark and rude,
And bid their angry tumult cease,
And give, for wild confusion, peace:
O hear us when we cry to thee
For those in peril on the sea.

4 O Trinity of love and power,
Our brethren shield in danger's
hour;
From rock and tempest, fire and foe,
Protect them wheresoe'er they go:
Thus evermore shall rise to thee
Glad hymns of praise from land
and sea.

William Whiting, 1825-78