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Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File Draft Files
Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13518
Folder ID Number: 13518-001

Folder Title:
Religious Broadcasters 1/29/90 [OA 4391][1]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	25	6	7	3

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 20, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR RECORDS MANAGEMENT

FROM: DRUCIE SCALING
Communications Administrative Officer
Room 122, x2930

SUBJECT: FILING OF PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH FOLDERS

Enclosed please find the speech folders for President Bush's speeches, video messages, and talking points from January 24, 1990 through February 14, 1990. Listed speeches and talking points were reconciled and edited by Chriss Winston, Deputy Assistant to the President for Communications, and reviewed by David F. Demarest, Jr., Assistant to the President for Communications.

The writers were Dan McGroarty, Mark Davis, Barry Tron, Mark Lange, Mary Kate Grant, Curt Smith, Edward McNally, Deborah Amend, and Maria Sheehan. The researchers were Peggy Dooley, Christina Martin, Carolyn Cawley, Jean Nappo, Stephanie Blessey, and Bob Simon. Ray Sillers, an occasional consultant for humor, also contributed material for one speech. The folders correspond to the following speeches, video messages, and talking points delivered by the President (with dates of delivery and speechwriters' names):

1. Arrival of Saleh of Yemen	01/24/90	McGroarty/Dooley
2. Nonprofit Organiz. for Poland	01/24/90	
3. POTUS Press Conference	01/24/90	Davis/Martin
4. Video Session	01/25/90	Tron/Sheehan
a) Breakthrough Foundation - Youth at Risk		
b) United Fruit & Vegetable Association		
c) Travel & Tourism Govt. Affairs Council		
d) Natl. Assoc. Wholesaler/Distributors		
5. Newspaper Publishers' Luncheon	01/25/90	Lange/Cawley
6. Special Needs Adopted Children/Celebration of Children	01/26/90	Grant/Nappo
7. U.S. Conference of Mayors	01/26/90	Smith/Blessey
8. Alfalfa Club Dinner	01/27/90	McNally/Simon/Sillers
9. Religious Broadcasters	01/29/90	Smith/Blessey
10. Eagles Gala	01/29/90	Davis/Martin

11.	Video Session	01/30/90	Tron/Sheehan
	a) United Fruit and Vegetable Association		
	b) National Assoc. of Secondary School Principals		
	c) National Foundation for the Handicapped		
	d) Northwood Institute		
12.	1990 Talking Points	01/30/90	Amend
13.	Vista	01/31/90	Davis/Martin
14.	State of the Union Address	01/31/90	McGroarty/Dooley
15.	1990 Agenda Highlights	02/01/90	Amend
16.	Prayer Breakfast	02/01/90	Davis/Martin
17.	University of Tennessee	02/02/90	McNally/Simon
18.	PBS Concert	02/04/90	Smith/Blessey
19.	Republican Eagles Event	02/04/90	
20.	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change	02/05/90	Lange/Cawley
21.	National Training Center	02/06/90	Martin/Davis
22.	Calif. State GOP Fundraiser	02/06/90	Grant/Nappo
23.	Lawrence Livermore	02/07/90	Lange/Cawley
24.	Commonwealth Club	02/07/90	Davis/Martin
25.	Kay Orr	02/08/90	Smith/Blessey
26.	"Choices" Anti-Drug and Alcohol Program	02/08/90	
27.	Ohio GOP Fundraiser	02/08/90	McGroarty/Dooley
28.	National Conference of State Legislators	02/09/90	McNally/Simon
29.	Presentation of Flo Hyman Award	02/09/90	
30.	National Literacy Honors	02/11/90	Davis/Martin
31.	Boy Scouts of America	02/12/90	McGroarty/Dooley
32.	Arrival Statement/Congo Pres.	02/12/90	McNally/Simon
33.	State Dinner/Congo President	02/12/90	McNally/Simon
34.	Video Session	02/13/90	Tron/Cawley
	1. American Association of School Administrators		
	2. AL Hall of Fame and Ray Scott		
	3. Emergency Broadcast System Training Video		
	4. 1992 Quincentennial Expo. in Seville		
	5. Prince of Wales Business Leadership Forum		
35.	Industrial Education Magazine	02/14/90	Lange/Cawley

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 29, 1990

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT THE NATIONAL RELIGIOUS BROADCASTERS' CONVENTION

The Sheraton Hotel
Washington, D.C.

2:13 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very much. Thank you President Rose. Thank you very much. Thank you for that warm welcome and President Rose, Director Cook, new Director Gustavson, friend Pat Robertson, Dr. Robertson. My greetings to you all, and I certainly want to salute your leadership -- all the leadership of the NRB. And ladies and gentlemen. It's often said of a group or individual that he hasn't got a prayer. Well, I'm pleased to be with an audience about whom that will never be said. (Laughter and applause.)

This marks the fourth time that I've had the honor of addressing the annual convention of the National Religious Broadcasters. And once again, it is a delight to be back and I know I speak for Barbara in that regard as well.

In the spirit of the occasion, I want to make two vows. First, I'll be brief. And I know there's a mention in the Bible about the burning bush. (Laughter.) But I also know -- and I say this not with humility, but with objectivity -- compared to most around me here, I'm not that hot a speaker. (Laughter.) So I won't burden you.

But the second promise is for those of you way off in the back of the room, I'll try to speak up. Pat Robertson warned me that the agnostics in this room are very bad. (Laughter.)

Let me begin with some good news for modern man. There is no denying that America is a religious nation. And sure, differences exist over sect and theology. I'm reminded of what that French statesman Talleyrand once said of America, "I found there a country with 32 religions and only one sauce." (Laughter.) Well, yet we know -- you know these Frenchmen. (Laughter.) And yet, you know that what unites us, eclipses what divides us. For we believe that political values without moral values -- a moral underpinning -- cannot sustain a people. (Applause.)

And this afternoon I'd like to talk to you about those moral values. I speak of the qualities of tolerance and decency, courage and responsibility and, of course, faith. Values which remind us that while God can live without man, man cannot live without God. (Applause.) And today, amid political and economic upheaval, these values have not changed, nor will they be more crucial than in the 1990s.

I hope you know by now -- you know me -- I am an optimist, and after all, last year I had the experience that renewed my faith. I was running out of prayers. I had almost given up. Then a miracle occurred -- I caught a fish. (Laughter.) So, it won't surprise you that I'm convinced we can and will uphold the values that I'm referring to. For as Americans we always have. Consider that for more than two centuries America has endorsed -- properly so -- the separation of church and state, but it has also shown how religion and government can coexist.

MORE

And that, to paraphrase our founding document, "All men are endowed not by government but by their Creator with certain unalienable rights." And these rights include the freedom of expression and to think, dream and worship as we please. Equal protection under the law and the right to choose our leaders and our destinies. The inherent dignity of the individual. And we must manifest that dignity by the policies that we pursue.

For example, I believe that we should help parents obtain the best child care for their kids, and so we have sent legislation to Congress to make good that goal. But I want to ensure that parents, not bureaucrats, are the ones who decide how to care for these children. (Applause.) I will not see the option of religious-based child care restricted or eliminated. I will fight that every inch of the way. (Applause.)

And next there is the concern of every child, the quality and the diversity of America's schools. Our pioneering legislation, the Education Excellence Act of 1989, will spur excellence and demand accountability. For our kids sake, let's help American education make the grade.

We come next to an issue on which many Americans disagree, but for my part let me be very clear; I support the sanctity of life. (Applause.) We need policies that encourage adoption, not abortion (Applause.) And that comes right from the heart.

Finally, I continue to support a belief held by the overwhelming majority of Americans -- the right to voluntary school prayer. (Applause.) And so I continue to support a constitutional amendment restoring voluntary prayer. You see we need the faith of our Fathers back in our schools. (Applause.)

So, as we struggle to find answers to our pressing social problems, I will endorse policies that reflect the rights of the individual a concept as old as the scriptures. Rights which form the essence of America and that to other nations have become the message of America, for our freedoms have been carried to every corner of the Earth.

One year ago in my inaugural address I said, "the day of the dictator is over." And indeed, the last year has been a victory for the freedoms with which God has blessed the United States of America. We've seen the rights of man move mountains or, as in East Berlin, even move a wall. (Applause.) And think of Central America where men and women facing great personal risk work for human rights and against tyranny of any ideology.

And let me add, I am especially proud of our troops in Panama. (Applause.) Americans supported Operation Just Cause for a lot of reasons, but because democracy is a noble cause. And to the young soldiers who serve this country, every American thanks you. (Applause.)

Think next of South Africa and the Philippines where the values of church leaders have been a force for democratic change. And yes, in Eastern Europe too, where for centuries, faith has sustained those striving for freedom amid adversity.

You know, eight years ago, one of the Lord's great ambassadors, the Reverend Billy Graham, went to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, and upon returning, spoke of a movement there toward more religious freedom. And perhaps he saw it before many of us, because it takes a man of God to sense the early movement of the hand of God. And yet, who could predict that in 1989 freedom's tide would also be economic, political and intellectual? Or that the walls of bayonets and barbed wire -- the walls of tyranny -- would come tumbling down?

Look, first, at East Germany, where in 1982, long before last November's mass demonstration, members of Leipzig St. Nicholas

Church -- 1982 -- members of that church began a weekly prayer for peace. In the services, students were taught nonviolence, and started the candlelight vigils that one day would rouse a continent. And the police came and threatened them. But the students vowed to stay, and did, becoming a light under the world.

And ultimately, that light spread to Dresden and East Berlin. And as it shone, a Wittenberg pastor said, "I would rather see a thousand drops of candle wax on the marketplace than one drop of blood." And there was no blood. Only the stirring sight last October of 70,000 workers in the streets and squares of Leipzig. And weapons? They carried candles. And their light was likened to a blizzard of fireflies in the night. Ask anyone that evening. They sought what we Americans enjoy; free markets, free elections and the exercise of free will unhampered by the state.

And they were propelled by many things; faith, not the least of them. And as they and others marched across Eastern Europe, the day of the dictator did end, and the day of democracy began.

Look at Bulgaria, where last month the state press agency conceded. People were wishing Merry Christmas to each other maybe for the first time without fear they would be accused of being religious.

And Czechoslovakia. There too, a victory for the rights of man. For years police chased carolers from Prague's Kings Road. And this Christmas, carols warmed the heart of the city and there was wonder in the air.

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And let me close, then, with a story of two such heroes, both Romanian. And how their example illumined decency, courage and love. The first was a Lutheran minister, Laszlo Tokes, who dared to speak of freedom. So last November in Timisoara, masked thugs broke into the small apartment of Tokes and his pregnant wife. And they beat him. And they stabbed him. And the government allowed them no food and even parishioners were not permitted to bring bread. And finally, the police arrived to deport the pastor, but the flock protected him, forming a human chain around his apartment. And in time, the chain grew across the land until, as we celebrated Christmas, Romania's quest for freedom summoned lightness against the dark. Today, Laszlo Tokes ministers to ever larger numbers preaching his faith, but now preaching it without any fear at all.

As does another, Gheorghe Calciu, a Romanian Orthodox minister. His story proves you can't kill an idea. Or you can't destroy the human will. Father Calciu has spent 21 of his 64 years in jail -- 21 of his 64 years -- a third of his entire life in prison.

And in fact, he found God there while in prison for opposing the government. Released, he risked his freedom by preaching a series of Lenten sermons. And for that he was imprisoned again, tortured beyond belief.

Yet Father Calciu had faith. He refused to break and was sentenced to death. And as he stood in the corner of the prison yard praying for his wife and son, awaiting death, it was then something remarkable occurred. His two executioners called to him and surely, he thought, this was the end. But instead they said, "Father," -- that was the first time they had called him that -- "we have decided not to kill you." And three weeks later he asked permission to celebrate the divine liturgy, and while making preparations heard these same two men approach. And he turned around and was astonished

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For my own part, I know this is true. For although I've been President for barely a year, I believe with all my heart that one cannot be America's President without a belief in God, without the strength that your faith gives to you. (Applause.) Another President, Dwight Eisenhower -- beloved Ike -- once said, "Free government is the political expression of a deeply-felt religious faith." Let each of us use his faith to express the noblest values of America so that together we can then serve the inalienable rights of man.

Thank you for your work, for your kindness to Barbara and me, and God bless you. And God bless our beloved land, the United States of America. Thank you very, very much. (Applause.)

