A case study in political rhetoric: Political and religious cohesion in the South

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A CASE STUDY IN POLITICAL RHETORIC: POLITICAL
AND RELIGIOUS COHESION IN THE SOUTH

by

Shauna S. Harrington-Donnell

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

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in

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ABSTRACT

This study of political and religious rhetoric questions the means by which a staunch religious individual becomes successful in the political arena. The overt religious and political rhetoric of Governor Mike Huckabee (R-AR), who is also an ordained Baptist minister, is analyzed by method of textual analysis. Three speeches from different contexts are examined with the assistance of the Q.S.R. NUD.IST program for qualitative data analysis. The findings indicate that Huckabee’s success in both ideological realms has occurred while using primarily three rhetorical tools to build ethos with the secular populace: self-disclosure, logic via example, and secular humor. Although, not apodictic, this investigation will serve in constituting rhetorical frameworks for the religious-based politician.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

When Ronald Reagan defeated Jimmy Carter in 1980 with reported support from the New Christian Right, political pundits were caught off guard by the resurging nature of what was considered to be a disbanded group of religious fanatics. As Garry Wills (1990, p. 12) notes, "Some Americans have rediscovered our native fundamentalists." Rediscovery seems to be a recurrent process in American religious history, and it is described by Ted G. Jelen (1991) in his cyclical theory of religious activity. Jelen writes, "Religious political activity emerges when cultural minorities are perceived to be such a threat that conventional 'politics' seems inadequate" (p. 151).

Susan Chesser (1994) points out in her study of the voting bloc of the religious right that since its 1980 ascent into politics, the religious coalition no longer hides its mission but continuously lobbies its views to its constituents as well as to the secular populace. Members of both the right and the left, in their struggle for power, have brought the issue of separation of church and state to the forefront and have meticulously scrutinized the dilemma of a perceived decline in morals in a largely secular culture. David R. Carlin, Jr. labeled the problem "our 'do-your-own-thing'ethic" and blamed it for society's increasing "fornication, divorce, abortion, violence, yuppie shopping sprees, entrepreneurial initiative, and political
independence" (1995). Lacking a governmental cure for these problems, many people are turning to religion for a solution (Forbes, 1994). Seeing this as a call to action, the Religious Right feels reinforced in its fight against public policies that it views as offensive to fundamental Christian liberties (Doerr, 1994).

During the struggle for political power, the conservative Christians and secular liberals have taken major blows as each tries to demonize the other. As Arianna Huffington (1994, p. 16), wife of then-Republican U.S. Senate candidate Mike Huffington, wrote in the California Political Review, "More appalling still have been the opportunistic attempts of certain politicians to demonize the fire-breathing radical right...to manufacture bogeymen in the minds of Americans in a cynical bid to win their votes." Philip Yancey (1995) remarks in his article in Christianity Today that Christians feel like a minority in a constant battle for their ideals. This places the secular culture on the defensive. The secular populace perceives the renewed Christian fervor as jeopardizing cultural pluralism. In the same tone, the Religious Right has been attacking President Clinton's policies since the former Arkansas Governor announced his candidacy for President. "I've not yet heard anyone call Bill Clinton the Antichrist, but it wouldn't surprise me," was the opening line in another Yancey (1993, p. 72) article in Christianity Today.

While political and religious demagogues aggravate the dispute by doing their best to slander the opposition, both parties undermine their own credibility. David Caistor quoted Pat Robertson in his anti-defamation guide (1994, p. 4): "Just like what Nazi Germany did to the Jews, so liberal America is now doing to the evangelical Christians. It's no different. It is the same thing. It is happening all over again. It is the Democratic Congress, the liberal-biased
media and the homosexuals who want to destroy all Christians. Wholesale abuse and discrimination and the worst bigotry directed toward any group in America today. More terrible than anything suffered by any minority in our history.” Cantor's anti-defamation guide records a plethora of hate and intolerance messages by Christian leaders. The insensitivity to the general populace from both sides has enabled some politicians and religious leaders to ignore the message to “heal thyself” (“Demagoguery,” 1994). However, to “heal thyself” is a statement easier said than done. The primary objective in this paper is to examine the rhetorical strategies of a religious-based politician in order to identify the ways in which the politician tries to “heal” the conflict between secular and religious ideologies without losing political effectiveness.

Rationale

Martin J. Medhurst (1989, p. 30) affirms that interpretation studies done by rhetoricians on all forms of rhetoric including public address is “a cultural force that shaped and continues to shape the American experience.”