END

2:32 P.M. EST

FILE

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For my own part, I know this is true. For although I've been President for barely a year, I believe with all my heart that one cannot be America's President without a belief in God, without the strength that your faith gives to you. (Applause.) Another President, Dwight Eisenhower -- beloved Ike -- once said, "Free government is the political expression of a deeply-felt religious faith." Let each of us use his faith to express the noblest values of America so that together we can then serve the inalienable rights of man.

Thank you for your work, for your kindness to Barbara and me, and God bless you. And God bless our beloved land, the United States of America. Thank you very, very much. (Applause.)

END

2:32 P.M. EST

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Alison Gallup



Mr. Proke
Bar Coleman
Rich Davis

question
a few lines
Bea Coleman
RAC

609
924-9600
Alison Gallup

(Smith/Blessey)
7:00 P.M.
January 25, 1990
CAST

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RELIGIOUS BROADCASTERS
SHERATON WASHINGTON HOTEL
MONDAY, JANUARY 29, 1990
2:00 P.M.

Dr. Robertson.

President Rose, Director Cook -- and I want to salute your leadership of the NRB. Ladies and gentlemen. ((It is often said of a group or individual that "He hasn't got a prayer." Today, I am pleased to be with an audience about whom that will never be said.)) //

(This marks the fourth time I have)

~~((Two years ago, I had the honor of addressing this annual convention of the National Religious Broadcasters. And now, I'm back again. Even though I know this isn't what you had in mind when you talk about the Second Coming.)) //~~
And once again it is a delight to be back.

Still, I'm delighted to be with you. And in the spirit of the occasion, I ~~intend~~ ^{want to} keep two vows. First, I'll be brief. ((I know there's a mention in the Bible about the Burning Bush, but I also know I'm not that hot a speaker.)) //

The second promise is for those of you in the back of the room. I'll try to speak up. // ((Jerry Rose warned me that the agnostics in this room are very bad.)) //

Let me begin with some good news for modern man. According to the Gallup Poll, no society is more religious than the United States of America. // Seven in ten Americans believe in life after death. Eight in ten in a final Judgment Day and that God

*limited to a few
at a very low level and this
under previous policy; some
to find the way to 32
why not see?
D. Ken-1-11*

works miracles. Nine in ten Americans pray. And 94 per cent believe in God. // To which I say: **Thank** God. //

✓ Sure, differences exist over sect and theology. ((Some, for instance, claim the stairway to heaven is climbed through good works. // Some, that faith ensures that when the roll is called up yonder, I'll be there. // Others think the Pearly Gates welcome only those who like horse shoes and country music. // *Naturally,* These beliefs aren't mutually exclusive.)) // Yet we know what unites us eclipses what divides us. // For we believe that political values without moral values cannot sustain a people. //

This afternoon, I'd like to talk to you about those moral values. Values which reflect the et *✓* he Sermon on the Mount. I speak of the quality of responsibility, generosity and faith *upheld* and us that while God can live without man, *↓* hout God.

Today, amid political and economic change, these values haven't changed. Nor have they been more crucial than in 1990. They can help build a more decent America -- and help America build a more ennobling world. But only if while endorsing the separation of church and state, we also endorse the union of conscience and government. //

At home, this means -- I believe -- that we must support that most basic value -- *the* sanctity of life. // We need policies that encourage adoption, not abortion. //

Conscience and government also dictate that we must help parents obtain the best child-care for their kids. // So we

that goal.

have sent legislation to Congress to make good ~~this pledge~~ I ensure that Parents, not bureaucrats, decide how best to want to ~~preserve the right of every parent to send their kids to~~ care for their children. And I will not allow religious-based child care ~~the care center of their choice. That includes -- especially --~~ to be restricted or eliminated. ~~church-sponsored centers~~ //

Next comes an issue that concerns all children: the quality and diversity of America's schools. // Our pioneering legislation -- the "Educational Excellence Act of 1989" -- will spur excellence, demand accountability, and allow our kids to learn. ~~Remember Saul on the Damascus Road. We need a conversion in American education.~~ // *Let's help our educational systems make the grade. // Remember Saul on the Damascus Road. We need a conversion in American education.*

Finally, moral values support a belief held by the overwhelming majority of Americans: The right to voluntary school prayer. I share that belief. So I endorse a Constitutional Amendment restoring voluntary prayer. We need the Faith of our Fathers back in our schools. //

Now, you know me. I'm an optimistic guy. ((After all, last year I had an experience that renewed my faith. I was running out of prayers and had given up hope. Then a miracle occurred. // I caught a fish.)) // So it won't surprise you that I'm convinced we can -- and will -- uphold these values. And as we do, we will help do God's work. Yet that work must not be for America alone. //

What, after all, does ~~religion~~ cherish? The dignity of each human being. // And what does such dignity require? Inevitably, the triumph of democracy. // Well, the past year has been a victory for the freedoms with which God has blessed

America. A true season of miracles. // We have seen how moral values can move mountains or -- as in East Berlin -- even move a wall. // ~~_____~~ asked us to

It was Christ Himself, of course, who said, "Be a light unto the world." // So let us carry that light to every corner of the world -- freedom of expression. And to think, dream, and worship as we please. The freedom of equal protection under the law. And to choose our leaders and our destinies. Our Administration has reaffirmed these freedoms. What's more, we have -- and we will -- support those individuals, and movements, who proclaim: Let my people go. //

Think of Central America, where men and women of God -- facing great personal risk -- condemn terrorism whatever the ideology. Think, especially, of Panama -- and let me say to the Vatican: Every American thanks you. // Think of South Africa and the Phillipines, where church leaders are fighting against oppression and tyranny. // And, yes, of that miracle called Eastern Europe. Where for centuries religion has been a catalyst for democracy. And where men and women of faith braved persecution to renew the faith which makes us free. //

More than five centuries ago, the Hungarian patriot Janos Hunyadi (YAHN-osh HOON-yah-dee) stopped a would-be Turkish invasion. In his honor, the Pope ordered each church to ring a bell at the time of day the battle ended. ~~And~~ since then, Catholic church bells around the world ring precisely at mid-day. // ~~// The Catholic Church has been an apostle of God.~~ // And so

Eastern Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Judaism
Cultural, Protestant, & states
... they, too, have renewed our faith

~~See page 10~~
ambassadors

have the Protestant, Reformed, and Jewish churches of Eastern Europe. Few will forget heroes like Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Raoul Wallenberg, who led the anti-Nazi resistance. They, too, were apostles of God. //

Recall, more recently, this last miraculous year. And one of the great Lord's ambassadors of this or any time, the Reverend Billy Graham. // Four years ago ^{Eight years ago,} Reverend Graham went to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. And upon returning ^{with a message} a movement there toward more religious freedom. Perhaps he saw it before many others because it takes a man of God to sense the early movement of the hand of God. // Yet not even Reverend Graham could predict how in 1989, the walls of bayonets and barbed wire -- the walls of tyranny -- would come tumbling down.

speech of 1987
steal

Look, first, at the miracle of East Germany -- where in 1982 -- long before last November's mass demonstrations -- members of Leipzig's St. Nicholas Church began weekly prayers for peace. At Bible Study, students were taught non-violence. And started the candle-light vigils that would one day rouse a continent. The police came and threatened them. But the students would not be moved. They vowed to stay, and did. Becoming, yes, a light unto the world.

As with the disciples, that light spread to Dresden and Berlin. And as it shone, a Wittenberg pastor said, "I would rather see 1,000 drops of candle wax on the market place than one drop of blood." // And there was no blood -- just as Christ taught us. // Only the stirring sight last October of 70,000

In Poland, the closing refrain of an anthem - 1.
Hymn was changed from "Bring us back, O
God, our free fatherland," to "Our free fatherland
Protect, O God." //

workers -- brave, defiant -- in the streets and squares of
Leipzig. Weapons? They carried candles. Their march rivaled "a
blizzard of fireflies in the night." Ask anyone that evening.
God was moving in miraculous -- not merely mysterious -- ways.

Look, next, at Bulgaria. Where last month the State press
agency conceded: "People [were] wishing Merry Christmas to each
other without fear they would be accused of being 'religious.'"
// And Czechoslovakia. There, too, a miracle. For years,
police chased carolers from Prague's King's Road. This
Christmas, the cold night of Charles Bridge echoed with young
voices. Their carols warmed the heart of the city. There was
wonder in the air. // And in Romania: Still further miracles.
Christmas songs on the radio for the first time since 1946. And
heroes who showed that you can't lock people behind walls forever
-- when they have religious faith locked in their hearts. //

Let me close, then, with the story of two such heroes --
both Romanian. And how their example -- and miracle -- illumined
Christ's special mission to mankind. (Laz-low To-kesh)

The first was a Lutheran minister, Laszlo Tokes, who dared
to speak of freedom. So last November, masked thugs broke into
the small apartment in Timisoara of Tokes and his pregnant wife.
They beat and stabbed him. The government allowed them no food.
// When parishioners brought bread, police arrived to deport the
pastor. But the flock protected him -- forming a human chain
around his apartment. In time, the chain grew across the land.

who can doubt ^{you} he will? // For today, the times are on the side of peace. Because the world, increasingly, is on the side of God. //

If you doubt it, think of this past Christmas of miracles. And of miracles yet to come. // Miracles ~~that will occur~~ in Eastern Europe, in America, and around the globe. Wherever one finds the truth that comes on one's knees.

~~Thank you for this~~ wonderful occasion. God bless America. And let me leave you with a favorite hymn, "God Be With You Till We Meet Again."

for barely a year,
#

→ (For my own part, I know that this is true. For although I've seen Presidents I believe - with all my heart - that one can not be America's President without a belief in God, and in prayer. I, too, believe in miracles -- as you do. And I thank you for your work that spreads the word. Thank you for your kindness --

and for this

Values
Goals
Principles
freedom

(Smith/Blessey)

11:30 A.M.

January 25, 1990

CAST

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RELIGIOUS BROADCASTERS
SHERATON WASHINGTON HOTEL
MONDAY, JANUARY 29, 1990
2:00 P.M.

President Rose, Director Cook -- and I want to salute your leadership of the NRB. Ladies and gentlemen. ((It is often said of a group or individual that "He hasn't got a prayer." Today, I am pleased to be with an audience about whom that will never be said.)) //

((Two years ago, I had the honor of addressing this annual convention of the National Religious Broadcasters. And now, I'm back again. Even though I know this isn't what you had in mind when you ~~preach~~ ^{talk} about the Second Coming.)) //

Still, I'm delighted to be with you. And in the spirit of the occasion, I intend to keep two vows. First, I'll be brief. ((I know there's a mention in the Bible about the Burning Bush, but I also know I'm not that hot a speaker.)) //

The second promise is for those of you in the back of the room. I'll try to speak up. // ((Jerry Rose warned me that the agnostics in this room are very bad.)) //

Let me begin with something ^{Good news about modern man,} ~~better~~: ~~A simple statement of~~
~~fact~~ According to the Gallup Poll, no society is more religious than the United States of America. // Seven in ten Americans believe in life after death. Eight in ten in a final Judgment

Day and that God works miracles. Nine in ten Americans pray.
And 94 per cent believe in God. // To which I say: Thank God. //

Sure, differences exist over sect and theology. ((Some, for instance, claim the stairway to heaven is climbed through good works. // Some, that faith ensures that when the roll is called up yonder, I'll be there. // Others think the Pearly Gates welcome only those who like horse shoes and country music. // These beliefs aren't mutually exclusive.)) // Yet we know what unites us eclipses what divides us. // For we believe that political values without moral values cannot sustain a people. //

This afternoon, I'd like to talk^{to you} about those moral values -- ~~both at home and abroad~~ ✓
Values which reflect the eternal teachings of the Sermon on the Mount. I speak of the qualities of freedom and responsibility, generosity and faith. Values which remind us that while God can live without man, man cannot live without God. //

~~Since Plymouth Rock, these values have brought good news for all modern man to untold millions of Americans. Yet never have they~~
Since 1945, we see political and economic change. Our values and our modern man to untold millions of Americans. Yet never have they
been more crucial than in 1990. They can help build a more decent America -- and help America build a more ennobling world. But only if, while endorsing the separation of church and state, we also endorse the union of conscience and government. //

At home, this means -- I believe -- that we must support the sanctity of life. ~~// Remember the song, "Bless the Beasts and the Children. Keep them safe. Keep them warm."~~ // We need policies that encourage adoption, not abortion. //

Conscience and government also dictate that we must help parents obtain the best child-care for their kids. // So we have sent legislation to ~~the~~ Congress to make good this pledge: I want to protect the right of every parent to send their kids to the care center of their choice. That includes -- especially -- church-sponsored centers. //

Next comes an issue that concerns all children: the quality and diversity of America's schools. // Our pioneering legislation -- the "Educational Excellence Act of 1989" -- will spur excellence, demand accountability, and allow our kids to learn. Remember Saul on the Damascus Road. We need a conversion in American education. //

Finally, moral values support a belief held by the overwhelming majority of Americans: The right to voluntary school prayer. I share that belief. So I endorse a Constitutional Amendment restoring voluntary prayer. We need the Faith of our Fathers back in our schools. // *split*

Now, I'm convinced we can -- and will -- achieve these ~~goals~~ *goals*. You know me. I'm an optimistic guy. ((After all, last year I had an experience that renewed my faith. I was running out of prayers and had given up hope. Then a miracle occurred. // I caught a fish.)) // And as we *split* achieve them, we will help do God's work. Yet that work must not be for America alone. //

What, after all, does religion cherish? The dignity of each human being. // And what does such dignity require? Inevitably, the triumph of democracy. // Well, the past year

has been a victory for the freedoms with which God has blessed America. A true season of miracles. // We have seen how ~~moral values~~ religious principles can move mountains or -- as in East Berlin -- even move a wall. // *that light values*

→ ^{so} Now, let us carry these ~~principles~~ to every corner of the earth. ^{You know} ~~For~~ it was Christ Himself who said, "Be a light unto the world." // I mean ~~the~~ freedom of expression. And to think, dream, and worship as we please. The freedom of equal protection under the law. And to choose our leaders and our destinies. Our Administration has reaffirmed these freedoms. What's more, we have -- and we will -- support those individuals, and Churches, + *mother* who proclaim: Let my people go. //

Think of Central America, where men ^{of God} condemn terrorism whatever the ideology. ^{And to} ~~And to~~ the Vatican, especially: Every American thanks you. // Think of the Phillipines, ^{of South Africa} where church leaders are fighting against oppression and tyranny. // And, yes, of that miracle called Eastern Europe. Where for centuries religion has been a catalyst for democracy. And where men and women of faith braved persecution to renew the faith which makes us free. //

More than five centuries ago, the Hungarian patriot Janos Hunyadi (YAHN-osh HOON-yah-dee) stopped a would-be Turkish invasion. In his honor, the Pope ordered each Catholic church to ring a bell at the time of day the battle ended. And since then, Catholic church bells around the world ring precisely at mid-day.

// The ^{Catholic} Church has been an apostle of God. // And so have the

all countries?

Typical of Roman

Protestant, Reformed, and Jewish churches of Eastern Europe. Few will forget heroes like Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Raoul Wallenberg, who led the anti-Nazi resistance. They, too, were apostles of God. //

Recall, more recently, this last miraculous year. And one of the great soldiers of God of this or any time, the Reverend Billy Graham. // Four years ago, Billy went to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. And upon returning foretold a movement there toward more religious freedom. Perhaps Billy saw it before many others because it takes a man of God to sense the early movement of the hand of God. // Yet not even he could predict how in 1989, the walls of bayonets and barbed wire -- the walls of tyranny -- would come tumbling down. // *Nuch*

Look, first, at the miracle of East Germany -- where in 1982 -- long before ^{*Just December's*} ~~1989's~~ mass demonstrations -- members of Leipzig's St. Nicholas Church began weekly prayers for peace. At Bible Study, ~~these~~ students were taught non-violence. And started the candle-light vigils that would one day rouse a continent. The police came and threatened them. But the students would not be moved. They vowed to stay, and did. Becoming, yes, a light unto the world.

As with the disciples, that light spread to Dresden and Berlin. And as it shone, a Wittenberg pastor said, "I would rather see 1,000 drops of candle wax on the market place than one drop of blood." // And there was no blood -- just as Christ taught us. // Only the stirring sight last October of 70,000

workers -- brave, defiant -- in the streets and squares of Leipzig. Weapons? They carried candles. Their march rivaled "a blizzard of fireflies in the night." Ask anyone that evening. God was moving in miraculous -- not merely mysterious -- ways.

Look, next, at Bulgaria. Where last month the State press agency conceded: "People [were] wishing Merry Christmas to each other without fear they would be accused of being 'religious.'"

// And Czechoslovakia. There, too, a miracle. For years, police chased carolers from Prague's King's Road. This Christmas, ^{the cold night was of} Charles Bridge echoed with young voices ~~in the cold of~~ ^{as} night. ^{heart of the} Their carols warmed the city. ^{truly} There was wonder in the air. // And in Romania: Still further miracles. Christmas songs on the radio for the first time since 1946. And heroes who showed that you can't lock people behind walls forever -- when they have religious faith locked in their hearts. //

Let me close, then, with the story of two such heroes -- both Romanian. And how their example -- and miracle -- illumined Christ's special mission to mankind.

The first was a Lutheran minister, Laszlo Tokes, who dared to speak of freedom. So last November, masked thugs broke into the small apartment in Timisoara of Tokes and his pregnant wife. They beat and stabbed him. The government ^{allowed} ~~deprived~~ them ^{no} ~~both~~ of food. // When parishioners brought bread, police arrived to deport the pastor. But the flock protected him -- forming a human chain around his apartment. In time, the chain grew across

Eastern Europe, in America, around the world. Wherever one finds the truth that comes on one's knees. //

Today, the times are on the side of peace. Because the world, increasingly, is on the side of God. // If you doubt it, think of this past Christmas of miracles. Even as we look forward -- two months from now -- to the greatest miracle of all. Thank you for this wonderful occasion. God bless America. And if I could leave you with a favorite hymn, "God Be With You Till We Meet Again."

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 1/26

TO: *Chris*

FROM: **JOHN S. GARDNER**
Special Assistant to the President
and Assistant Staff Secretary

Information

Action

Let's Discuss

These are obviously bootleg, but they probably won't change much.

J.S.

W/OP
1:30pm

1/25
Document No. 107760

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

0637

1990 JAN 26

PM 3:54

DATE: 01/25/90

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11:00 AM Friday 01/26

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RELIGIOUS BROADCASTERS
SUBJECT: (01/25 7:00 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by 11:00 a.m. on Friday, 01/26, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

TO: CHRISS WINSTON

NSC clears with the changes indicated.

Brent Scowcroft

cc: James W. Cicconi

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

1990 JAN 25 PM 8:40

(Smith/Blessey)
7:00 P.M.
January 25, 1990
CAST

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RELIGIOUS BROADCASTERS
SHERATON WASHINGTON HOTEL
MONDAY, JANUARY 29, 1990
2:00 P.M.

President Rose, Director Cook -- and I want to salute your leadership of the NRB. Ladies and gentlemen. ((It is often said of a group or individual that "He hasn't got a prayer." Today, I am pleased to be with an audience about whom that will never be said.)) //

7!
((Two years ago, I had the honor of addressing this annual convention of the National Religious Broadcasters. And now, I'm back again. Even though I know this isn't what you had in mind when you talk about the Second Coming.)) //

Still, I'm delighted to be with you. And in the spirit of the occasion, I intend to keep two vows. First, I'll be brief. ((I know there's a mention in the Bible about the Burning Bush, but I also know I'm not that hot a speaker.)) //

The second promise is for those of you in the back of the room. I'll try to speak up. // ((Jerry Rose warned me that the agnostics in this room are very bad.)) //

Let me begin with some good news for modern man. According to the Gallup Poll, no society is more religious than the United States of America. // Seven in ten Americans believe in life after death. Eight in ten in a final Judgment Day and that God

works miracles. Nine in ten Americans pray. And 94 per cent believe in God. // To which I say: Thank God. //

Sure, differences exist over sect and theology. ((Some, for instance, claim the stairway to heaven is climbed through good works. // Some, that faith ensures that when the roll is called up yonder, I'll be there. // Others think the Pearly Gates welcome only those who like horse shoes and country music. // These beliefs aren't mutually exclusive.)) // Yet we know what unites us eclipses what divides us. // For we believe that political values without moral values cannot sustain a people. //

This afternoon, I'd like to talk to you about those moral values. Values which reflect the eternal teachings of the Sermon on the Mount. I speak of the qualities of freedom and responsibility, generosity and faith. Values which remind us that while God can live without man, man cannot live without God.

Today, amid political and economic change, these values haven't changed. Nor have they been more crucial than in 1990. They can help build a more decent America -- and help America build a more ennobling world. But only if while endorsing the separation of church and state, we also endorse the union of conscience and government. //

At home, this means -- I believe -- that we must support that most basic value -- sanctity of life. // We need policies that encourage adoption, not abortion. //

Conscience and government also dictate that we must help parents obtain the best child-care for their kids. // So we

have sent legislation to Congress to make good this pledge: I want to protect the right of every parent to send their kids to the care center of their choice. That includes -- especially -- church-sponsored centers. //

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Finally, moral values support a belief held by the overwhelming majority of Americans: The right to voluntary school prayer. I share that belief. So I endorse a Constitutional Amendment restoring voluntary prayer. We need the Faith of our Fathers back in our schools. //

Now, you know me. I'm an optimistic guy. ((After all, last year I had an experience that renewed my faith. I was running out of prayers and had given up hope. Then a miracle occurred. // I caught a fish.)) // So it won't surprise you that I'm convinced we can -- and will -- uphold these values. And as we do, we will help do God's work. Yet that work must not be for America alone. //

What, after all, does religion cherish? The dignity of each human being. // And what does such dignity require? Inevitably, the triumph of democracy. // Well, the past year has been a victory for the freedoms with which God has blessed

America. A true season of miracles. // We have seen how moral values can move mountains or -- as in East Berlin -- even move a wall. //

It was Christ Himself, of course, who said, "Be a light unto the world." // So let us carry that light to every corner of the world -- freedom of expression. And to think, dream, and worship as we please. The freedom of equal protection under the law. And to choose our leaders and our destinies. Our Administration has reaffirmed these freedoms. What's more, we have -- and we will -- support those individuals, and movements, who proclaim: Let my people go. //

Think of Central America, where men and women of God -- facing great personal risk -- ^{work for human rights and against tyranny of any} ~~condemn terrorism whatever the~~ ideology. Think, especially, of Panama -- and let me say to the Vatican: Every American thanks you. // Think of South Africa and the Phillipines, where church leaders ^{have been a force for} ~~are fighting against~~ democratic change. ~~oppression and tyranny.~~ // And, yes, of that miracle called Eastern Europe. Where for centuries religion has ^{sustained the will} ~~been a catalyst~~ to freedom even amid adversity. ~~for democracy.~~ And where men and women of faith braved persecution to renew the faith which makes us free. //

~~More than five centuries ago, the Hungarian patriot Janos Hunyadi (YAHN-esh HOON-yah-dee) stopped a would-be Turkish invasion. In his honor, the Pope ordered each church to ring a bell at the time of day the battle ended. And since then, Catholic church bells around the world ring precisely at mid-day.]~~

// The Catholic Church has been an apostle of God. // And so

Churches have ambiguous history over the centuries

No
1) Don't knock Turks!
2) Sounds wrong - Isn't it the Angelus anyway at mid-day?

"churches"
isn't right
word

"led resistance"
isn't quite
right

have the Protestant, Reformed, and Jewish ^{Communities} ~~churches~~ of Eastern Europe. Few will forget heroes like Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Raoul Wallenberg, who ^{stood against the Nazis and their evil deeds.} ~~led the anti-Nazi resistance~~ They, too, were apostles of God. //

Recall, more recently, this last miraculous year. And one of the great soldiers of God of this or any time, the Reverend Billy Graham. // Four years ago, Reverend Graham went to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. And upon returning foretold a movement there toward more religious freedom. Perhaps he saw it before many others because it takes a man of God to sense the early movement of the hand of God. // Yet not even Reverend Graham could predict how in 1989, the walls of bayonets and barbed wire -- the walls of tyranny -- would come tumbling down.

Look, first, at the miracle of East Germany -- where in 1982 -- long before last November's mass demonstrations -- members of Leipzig's St. Nicholas Church began weekly prayers for peace. At Bible Study, students were taught non-violence. And started the candle-light vigils that would one day rouse a continent. The police came and threatened them. But the students would not be moved. They vowed to stay, and did. Becoming, yes, a light unto the world.

^{East} Berlin. And as it shone, a Wittenberg pastor said, "I would rather see 1,000 drops of candle wax on the market place than one drop of blood." // And there was no blood -- just as Christ taught us. // Only the stirring sight last October of 70,000

Alongside East Europe's democratic revolution was a religious reawakening, testimony to the indomitable spirit sustained by faith.

workers -- brave, defiant -- in the streets and squares of Leipzig. Weapons? They carried candles. Their march rivaled "a blizzard of fireflies in the night." Ask anyone that evening. God was moving in miraculous -- not merely mysterious -- ways.

Was democratic revolution, not just a religious event

Look, next, at Bulgaria. Where last month the State press agency conceded: "People [were] wishing Merry Christmas to each other without fear they would be accused of being 'religious.'" //

And Czechoslovakia. There, too, a miracle. For years, police chased carolers from Prague's King's Road. This Christmas, the cold night of Charles Bridge echoed with young voices. Their carols warmed the heart of the city. There was wonder in the air. // And in Romania: Still further miracles. Christmas songs on the radio for the first time since 1946. And heroes who showed that you can't lock people behind walls forever -- when they have religious faith locked in their hearts. //

Let me close, then, with the story of two such heroes -- both Romanian. And how their example -- and miracle -- illumined Christ's special mission to mankind.

[TER-kish]

The first was a Lutheran minister, Laszlo Tokes, who dared to speak of freedom. So last November, masked thugs broke into the small apartment in Timisoara of Tokes and his pregnant wife. They beat and stabbed him. The government allowed them no food. // When parishioners brought bread, police arrived to deport the pastor. But the flock protected him -- forming a human chain around his apartment. In time, the chain grew across the land.

Until -- as the world celebrated Christmas -- Romania's morning star of freedom summoned "lightness against the dark." //

Today, Laszlo Tokes preaches his faith without fear -- ministering to ever-larger numbers -- truly, an apostle of the Lord. // As is that second man I spoke about -- a man who's with us here. His name is Gheorghe Calciu [CUL-chew] -- a Romanian Orthodox minister. His story proves you can't slay an idea -- nor destroy the human will. //

Reverend Calciu has spent 21 of his 61 years in jail. In fact, he found God there while imprisoned for opposing the government. Released, he risked his freedom by preaching a series of Lenten sermons. And for that he was imprisoned again -- tortured beyond belief. // Yet Reverend Calciu had faith. He refused to break -- and was sentenced to death. So he went to a corner of the prison yard, and began to pray for his wife and for his son. // It was then that the miracle occurred. //

His two executioners called him over. Surely, thought Reverend Calciu, this was the end. But instead they said, "Father" -- that was the first time they called him that -- "we have decided not to kill you." // A few days later, he asked permission to celebrate the Mass. And while making preparations, heard these same two men approach. He turned around, and was astonished. // His would-be executioners were on their knees on the cold concrete of the cell. //

In 1985, Father Calciu was exiled to America. But he hopes to return to his native land. And in this season of miracles,

who can doubt he will? // For today, the times are on the side of peace. Because the world, increasingly, is on the side of God. //

If you doubt it, think of this past Christmas of miracles. And of miracles yet to come. // Miracles that will occur in Eastern Europe, in America, and around the globe. Wherever one finds the truth that comes on one's knees.

Thank you for this wonderful occasion. God bless America. And let me leave you with a favorite hymn, "God Be With You Till We Meet Again."

#

**NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT**

TIME STAMP



RECEIVED

SYSTEM LOG NUMBER: 0637

90 JAN 26 4 0. 45

ACTION OFFICER: RODMAN DUE: ASAP, 26 JAN

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Prepare Memo For Scowcroft/Gates | <input type="checkbox"/> Appropriate Action |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Prepare Memo For Cicconi | <input type="checkbox"/> Prepare Memo for Hughes |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Prepare Memo <u>SCOWCROFT</u> | to <u>WINSTON W/ INFO CICCONI</u> |

URGENT

CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS*

PHONE* to action officer at ext. 6907

- | FYI | FYI | FYI |
|---|---|-----------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Basora | <input type="checkbox"/> Lampley | <input type="checkbox"/> Rostow |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Beers | <input type="checkbox"/> Levin | <input type="checkbox"/> Salvetti |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Blackwill | <input type="checkbox"/> Mahley | <input type="checkbox"/> Tilley |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Charles | <input type="checkbox"/> Mandel | <input type="checkbox"/> Tobey |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Coulson | <input type="checkbox"/> Melby | <input type="checkbox"/> Van Eron |
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| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Deal | <input type="checkbox"/> Merchant | <input type="checkbox"/> Welch |
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| <input type="checkbox"/> Kitchen | <input type="checkbox"/> Rice | <input type="checkbox"/> _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> LaMagr | <input type="checkbox"/> Rodman | <input type="checkbox"/> _____ |

- INFORMATION: Hughes Scowcroft (advance) Sittmann Gates (advance) Exec. Sec. Desk Secretariat

COMMENTS

Logged By [Signature]

Return to Secretariat

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 26, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RB*

SUBJECT: Remarks to the Religious Broadcasters

We have reviewed the draft remarks and offer the following suggestions which we believe will strenghten the remarks. This is the second time we have seen the two jokes included in the second, and fourth paragraphs on page one and we still believe they are inappropriate. We also consider the joke in the third paragraph inappropriate as well.

Second, with respect to the reference on page 4 to Janos Hunyadi, we suggest referring to "a would-be foreign invasion" rather than identifying the Turks by name. The Turks tend to be hypersensitive about hints that they may be aggressive.

Third, with respect to the discussion of child care on pages two and three, the discussion should be modified to reflect our emphasis on parents, which the reference to center-based care obscures. We suggest revising the discussion of the legislation to read, "I want to protect the right of parents to choose the child care arrangements they find best. Some in the Congress want to help only those who choose day care. Others want to prevent religious programs from being assisted. I want child care legislation that will help all parents and their children."

If you have any questions, or if I can be of assistance in any other way, please do not hesitate to let me know.

89 DEC 26 12:09

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 01/25/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11:00 AM Friday 01/26

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RELIGIOUS BROADCASTERS
 SUBJECT: (01/25 7:00 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by 11:00 a.m. on Friday, 01/26, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

James W. Cicconi
 Assistant to the President
 and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
 Ext. 2702

1990 JAN 25 PM 8:40

(Smith/Blessey)
7:00 P.M.
January 25, 1990
CAST

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RELIGIOUS BROADCASTERS
SHERATON WASHINGTON HOTEL
MONDAY, JANUARY 29, 1990
2:00 P.M.

President Rose, Director Cook -- and I want to salute your leadership of the NRB. Ladies and gentlemen. ((It is often said of a group or individual that "He hasn't got a prayer." Today, I am pleased to be with an audience about whom that will never be said.)) //

((Two years ago, I had the honor of addressing this annual convention of the National Religious Broadcasters. And now, I'm back again. Even though I know this isn't what you had in mind when you talk about the Second Coming.)) //

Still, I'm delighted to be with you. And in the spirit of the occasion, I intend to keep two vows. First, I'll be brief. ((I know there's a mention in the Bible about the Burning Bush, but I also know I'm not that hot a speaker.)) //

The second promise is for those of you in the back of the room. I'll try to speak up. // ((Jerry Rose warned me that the agnostics in this room are very bad.)) //

Let me begin with some good news for modern man. According to the Gallup Poll, no society is more religious than the United States of America. // Seven in ten Americans believe in life after death. Eight in ten in a final Judgment Day and that God

works miracles. Nine in ten Americans pray. And 94 per cent believe in God. // To which I say: Thank God. //

Sure, differences exist over sect and theology. ((Some, for instance, claim the stairway to heaven is climbed through good works. // Some, that faith ensures that when the roll is called up yonder, I'll be there. // Others think the Pearly Gates welcome only those who like horse shoes and country music. // These beliefs aren't mutually exclusive.)) // Yet we know what unites us eclipses what divides us. // For we believe that political values without moral values cannot sustain a people. //

This afternoon, I'd like to talk to you about those moral values. Values which reflect the eternal teachings of the Sermon on the Mount. I speak of the qualities of freedom and responsibility, generosity and faith. Values which remind us that while God can live without man, man cannot live without God.

Today, amid political and economic change, these values haven't changed. Nor have they been more crucial than in 1990. They can help build a more decent America -- and help America build a more ennobling world. But only if while endorsing the separation of church and state, we also endorse the union of conscience and government. //

At home, this means -- I believe -- that we must support that most basic value -- sanctity of life. // We need policies that encourage adoption, not abortion. //

Conscience and government also dictate that we must help parents obtain the best child-care for their kids. // So we

have sent legislation to Congress to make good this pledge: I want to protect the right of every parent to send their kids to the care center of their choice. That includes -- especially -- church-sponsored centers. //

Next comes an issue that concerns all children: the quality and diversity of America's schools. // Our pioneering legislation -- the "Educational Excellence Act of 1989" -- will spur excellence, demand accountability, and allow our kids to learn. Remember Saul on the Damascus Road. We need a conversion in American education. //

Finally, moral values support a belief held by the overwhelming majority of Americans: The right to voluntary school prayer. I share that belief. So I endorse a Constitutional Amendment restoring voluntary prayer. We need the Faith of our Fathers back in our schools. //

Now, you know me. I'm an optimistic guy. ((After all, last year I had an experience that renewed my faith. I was running out of prayers and had given up hope. Then a miracle occurred. // I caught a fish.)) // So it won't surprise you that I'm convinced we can -- and will -- uphold these values. And as we do, we will help do God's work. Yet that work must not be for America alone. //

What, after all, does religion cherish? The dignity of each human being. // And what does such dignity require? Inevitably, the triumph of democracy. // Well, the past year has been a victory for the freedoms with which God has blessed

America. A true season of miracles. // We have seen how moral values can move mountains or -- as in East Berlin -- even move a wall. //

It was Christ Himself, of course, who said, "Be a light unto the world." // So let us carry that light to every corner of the world -- freedom of expression. And to think, dream, and worship as we please. The freedom of equal protection under the law. And to choose our leaders and our destinies. Our Administration has reaffirmed these freedoms. What's more, we have -- and we will -- support those individuals, and movements, who proclaim: Let my people go. //

Think of Central America, where men and women of God -- facing great personal risk -- condemn terrorism whatever the ideology. Think, especially, of Panama -- and let me say to the Vatican: Every American thanks you. // Think of South Africa and the Phillipines, where church leaders are fighting against oppression and tyranny. // And, yes, of that miracle called Eastern Europe. Where for centuries religion has been a catalyst for democracy. And where men and women of faith braved persecution to renew the faith which makes us free. //

More than five centuries ago, the Hungarian patriot Janos Hunyadi (YAHN-osh HOON-yah-dee) stopped a would-be Turkish invasion. In his honor, the Pope ordered each church to ring a bell at the time of day the battle ended. And since then, Catholic church bells around the world ring precisely at mid-day. // The Catholic Church has been an apostle of God. // And so

have the Protestant, Reformed, and Jewish churches of Eastern Europe. Few will forget heroes like Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Raoul Wallenberg, who led the anti-Nazi resistance. They, too, were apostles of God. //

Recall, more recently, this last miraculous year. And one of the great soldiers of God of this or any time, the Reverend Billy Graham. // Four years ago, Reverend Graham went to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. And upon returning foretold a movement there toward more religious freedom. Perhaps he saw it before many others because it takes a man of God to sense the early movement of the hand of God. // Yet not even Reverend Graham could predict how in 1989, the walls of bayonets and barbed wire -- the walls of tyranny -- would come tumbling down.

Look, first, at the miracle of East Germany -- where in 1982 -- long before last November's mass demonstrations -- members of Leipzig's St. Nicholas Church began weekly prayers for peace. At Bible Study, students were taught non-violence. And started the candle-light vigils that would one day rouse a continent. The police came and threatened them. But the students would not be moved. They vowed to stay, and did. Becoming, yes, a light unto the world.

As with the disciples, that light spread to Dresden and Berlin. And as it shone, a Wittenberg pastor said, "I would rather see 1,000 drops of candle wax on the market place than one drop of blood." // And there was no blood -- just as Christ taught us. // Only the stirring sight last October of 70,000

workers -- brave, defiant -- in the streets and squares of Leipzig. Weapons? They carried candles. Their march rivaled "a blizzard of fireflies in the night." Ask anyone that evening. God was moving in miraculous -- not merely mysterious -- ways.

Look, next, at Bulgaria. Where last month the State press agency conceded: "People [were] wishing Merry Christmas to each other without fear they would be accused of being 'religious.'" // And Czechoslovakia. There, too, a miracle. For years, police chased carolers from Prague's King's Road. This Christmas, the cold night of Charles Bridge echoed with young voices. Their carols warmed the heart of the city. There was wonder in the air. // And in Romania: Still further miracles. Christmas songs on the radio for the first time since 1946. And heroes who showed that you can't lock people behind walls forever -- when they have religious faith locked in their hearts. //

Let me close, then, with the story of two such heroes -- both Romanian. And how their example -- and miracle -- illumined Christ's special mission to mankind.

The first was a Lutheran minister, Laszlo Tokes, who dared to speak of freedom. So last November, masked thugs broke into the small apartment in Timisoara of Tokes and his pregnant wife. They beat and stabbed him. The government allowed them no food. // When parishioners brought bread, police arrived to deport the pastor. But the flock protected him -- forming a human chain around his apartment. In time, the chain grew across the land.

Until -- as the world celebrated Christmas -- Romania's morning star of freedom summoned "lightness against the dark." //

Today, Laszlo Tokes preaches his faith without fear -- ministering to ever-larger numbers -- truly, an apostle of the Lord. // As is that second man I spoke about -- a man who's with us here. His name is Gheorghe Calciu [CUL-chew] -- a Romanian Orthodox minister. His story proves you can't slay an idea -- nor destroy the human will. //

Reverend Calciu has spent 21 of his 61 years in jail. In fact, he found God there while imprisoned for opposing the government. Released, he risked his freedom by preaching a series of Lenten sermons. And for that he was imprisoned again -- tortured beyond belief. // Yet Reverend Calciu had faith. He refused to break -- and was sentenced to death. So he went to a corner of the prison yard, and began to pray for his wife and for his son. // It was then that the miracle occurred. //

His two executioners called him over. Surely, thought Reverend Calciu, this was the end. But instead they said, "Father" -- that was the first time they called him that -- "we have decided not to kill you." // A few days later, he asked permission to celebrate the Mass. And while making preparations, heard these same two men approach. He turned around, and was astonished. // His would-be executioners were on their knees on the cold concrete of the cell. //

In 1985, Father Calciu was exiled to America. But he hopes to return to his native land. And in this season of miracles,

who can doubt he will? // For today, the times are on the side of peace. Because the world, increasingly, is on the side of God. //

If you doubt it, think of this past Christmas of miracles. And of miracles yet to come. // Miracles that will occur in Eastern Europe, in America, and around the globe. Wherever one finds the truth that comes on one's knees.

Thank you for this wonderful occasion. God bless America. And let me leave you with a favorite hymn, "God Be With You Till We Meet Again."

#

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SUBJECT: (01/25 7:00 p.m. draft)

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RESPONSE:

All comments
[Signature]

89 DEC 26 P 2 : 16

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

1990 JAN 25 PM 8:40

(Smith/Blessey)
7:00 P.M.
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#

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

✓

January 26, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: John S. Gardner *J.S.G.*

SUBJECT: NRB Remarks

Jim asked me to forward some comments on the NRB remarks.

The section on Eastern Europe is excellent, ^{and appropriate!} and I think this audience will appreciate the President referring to values and to "a more decent America."

My comments and suggestions are marked on the text, but I also wanted to give my rationales for the jokes here:

Page 1, para. 2: I really think this is offensive to Evangelicals. It's hard for me to imagine this audience laughing at the joke, and I would recommend deleting it.

Page 2, para. 1: The notion that good works alone lead to salvation was what Protestants (falsely) accused Catholics of believing for centuries. And I don't think the President should even joke about the idea that only people like him will be saved. Anyway, it interrupts a good paragraph which makes an important point, and I would delete.

You may also wish to consider working another Scriptural quotation in at some point.

Curt called me this morning to ask my impressions of the draft, and I gave him most of the attached comments at that time, but I also wanted to forward them to you, so the process works as it should.

Thanks.

89 DEC 26 P2:15

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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 Assistant to the President
 and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
 Ext. 2702

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→ I don't want the President to be accused of passing religiosity, rather than religion.

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This afternoon, I'd like to talk to you about those moral values. Values which reflect the eternal teachings of the Sermon on the Mount. I speak of the qualities of freedom and responsibility, generosity and faith. Values which remind us that while God can live without man, man cannot live without God.

Today, amid political and economic change, these values haven't changed. Nor have they been more crucial than in 1990. They can help build a more decent America -- and help America build a more ennobling world. But only if while endorsing the separation of church and state, we also endorse the union of conscience and government. //

At home, this means -- I believe -- that we must support that most basic value -- sanctity of life. // We need policies that encourage adoption, not abortion. //

Conscience and government also dictate that we must help parents obtain the best child-care for their kids. // So we

*Just like
 cover news*

I just don't know how this would be received, but I admit I can't think of anything else.

3

have sent legislation to Congress to make good this pledge: I want to protect the right of every parent to send their kids to the care center of their choice. That includes -- especially -- church-sponsored centers. //

Next comes an issue that concerns all children: the quality and diversity of America's schools. // Our pioneering legislation -- the "Educational Excellence Act of 1989" -- will spur excellence, demand accountability, and allow our kids to learn. Remember Saul on the Damascus Road. We need a conversion in American education. //

Finally, moral values support a belief held by the overwhelming majority of Americans: The right to voluntary school prayer. I share that belief. So I endorse a Constitutional Amendment restoring voluntary prayer. We need the Faith of our Fathers back in our schools. //

Now, you know me. I'm an optimistic guy. ((After all, last year I had an experience that renewed my faith. I was running out of prayers and had given up hope. Then a miracle occurred. // I caught a fish.)) // So it won't surprise you that I'm convinced we can -- and will -- uphold these values. And as we do, we will help do God's work. Yet that work must not be for America alone. //

What, after all, does religion cherish? The dignity of each human being. // And what does such dignity require? Inevitably, the triumph of democracy. // Well, the past year has been a victory for the freedoms with which God has blessed

America. A true season of miracles. // We have seen how moral values can move mountains or -- as in East Berlin -- even move a wall. //

It was Christ Himself, of course, who said, "Be a light unto the world." // So let us carry that light to every corner of the world -- freedom of expression. And to think, dream, and worship as we please. The freedom of equal protection under the law. And to choose our leaders and our destinies. Our Administration has reaffirmed these freedoms. What's more, we have -- and we will -- support those individuals, and movements, who proclaim: Let my people go. //

Think of Central America, where men and women of God -- facing great personal risk -- condemn terrorism whatever the ideology. Think, especially, of Panama -- and let me say to the Vatican: Every American thanks you. // Think of South Africa and the Phillipines, where church leaders are fighting against oppression and tyranny. // And, yes, of that miracle called Eastern Europe. Where for centuries religion has been a catalyst for democracy. And where men and women of faith braved persecution to renew the faith which makes us free. //

More than five centuries ago, the Hungarian patriot Janos Hunyadi (YAHN-osh HOON-yah-dee) stopped a would-be Turkish invasion. In his honor, the Pope ordered each church to ring a bell at the time of day the battle ended. And since then, Catholic church bells around the world ring precisely at mid-day. // The Catholic Church has been an apostle of God. // And so

used by

The reference to "apostle" is confusing.

*Eastern Orthodox, the Lutheran
Lutheran*

5

and other Protestant churches

Judaism

have the ~~Protestant~~, Reformed, and ~~Jewish~~ churches of Eastern Europe. Few will forget heroes like Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Raoul Wallenberg, who led the anti-Nazi resistance. They, too, were apostles of God. //

Recall, more recently, this last miraculous year. And one of the great soldiers of God of this or any time, the Reverend Billy Graham. // Four years ago, Reverend Graham went to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. And upon returning foretold a movement there toward more religious freedom. Perhaps he saw it before many others because it takes a man of God to sense the early movement of the hand of God. // Yet not even Reverend Graham could predict how in 1989, the walls of bayonets and barbed wire -- the walls of tyranny -- would come tumbling down.

Look, first, at the miracle of East Germany -- where in 1982 -- long before last November's mass demonstrations -- members of Leipzig's St. Nicholas Church began weekly prayers for peace. At Bible Study, students were taught non-violence. And started the candle-light vigils that would one day rouse a continent. The police came and threatened them. But the students would not be moved. They vowed to stay, and did. Becoming, yes, a light unto the world.

As with the disciples, that light spread to Dresden and Berlin. And as it shone, a Wittenberg pastor said, "I would rather see 1,000 drops of candle wax on the market place than one drop of blood." // And there was no blood -- just as Christ taught us. // Only the stirring sight last October of 70,000

This is all really good



workers -- brave, defiant -- in the streets and squares of Leipzig. Weapons? They carried candles. Their march rivaled "a blizzard of fireflies in the night." Ask anyone that evening. God was moving in miraculous -- not merely mysterious -- ways.

Look, next, at Bulgaria. Where last month the State press agency conceded: "People [were] wishing Merry Christmas to each other without fear they would be accused of being 'religious.'" // And Czechoslovakia. There, too, a miracle. For years, police chased carolers from Prague's King's Road. This Christmas, the cold night of Charles Bridge echoed with young voices. Their carols warmed the heart of the city. There was wonder in the air. // And in Romania: Still further miracles. Christmas songs on the radio for the first time since 1946. And heroes who showed that you can't lock people behind walls forever -- when they have religious faith locked in their hearts. //

Let me close, then, with the story of two such heroes -- both Romanian. And how their example -- and miracle -- illumined Christ's special mission to mankind.

The first was a Lutheran minister, Laszlo Tokes, who dared to speak of freedom. So last November, masked thugs broke into the small apartment in Timisoara of Tokes and his pregnant wife. They beat and stabbed him. The government allowed them no food. // When parishioners brought bread, police arrived to deport the pastor. But the flock protected him -- forming a human chain around his apartment. In time, the chain grew across the land.

→ For this audience, it's God's miracle, not theirs!

need pronunciation

Until -- as the world celebrated Christmas -- Romania's morning star of freedom summoned "lightness against the dark." //

Today, Laszlo Tokes preaches his faith without fear -- ministering to ever-larger numbers -- truly, an apostle of the Lord. // As is that second man I spoke about -- a man who's with us here. His name is Gheorghe Calciu [CUL-chew] -- a Romanian Orthodox minister. **His story proves you can't slay an idea -- nor destroy the human will.** //

Reverend Calciu has spent 21 of his 61 years in jail. In fact, he found God there while imprisoned for opposing the government. Released, he risked his freedom by preaching a series of Lenten sermons. And for that he was imprisoned again -- tortured beyond belief. // Yet Reverend Calciu had faith. He refused to break -- and was sentenced to death. So he went to a corner of the prison yard, and began to pray for his wife and for his son. // It was then that the miracle occurred. //

His two executioners called him over. Surely, thought Reverend Calciu, this was the end. But instead they said, "Father" -- that was the first time they called him that -- "we have decided not to kill you." // A few days later, he asked permission to celebrate the Mass. *During liturgy* And while making preparations, heard these same two men approach. He turned around, and was astonished. // His would-be executioners were on their knees on the cold concrete of the cell. //

In 1985, Father Calciu was exiled to America. But he hopes to return to his native land. And in this season of miracles,

Orthodox call it this.

J.S.

we pray are

who can doubt he will? // For today, the times are on the side of peace. Because the world, increasingly, is on the side of God. //

If you doubt it, think of this past Christmas of miracles. And of miracles yet to come. // Miracles that will occur in Eastern Europe, in America, and around the globe. Wherever one finds the truth that comes on one's knees.

Thank you for this wonderful occasion. God bless America. And let me leave you with a favorite hymn, "God Be With You Till We Meet Again."

#

→ For these folks, there's no guarantee that further miracles will come.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 01/25/90

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: _____

11:00 AM Friday 01/26

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RELIGIOUS BROADCASTERS
 SUBJECT: (01/25 7:00 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by **11:00 a.m. on Friday, 01/26**, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

See comments

89 DEC 26 11:07

James W. Cicconi
 Assistant to the President
 and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
 Ext. 2702

1990 JAN 25 PM 8:40

(Smith/Blessey)
7:00 P.M.
January 25, 1990
CAST

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RELIGIOUS BROADCASTERS
SHERATON WASHINGTON HOTEL
MONDAY, JANUARY 29, 1990
2:00 P.M.

President Rose, Director Cook -- and I want to salute your leadership of the NRB. Ladies and gentlemen. ((It is often said of a group or individual that "He hasn't got a prayer." Today, I am pleased to be with an audience about whom that will never be said.)) //

((Two years ago, I had the honor of addressing this annual convention of the National Religious Broadcasters. And now, I'm back again. Even though I know this isn't what you had in mind when you talk about the Second Coming.)) //

Still, I'm delighted to be with you. And in the spirit of the occasion, I intend to keep two vows. First, I'll be brief. ((I know there's a mention in the Bible about the Burning Bush, but I also know I'm not that hot a speaker.)) //

The second promise is for those of you in the back of the room. I'll try to speak up. // ((Jerry Rose warned me that the agnostics in this room are very bad.)) //

Let me begin with some good news for modern man. According to the Gallup Poll, no society is more religious than the United States of America. // Seven in ten Americans believe in life after death. Eight in ten in a final Judgment Day and that God

works miracles. Nine in ten Americans pray. And 94 per cent believe in God. // To which I say: Thank God. //

Sure, differences exist over sect and theology. ((Some, for instance, claim the stairway to heaven is climbed through good works. // Some, that faith ensures that when the roll is called up yonder, I'll be there. // Others think the Pearly Gates welcome only those who like horse shoes and country music. // These beliefs aren't mutually exclusive.)) // Yet we know what unites us eclipses what divides us. // For we believe that political values without moral values cannot sustain a people. //

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Conscience and government also dictate that we must help parents obtain the best child-care for their kids. // So we

have sent legislation to Congress to make good this pledge: I want to protect the right of ^{all} every parent ^{secure for} to send their kids to the ^{child arrangement} care center of their choice. That includes -- especially -- ^{care} church-sponsored centers. //

Next comes an issue that concerns all children: the quality and diversity of America's schools. // Our pioneering legislation -- the "Educational Excellence Act of 1989" -- will spur excellence, demand accountability, and allow our kids to learn. Remember Saul on the Damascus Road. We need a conversion in American education. //

Finally, moral values support a belief held by the overwhelming majority of Americans: The right to voluntary school prayer. I share that belief. So I endorse a Constitutional Amendment restoring voluntary prayer. We need the Faith of our Fathers back in our schools. //

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It was Christ Himself, of course, who said, "Be a light unto the world." // So let us carry that light to every corner of the world -- freedom of expression. And to think, dream, and worship as we please. The freedom of equal protection under the law. And to choose our leaders and our destinies. Our Administration has reaffirmed these freedoms. What's more, we have -- and we will -- support those individuals, and movements, who proclaim: Let my people go. //

Think of Central America, where men and women of God -- facing great personal risk -- condemn terrorism whatever the ideology. Think, especially, of Panama -- and let me say to the Vatican: Every American thanks you. // Think of South Africa and the Phillipines, where church leaders are fighting against oppression and tyranny. // And, yes, of that miracle called Eastern Europe. Where for centuries religion has been a catalyst for democracy. And where men and women of faith braved persecution to renew the faith which makes us free. //

More than five centuries ago, the Hungarian patriot Janos Hunyadi (YAHN-osh HOON-yah-dee) stopped a would-be Turkish invasion. In his honor, the Pope ordered each church to ring a bell at the time of day the battle ended. And since then, Catholic church bells around the world ring precisely at mid-day. // The Catholic Church has been an apostle of God. // And so

have the Protestant, Reformed, and Jewish churches of Eastern Europe. Few will forget heroes like Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Raoul Wallenberg, who led the anti-Nazi resistance. They, too, were apostles of God. //

Recall, more recently, this last miraculous year. And one of the great soldiers of God of this or any time, the Reverend Billy Graham. // Four years ago, Reverend Graham went to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. And upon returning foretold a movement there toward more religious freedom. Perhaps he saw it before many others because it takes a man of God to sense the early movement of the hand of God. // Yet not even Reverend Graham could predict how in 1989, the walls of bayonets and barbed wire -- the walls of tyranny -- would come tumbling down.

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Until -- as the world celebrated Christmas -- Romania's morning star of freedom summoned "lightness against the dark." //

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Reverend Calciu has spent 21 of his 61 years in jail. In fact, he found God there while imprisoned for opposing the government. Released, he risked his freedom by preaching a series of Lenten sermons. And for that he was imprisoned again -- tortured beyond belief. // Yet Reverend Calciu had faith. He refused to break -- and was sentenced to death. So he went to a corner of the prison yard, and began to pray for his wife and for his son. // It was then that the miracle occurred. //

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In 1985, Father Calciu was exiled to America. But he hopes to return to his native land. And in this season of miracles,

who can doubt he will? // For today, the times are on the side of peace. Because the world, increasingly, is on the side of God. //

If you doubt it, think of this past Christmas of miracles. And of miracles yet to come. // Miracles that will occur in Eastern Europe, in America, and around the globe. Wherever one finds the truth that comes on one's knees.

Thank you for this wonderful occasion. God bless America. And let me leave you with a favorite hymn, "God Be With You Till We Meet Again."

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DATE: 01/25/90

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11:00 AM Friday 01/26

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SUBJECT: (01/25 7:00 p.m. draft)

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HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by 11:00 a.m. on Friday, 01/26, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

NO comments

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

(Smith/Blessey)
7:30 P.M.
January 26, 1990
CAST

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RELIGIOUS BROADCASTERS
SHERATON WASHINGTON HOTEL
MONDAY, JANUARY 29, 1990
2:00 P.M.

President Rose, Director Cook -- and I want to salute your leadership of the NRB. Dr. Robertson. Ladies and gentlemen. ((It is often said of a group or individual that "He hasn't got a prayer." Today, I am pleased to be with an audience about whom that will never be said.)) //

This marks the fourth time I have had the honor of addressing the annual convention of the National Religious Broadcasters. And once again, it is a delight to be back.

In the spirit of the occasion, I want to make two vows. First, I'll be brief. ((I know there's a mention in the Bible about the Burning Bush, but I also know I'm not that hot a speaker.)) //

The second promise is for those of you in the back of the room. I'll try to speak up. // ((Pat Robertson warned me that the agnostics in this room are very bad.)) //

Let me begin with some good news for modern man. According to the Gallup Poll, no society is more religious than the United States of America. // Seven in ten Americans believe in life after death. Eight in ten in a final Judgment Day and that God

works miracles. Nine in ten Americans pray. And 94 per cent believe in God. // To which I say: Thank God. //

Sure, differences exist over sect and theology. ((I'm reminded of what the French statesman Talleyrand once said of America: "I found there a country with thirty-two religions and only one sauce.")) // Yet we know what unites us eclipses what divides us. For we believe that political values without moral values cannot sustain a people. //

This afternoon, I'd like to talk to you about those moral values. Values which reflect the eternal teachings of the Sermon on the Mount. I speak of the qualities of freedom and responsibility, generosity and faith. Values which remind us that while God can live without man, man cannot live without God.

Today, amid political and economic change, these values haven't changed. Nor have they been more crucial than in 1990. They can help build a more decent America -- and help America build a more decent world. But only if while endorsing the separation of church and state, we also endorse the union of conscience and government. //

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how to care for their children. And I will not see the option of religious-based child care restricted or eliminated. //

Next comes an issue that concerns all children: the quality and diversity of America's schools. // Our pioneering legislation -- the "Educational Excellence Act of 1989" -- will spur excellence, demand accountability, and allow our kids to learn. Remember Saul on the Road to Damascus. We need a conversion in American education. //

Finally, moral values support a belief held by the overwhelming majority of Americans: The right to voluntary school prayer. I share that belief. So I endorse a Constitutional Amendment restoring voluntary prayer. We need the Faith of our Fathers back in our schools. //

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how moral values can move mountains or -- as in East Berlin --
even move a wall. //

It was Christ Himself, of course, who asked us to be a light unto the world. // So let us carry that light to every corner of the world -- freedom of expression. And to think, dream, and worship as we please. The freedom of equal protection under the law. And to choose our leaders and our destinies. Our Administration has reaffirmed these freedoms -- the freedoms for which patriots have given of themselves and of their lives.

Think of Central America, where men and women of God -- facing great personal risk -- work for human rights and against tyranny of any ideology. // Think of South Africa and the Philippines, where church leaders have been a force for democratic change. // And, yes, of that miracle called Eastern Europe. Where for centuries religion has sustained those striving for freedom amid adversity. And where men and women of faith braved persecution to renew the faith which makes us free.

More than five centuries ago, the Hungarian patriot Janos Hunyadi (YAHN-osh HOON-yah-dee) stopped a would-be invasion. In his honor, the Pope ordered each Catholic church to ring a bell at the time of day the battle ended. Since then, Catholic church bells around the world ring precisely at mid-day. // And Eastern Orthodox, Lutheran, Reformed, and other Protestant churches and Judaism -- they, too, have renewed our faith. Few will forget heroes like Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Raoul

Wallenberg, who stood against Nazi evil. All were ambassadors of God. //

Recall, more recently, this last miraculous year. And one of the Lord's great ambassadors of **this** or **any** time, the Reverend Billy Graham. // Eight years ago, Reverend Graham went to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. And upon returning spoke of a movement there toward more religious freedom. Perhaps he saw it before many others because it takes a man of God to sense the early movement of the hand of God. // Yet not even Reverend Graham could predict how in 1989, the walls of bayonets and barbed wire -- the walls of tyranny -- would come tumbling down.

Alongside Eastern Europe democratic revolution was a religious awakening -- testimony to the indomitable spirit sustained by faith.

Look, first, at the miracle of East Germany -- where in 1982 -- long before last November's mass demonstrations -- members of Leipzig's St. Nicholas Church began a weekly "prayer for peace." At the services, students were taught non-violence. And started the candle-light vigils that would one day rouse a continent. The police came and threatened them. But the students would not be moved. They vowed to stay, and did. Becoming a light unto the world.

As with the disciples, that light spread to Dresden and East Berlin. And as it shone, a Wittenberg pastor said, "I would rather see 1,000 drops of candle wax on the market place than one drop of blood." // And there was no violence -- just as Christ

taught us. // Only the stirring sight last October of 70,000 workers -- brave, defiant -- in the streets and squares of Leipzig. Weapons? They carried candles. Their march rivaled "a blizzard of fireflies in the night." Ask anyone that evening. God was moving in miraculous -- not merely mysterious -- ways.

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The first was a Lutheran minister, Laszlo [LAZ-low] Tokes [TO-kesh], who dared to speak of freedom. So last November in Timisoara [Timmy SHORE ah], masked thugs broke into the small apartment of Tokes and his pregnant wife. They beat and stabbed him. The government allowed them no food. // When parishioners brought bread, police arrived to deport the pastor. But the

flock protected him -- forming a human chain around his apartment. In time, the chain grew across the land. Until -- as we celebrated Christmas -- Romania's morning star of freedom summoned "lightness against the dark." //

Today, Laszlo Tokes preaches his faith without fear -- ministering to ever-larger numbers -- truly, an ambassador of the Lord. // As is Gheorghe [George] Calciu [CAL-chew] -- a Romanian Orthodox minister. His story proves you can't slay an idea -- nor destroy the human will. //

Father Calciu has spent 21 of his 64 years in jail. In fact, he found God there while imprisoned for opposing the government. Released, he risked his freedom by preaching a series of Lenten sermons. And for that he was imprisoned again -- tortured beyond belief. // Yet Father Calciu had faith. He refused to break -- and was sentenced to death. So he went to a corner of the prison yard, and began to pray for his wife and for his son. // It was then that the miracle occurred. //

His two executioners called him over. Surely, he thought, this was the end. But instead they said, "Father" -- that was the first time they called him that -- "we have decided not to kill you." // Three weeks later, he asked permission to celebrate the Divine Liturgy. And while making preparations, heard these same two men approach. He turned around, and was astonished. // His would-be executioners were on their knees on the cold concrete of the cell. //

Father Calciu is with us today. Father, it's an honor to salute you. // I know you're glad to be here. But I know, too, you hope to return to your native land. And in this season of miracles, who can doubt you will? // For today, the times are on the side of peace. Because the world, increasingly, is on the side of God. //

If you doubt it, think of this past holy season of miracles. And of miracles we pray are yet to come. // Miracles that will occur in Eastern Europe, in America, and around the globe. Wherever one finds the truth that comes on one's knees.

For my own part, I know that this is true. For although I've been President for barely a year, I believe -- with all my heart -- that one can not be America's President without a belief in God and in prayer. I, too, believe in miracles.

Thank you for your work that spreads the Word -- and thank you for your kindness. God bless America. And let me leave you with a favorite hymn, "God Be With You Till We Meet Again."

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

89 DEC 26 P12:40

January 26, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM:

JIM PINKERTON

SUBJECT:

Religious Broadcasters Draft Speech

The manner in which this speech plays with some matters of religious doctrine makes us nervous. Many of the references to doctrinal concepts may or may not prove controversial. These either need to be omitted, double-checked as innocuous, or given a much more sophisticated examination than we are able to provide: e.g.:

"We need a conversion in education." (pg. 3, para. 3, line 5) This is offensive to any group that finds the whole concept of conversion upsetting. We don't need to equate reform with Christian evangelism.

"...while God can live without man, man cannot live without God." (2,3,6) Do all sects believe this?

"The Catholic Church has been an apostle of God." (4,5,1) Can an institution be an apostle? Even if it can we will be unwittingly and unwisely granting recognition to this belief?

"And there was no blood -- just as Christ taught us. (5,4,4) Did Christ teach this? The reference seems obscure -- or is this a reference?

Other comments:

1,2,3 "And now I'm back again. Even though I know this isn't what you had in mind when you talk about the Second Coming."

This will offend. We recommend omitting.

1,4,2 In an abundance of caution we suggest omitting the reference to agnostics lest this too, be found offensive.

1,5,1 There is something distasteful about the President should citing polls about religion.

(more)

2,5,6 "Union of conscience and government..." While the draft upholds separation of church and state, it simultaneously gives it a kind of wink with this phrase -- we suggest omitting.

2,2,1 "Sure, differences exist over sect and theology. some for instance, claim the stairway to heaven is climbed through good works. Some, that faith...."

This seems a little unsophisticated -- kidstuff about the Reformation -- that the audience will find not offensive but jejune. We suggest omitting.

3,1,1 "I want to protect the right of every parent to send their kids to the care center of their choice. That includes -- especially -- church-sponsored centers."

We do not want to emphasize "care centers" and thereby seem to exclude the other options, notably care at home and with relatives. The President's position is allow the broadest possible choice of how to care for children.

Therefore, we suggest "I want to ensure that parents, not bureaucrats, are the ones who decide how to care for their children. And I will not see the option of religious-based child care restricted or eliminated."

3,3,5 We fear that "Faith of Our Fathers" will be found sexist, and suggest using some a less controversial alternative.

4,3,1 The reference to Central America and "men and women of God" may also suggest the Jennifer Casolos.

5,1,1 "...Jewish churches..."

Synagogues.

5,2,3 "Four years ago, Reverend Graham went to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union."

This was the trip that earned Billy Graham substantial criticism, including from evangelicals, for a perceived indifference to religious persecution in the Soviet Union.

As a suggestion for a topical Eastern Europe reference, we append an article noting that the closing refrain of the traditional Polish hymn has changed from "Bring us back, O God, our free fatherland," to "Our free fatherland protect, O God."

###

was somber. Everybody's thoughts were with Rumania where the *securitate* gangs were still running amuck. Memories of previous tragic Decembers lingered: of 1970, when workers were shot in front of Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk; of 1981, when General Jaruzelski crushed the Solidarity revolution; of 1979, when Soviet tanks invaded Afghanistan.

The coming year promises Poles

more hardship: inflation is predicted to continue at 40 per cent per month, living standards to decline by a quarter; millions might lose their jobs. Yet, looking over the past decade, my family and friends were proud of what has been achieved. At midnight Mass for the first time in half a century the faithful sang a different version of the ancient hymn: "Our free fatherland protect, O God." □

ing more, and it is impolite to say no. By now, topics of conversation are changing with dizzying speed, but all have to do with the latest developments in Eastern Europe. Thoughts again turn toward Rumania, and how East Germany's "quiet revolution" barely escaped the same kind of crackdown. The theory is that it should have come on October 9, as some seventy thousand people demonstrated in Leipzig. Rumors were rampant that night that the army was on alert, but the protestors' rallying cry was: "Let them shoot, we still march."

The upcoming elections are a sore point. "Democracy sounds fine," says Grandpa. "But wait for some inflation and unemployment and the protestors will hit the streets of Leipzig with a different slogan."

"Maybe it is better if we vote the Communists back in," someone reasons. "At least they're experienced."

The reply is angry. "Yeah, and what then, another thirty-year social experiment?"

That exchange brings up a joke about a lady who walked into the local Party headquarters and asked, "Who created socialism, the scientists or the workers?"

The Party boss answered, "The workers, of course."

"Oh, that makes sense," said the woman. "If it were scientists they would have tried it out on rats first."

"The Beast is feeding on its own offspring," someone says, noting that the former minister of security, Erich Mielke, is now in a cell inside a jail he personally had built to house political prisoners. He has been charged with crimes against the state.

And Grandpa provides yet another piece of political humor—the six miracles of socialism:

There is no unemployment, but no one works.

No one works, but everyone gets paid.

Everyone gets paid, but there's nothing to buy with the money.

No one can buy anything, but everyone owns everything.

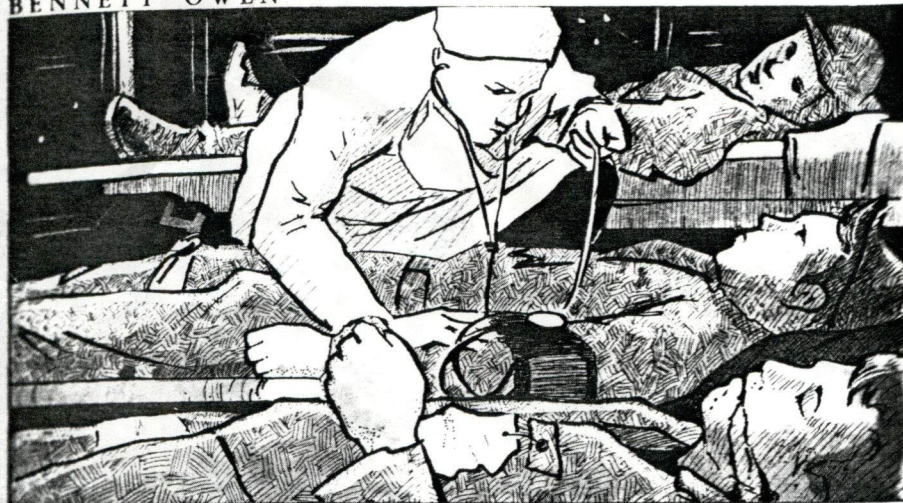
Everyone owns everything, but no one is satisfied.

No one is satisfied, but 99 per cent of the people vote for the system.

It is Christmas Eve, after all, and our hosts seem to savor what may be the most important gift of all: the freedom to speak their minds. □

Speaking Up at Last

BENNETT OWEN



EAST BERLIN—It first appears as a pulsating blob of blue light, somewhere far down the dark, deserted road we are traveling on in the south side of town. As we get closer, the drone of sirens reaches us, and we finally realize that what we are seeing is a literal caravan of ambulances. We count twenty of them as they speed past us. Our taxi driver soon gets the story from his two-way radio—victims of the power struggle in Rumania have been flown into East Berlin and are being rushed to hospitals here. "Blutbad," he whispers. East Berlin on Christmas Eve.

It is unseasonably warm, and a great grey ceiling of clouds drops a silent mist as the family and its American guest follow the quiet side streets from the apartment to a nearby church. It is supposed to be a children's service, but the pastor speaks of urgent matters. He pleads for donations of blood and money to help the victims of the Rumanian massacre. "The joy of our new free-

dom is sadly overshadowed by events in Rumania," he laments. Almost as an afterthought he adds, "Jesus' birth brought holiness to an unholy world." The mood is somber, indeed.

But the true spirit of the season awaits us back at the apartment, and the clinking of glasses in the first toast of the evening signals the start of an old-fashioned Christmas celebration. The tree is simply and beautifully bedecked with red ribbons and candles, and the scent of pine and burning wax mixes with the smell of roasting duck. Underneath the tree lies the most important thing of all, "the package." It's a big box of goodies sent every year by relatives in Hamburg. On past Christmases, "the package" seemed like a treasure chest filled with unimaginable delights from the West. This year, the parents have already been toy shopping in West Berlin, but, still, opening "the package" remains the event of the evening.

Soon, it is coffee time, with schnaps, sherry, beer, cognac, and, yes, even coffee, consumed in staggering quantities. The hosts keep offer-

Mr. Owen is an editor at RIAS-TV in West Berlin.

securitate man. Called Dominic Paraschiv, he was a hairy, powerful man in his fifties, a chemical engineer who was known as a quiet, nice fellow. Only he spent many weekends away from home, supposedly on business trips. He was captured red-handed on Christmas Eve after he had shot several people and only after he himself got hit in the leg and liver. When he came to, the nurse on duty told me, he said he was sorry—sorry he didn't kill more people. Now, pale and unshaven, mumbling incoherently, he was tied to the bed, looking like a trapped wolf. What training does it take to turn a man into such a beast?

The shooting from the factory was one of the last acts of resistance by the *securitate*. A few hours later a TV announcer, his face beaming, said, "Good news this Christmas Day. The Antichrist is dead." The staff of the Bucharest TV station apologized for not being able to show the tape of Ceausescu's execution, but there were some pockets of resistance on the way and the historic recording could not be risked. It transpired that when Ceausescu was tried and condemned to death an entire army unit volunteered for the firing squad; only three men drew the lucky lots. The man who had called himself "the fairest fir tree of the Carpathians," and who had declared only a few weeks previously that sooner would apple trees bear pears than socialism be endangered in Rumania, was now dead.

I made my pilgrimage to the place where it had all begun 11 days before, the house of a Protestant pastor whose parishioners were willing to die rather than let him be arrested by the *securitate*. "Laszlo Tokesz, we are waiting for you," someone scrawled in white paint on the brick wall. The name of the priest, a Hungarian name, gives part of the reason why the trouble began here in Timisoara. Besides Hungarians there are German, Yugoslav, and Jewish minorities in this town. Very few Rumanians have been allowed out of the country since World War II, but Timisoarans have watched Yugoslav and Hungarian television for years.

Keeping in touch with families abroad, the remaining ones knew only too well how much the official propaganda lied. This plus the tradition of civilized Habsburg rule in this part of Rumania helps to explain why Timi-

soara became the flashpoint. But why did all of Rumania follow Timisoara's lead? "Look," said my Rumanian guide, a shabby, friendly, talkative man of 42. "This was my plan for escaping to Hungary"—he unfolded a tiny, easily digestible piece of paper with a sketch of a border region. "My salary is 3,200 lei per month, but we were taxed 250 lei per month for not having childrens. My wife and I no like making childrens for Ceausescu. This coat is 2,000 lei—you can only buy them on the black market. A kilo of coffee is 1,500 lei. I haven't seen a banana for ten years." In a country where television, heating, and electricity were rationed to two hours a day, reasons for discontent are easy to point out.

But you have to go to Bucharest to appreciate the depths of Ceausescu's depravity. The Avenue of the Victory of Socialism has been built on the ruins of Bucharest's medieval quarter. At the apex of the avenue rises one of this century's prime monuments to megalomania and cruelty. What was to become Ceausescu's presidential palace is set off from the public space by a stern fence which takes over half an hour to walk around. The palace itself expresses perfectly the character of its sponsor. It is as if someone had read 1984, liked it, and had a fantasy of reproducing the Ministry of Love. One thing is certain. If, in another few months, Ceausescu had moved in, he would never have been dislodged by people power. He would never have had to flee ignominiously by helicopter from the roof. No crowd would

have dared to challenge him from *that* square, in front of *that* fortress. In what was no doubt the intended effect, standing before Ceausescu's palace one feels powerless as if before the temple of an evil god.

RUMANIANS paid dearly for their courage. In Timisoara alone I saw a graveyard with twenty corpses, some tortured, their hands and legs bound with wire. The local citizens' committee published a list of one hundred dead. This tallies with estimates by doctors I interviewed at Timisoara's main hospital. When a proper count is made, perhaps the casualty figure will have to be doubled or even trebled. A few hundred died in Bucharest. I would estimate, therefore, that it took the lives of about one thousand people to topple Ceausescu. That is a lot of innocent blood but a far cry from the Western estimates of 12,000 dead in Timisoara and seventy thousand in all of Rumania. As usual in revolutions rumor had a field day.

How will Ceausescu's 24-year rule be remembered a few decades hence? Will some academic Marxist argue that, with all his faults, he nevertheless left Rumania non-aligned and debtless, with plenty of low-income housing (to match the low incomes) and a brand-new subway in Bucharest? It seems unlikely. But Ceausescu does have two paradoxical achievements: a Communist Party so discredited that it will probably disappear altogether, and a people who are proud of having regained their freedom by their own efforts. □

Christmas Eve in Poland

RADEK SIKORSKI

WARSAW—When I was a child, Christmas Eve had an eternal, unchanging quality. My mother cooked carp for the traditional meatless supper. One was supposed to eat 12 other courses, but by the time of my childhood—the Sixties—this was only a memory. I did, however, always set an extra place at the table, for a guest who always came late: only at the age of ten or 11 did I begin to wonder why the appearance of St. Nicholas was preceded by

the disappearance of my grandfather. He would say he was going to fetch a paper, even though newsstands were closed at that time of night. When I grew older I joined everybody at midnight Mass, and it was solemnly explained to me why in such times the last words of the traditional hymn were changed to "Bring us back, O God, our free fatherland."

This year, at five thousand zloties per kilo, many families could hardly afford the traditional fish. The mood

Stotted

(Smith/Blessey)
7:00 P.M.
January 25, 1990
CAST

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RELIGIOUS BROADCASTERS
SHERATON WASHINGTON HOTEL
MONDAY, JANUARY 29, 1990
2:00 P.M.

Dr. Robertson

President Rose, Director Cook -- and I want to salute your leadership of the NRB. Ladies and gentlemen. ((It is often said of a group or individual that "He hasn't got a prayer." Today, I am pleased to be with an audience about whom that will never be said.)) //

This makes the fourth time I have had /
~~((Two years ago, I had the honor of addressing this annual convention of the National Religious Broadcasters. And now, I'm back again. Even though I know this isn't what you had in mind when you talk about the Second Coming.)) //~~
me
And once again,
it is a delight to be back.

Still, I'm ~~delighted to be with you.~~ *want* And in the spirit of the occasion, I ~~intend~~ *want* to keep two vows. First, I'll be brief. ((I know there's a mention in the Bible about the Burning Bush, but I also know I'm not that hot a speaker.)) //

The second promise is for those of you in the back of the room. I'll try to speak up. // ((Jerry Rose warned me that the agnostics in this room are very bad.)) //

Let me begin with some good news for modern man. According to the Gallup Poll, no society is more religiously than the United States of America. // Seven in ten Americans believe in life after death. Eight in ten in a final Judgment Day and that God

there is no denying America is a religious nation

works miracles. Nine in ten Americans pray. And 94 per cent believe in God. // To which I say: Thank God. //

Sure, differences exist over sect and theology. ((~~Some, for instance, claim the stairway to heaven is climbed through good works.~~ // Some, that faith ensures that when the roll is called up yonder, I'll be there. // Others think the Pearly Gates welcome only those who like horse shoes and country music. // *Naturally,* These beliefs aren't mutually exclusive.)) // Yet we know what unites us eclipses what divides us. // For we believe that political values without moral values cannot sustain a people. //

This afternoon, I'd like to talk to you about those moral values. Values which reflect the eternal teachings of the Sermon on the Mount. I speak of the qualities of freedom and responsibility, generosity and faith. Values which remind us that while God can live without man, man cannot live without God.

Today, amid political and economic ^{upheaval} change, these values haven't changed. Nor have they been more crucial than in 1990. They can help build a more decent America -- and help America build a more ^{decent} ~~ennobling~~ world. But only if while endorsing the separation of church and state, we also endorse the union of conscience and government. //

At home, this means -- I believe -- that we must support that most basic value -- ^{the} ~~the~~ sanctity of life. // We need policies that encourage adoption, not abortion. //

Conscience and government also dictate that we must help parents obtain the best child-care for their kids. // So we

have sent legislation to Congress to make good this pledge: I want to ensure that parents not bureaucrats are the ones who decide how to care for their children. And I will not see the care center of their choice. That includes -- especially -- the option of religious-based child care restricted or eliminated. church-sponsored centers. //

Next comes an issue that concerns all children: the quality and diversity of America's schools. // Our pioneering legislation -- the "Educational Excellence Act of 1989" -- will spur excellence, demand accountability, and allow our kids to learn. Remember Saul on the ^{Road to} ~~Damascus Road~~. We need a conversion in American education. //

Finally, moral values support a belief held by the overwhelming majority of Americans: The right to voluntary school prayer. I share that belief. So I endorse a Constitutional Amendment restoring voluntary prayer. We need the Faith of our Fathers back in our schools. //

Now, you know me. I'm an optimistic guy. ((After all, last year I had an experience that renewed my faith. I was running out of prayers and had given up hope. Then a miracle occurred. // I caught a fish.)) // So it won't surprise you that I'm convinced we can -- and will -- uphold these values. And as we do, we will help do God's work. Yet that work must not be for America alone. //

What, after all, does religion cherish? The dignity of each human being. // And what does such dignity require? Inevitably, the triumph of ^{the individual.} democracy. // Well, the past year has been a victory for the freedoms with which God has blessed

America. A true season of miracles. // We have seen how moral values can move mountains or -- as in East Berlin -- even move a wall. //

It was Christ Himself, of course, who ^{asked us to} said, "Be a light unto the world." // So let us carry that light to every corner of the world -- freedom of expression. And to think, dream, and worship as we please. The freedom of equal protection under the law. And to choose our leaders and our destinies. Our Administration has reaffirmed these freedoms. ~~What's more, we have -- and we will -- support those individuals, and movements, who proclaim: Let my people go.~~ //

Think of Central America, where men and women of God -- facing great personal risk -- ^{work for human rights and against + tyranny} ~~condemn terrorism whatever the ideology.~~ ^{of any} Think, especially, of Panama -- and let me say to the Vatican: Every American thanks you. // Think of South Africa and the Philippines, where church leaders ^{have been a force for} ~~are fighting against~~ democratic change - oppression and tyranny. // And, yes, of that miracle called Eastern Europe. Where for centuries religion has been ^{sustained the} ~~a catalyst~~ ^{these striving for freedom even amid adversity.} for democracy. And where men and women of faith braved persecution to renew the faith which makes us free. //

More than five centuries ago, the Hungarian patriot Janos Hunyadi (YAHN-osh HOON-yah-dee) stopped a would-be ~~Turkish~~ invasion. In his honor, the Pope ordered each church to ring a bell at the time of day the battle ended. And since then, Catholic church bells around the world ring precisely at mid-day.

// ~~The Catholic Church has been an apostle of God.~~ // ~~And so~~

The Catholic Church like

... takes the same way for

of any

new note

rewrite
 have the Protestant, ^{and} Reformed, and Jewish ^{Synagogues} churches of Eastern Europe. Few will forget heroes like Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Raoul Wallenberg, who ^{stood against Nazi evil.} ~~led the anti-Nazi resistance.~~ They, too, were apostles of God. //

Recall, more recently, this last miraculous year. And one of the ^{Lords' ambassadors} great ~~soldiers of God~~ of this or any time, the Reverend Billy Graham. // ^{Eight} Four years ago, Reverend Graham went to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. And upon returning foretold a movement there toward more religious freedom. Perhaps he saw it before many others because it takes a man of God to sense the early movement of the hand of God. // Yet not even Reverend Graham could predict how in 1989, the walls of bayonets and barbed wire -- the walls of tyranny -- would come tumbling down. *to spots* ?

insert
 Look, first, at the miracle of East Germany -- where in 1982 -- long before last November's mass demonstrations -- members of Leipzig's St. Nicholas Church began ^a weekly ["] prayers ["] for peace. At ~~the services~~ ^{the services} Bible Study, students were taught non-violence. And started the candle-light vigils that would one day rouse a continent. The police came and threatened them. But the students would not be moved. They vowed to stay, and did. Becoming, yes, a light unto the world.

As with the disciples, that light spread to Dresden and ^{East} Berlin. And as it shone, a Wittenberg pastor said, "I would rather see 1,000 drops of candle wax on the market place than one drop of blood." // And there was no blood -- just as Christ ?
 taught us. // Only the stirring sight last October of 70,000

Alongside Eastern Europe's democratic revolution was a religious reawakening - testimony to the indomitable spirit sustained by faith.

workers -- brave, defiant -- in the streets and squares of Leipzig. Weapons? They carried candles. Their march rivaled "a blizzard of fireflies in the night." Ask anyone that evening. God was moving in miraculous -- not merely mysterious -- ways.

Look, next, at Bulgaria. Where last month the State press agency conceded: "People [were] wishing Merry Christmas to each other without fear they would be accused of being 'religious.'" // And Czechoslovakia. There, too, a miracle. For years, police chased carolers from Prague's King's Road. This Christmas, the cold night of Charles Bridge echoed with young voices. Their carols warmed the heart of the city. There was wonder in the air. // And in Romania: Still further miracles. Christmas songs on the radio for the first time since 1946. And heroes who showed that you can't lock people behind walls forever -- when they have religious faith locked in their hearts. //

Let me close, then, with the story of two such heroes -- both Romanian. And how their example -- and ^{God's} miracle -- illuminated Christ's special mission to mankind. TEC-KISH ?
[LAZ-low TO-KESH]

The first was a Lutheran minister, Laszlo Tokes, who dared to speak of freedom. So last November, ^{in Timisoara} masked thugs broke into the small apartment in ~~Timisoara~~ of Tokes and his pregnant wife. They beat and stabbed him. The government allowed them no food. // When parishioners brought bread, police arrived to deport the pastor. But the flock protected him -- forming a human chain around his apartment. In time, the chain grew across the land.

Until -- as the ^{we} world celebrated Christmas -- Romania's morning star of freedom summoned "lightness against the dark." //

Today, Laszlo Tokes preaches his faith without fear -- ministering to ever-larger numbers -- truly, an ^{ambassador} apostle of the Lord. // As is ~~that second man I spoke about~~ -- a man who's ~~with us here~~. His name is ^{George} Gheorghe ^{CAL} Calciu [CUL-chew] -- a Romanian Orthodox minister. His story proves you can't slay an idea -- nor destroy the human will. //

^{Father} Reverend Calciu has spent 21 of his ⁴ 61 years in jail. In fact, he found God there while imprisoned for opposing the government. Released, he risked his freedom by preaching a series of Lenten sermons. And for that he was imprisoned again -- tortured beyond belief. // Yet ^{Father} Reverend Calciu had faith. He refused to break -- and was sentenced to death. So he went to a corner of the prison yard, and began to pray for his wife and for his son. // It was then that the miracle occurred. //

His two executioners called him over. Surely, ^{he} ~~FATHER~~ thought Reverend Calciu, this was the end. But instead they said, "Father" -- that was the first time they called him that -- "we have decided not to kill you." // ^{Three weeks 9.} A few days later, he asked permission to celebrate the ^{Divine liturgy} Mass. And while making preparations, heard these same two men approach. He turned around, and was astonished. // His would-be executioners were on their knees on the cold concrete of the cell. //

In 1985, ~~Father~~ Calciu was exiled to America. But he ~~hopes~~ ^{I know to you} to return to ^{your} his native land. And in this season of miracles,

^{Father Calciu's with} ~~And his with us today~~. Father, it's an honor to see ^{you} ~~you~~. I know you're glad to be here. ~~Be~~

who can doubt ^{you} he will? // For today, the times are on the side of peace. Because the world, increasingly, is on the side of God. //

If you doubt it, think of this past Christmas of miracles. And of miracles ^{we pray for} yet to come. // Miracles that will occur in Eastern Europe, in America, and around the globe. Wherever one finds the truth that comes on one's knees.

~~Thank you for this wonderful occasion.~~ God bless America. And let me leave you with a favorite hymn, "God Be With You Till We Meet Again."

#

For my own part, I know this is true. For although I've been President barely a year, I believe - with all my heart - that one cannot be America's President without a belief in God and in prayer. I too believe in miracles. Thank you for your work that spreads the word, and thank you for your kindness.