In the initial essay, “The Literary Criticism of Oratory” printed in Studies in Rhetoric and Public Speaking in Honor of James Albert Winans, Wichelns (1925) argues that unlike the literary critic, the rhetorical critic is not concerned with aesthetics of a text, but with the effect the text has on the context. In describing the differences between literary criticism and rhetorical criticism, Wichelns employed a dichotomy which classified rhetorical critics based on their methods of evaluating text. Wichelns’ survey recorded three genres of critics/criticism. The first contains a critic who is preoccupied with the character of the orator. The second has
a critic who mixes the methods of biographical and literary criticism. In the third a critic is
preoccupied with the text and disregards the orator completely. In the attempt to explicate the
three genres, Wichelns seems predisposed to find fault in analyses that were not grounded in
explaining the effect an orator has on his audience. Rhetoricians of the Wichelns school
scarcely analyze the text with excess attention expended on the historical and biographic data,
the context, in order to avoid any fraternity with literary critics and their concern with
‘permanence” and “beauty” (p. 208).

Like Wichelns, Ernest J. Wrage insisted that the “basic ingredient of a speech is its
context.” Wrage (1947, p. 454) characterizes the role of the rhetorical critic as subservient to
the historian. Wrage de-emphasizes the role of rhetoricians by labeling their contributions of
textual analysis as contributing only to the ideas generated by our history.

Barnett Baskerville (1953, pp. 1-5) in the Central States Speech Journal, outlines the
basic methods of rhetorical analysis and the problems with those methods.
Baskerville begins by maintaining the stance that biographical research is the means to achieve
understanding of a text. He continues by earmarking it as the “first step in the critical process.”
However, Baskerville acknowledges a growing dissatisfaction with rhetorical works that lack
extensive critical evaluation. He attributes this problem to inadequate research done to
improve the standard criteria for judgment. Baskerville illustrates the growing incompetence of
critics by equating them with the judges he observed at forensic competition. The critical
methods Baskerville outlines are the analytic, synthetic, and judicial. The analytic method deals
with collecting facts about the speech. The synthetic method deals with collecting facts about
the “total speaking situation.” The judicial method deals with the evaluation and interpretation

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of the rhetorician's discourse.

Although discontent was evident in such a parochial view of rhetorical studies, it wasn't until the 1960s that most rhetoricians began questioning pure extrinsic methodology and, in turn, liberated themselves from the confines of traditional form. This turn toward the close examination of the speech text was a welcomed turn by most in the field.

Since then, the methods of some practitioners have changed focus. Gronbeck dubbed this change as a "rebirth" (cited in Lucas, 1988) while Lucas termed it a "dramatic metamorphoses" (1988). This renewed interest in rhetorical-critical studies led to the enunciation of the older theories as general practice for all critical works and the innovation of many new methods, which have earned as much criticism as praise.

Despite the argument of whether there is or is not a rhetorical rebirth, there has been a historical shift in context-centered and text-centered oratorical studies, or a union between the two.

W. Charles Redding (1957, pp. 99-101) in Western Speech poses the question, "Is it possible that rhetorical scholars have too often moved out of rather than more deeply into their own subject?" Redding advises the rhetorical scholar to review the shift from context-centered analysis to text-centered analysis. Redding defends different methods to quantify text-centered criticism by content analysis while consistently reminding scholars that text should also be studied in its context. Redding's logic focuses on the idea "that if a speech is to be apprehended in its totality, then it must be studied in context..." By deliberation and logical argument, Redding dictates that rhetorical critics must equally and diligently commit themselves to intrinsic criticism.
Karlyn K. Campbell (1979) asserts in the *Central States Speech Journal* that the rhetorical criticism of a text is at "the heart of our discipline." In her essay, Campbell's major thesis is to establish an axiology for critical inquiry. She illustrates how rhetorical investigations, whether they be communicative or rhetorical acts, are subject to four constant dimensions of inquest: The reflexive dimension, the cognitive dimension, the dialectical dimension, and the evaluative dimension. Within the parameters of her argument, she establishes the requisite that critics must be subjective in routine criticism.

In Mohrmann's (1980, pp. 268-272) essay, "Elegy in a critical grave-yard" in the *Western Journal of Speech Communication*, he supports neither traditional rhetorical practices nor the contemporary rhetorical practices. He parallels the traditional form of criticism with an "old faithful mount" that is "spavined," "sway-backed," and dutifully "carrying riders on their appointed rounds." His observation on the more contemporary rhetorical practices is cited as being a reason for critics to "up-date their vocabulary." Although Mohrmann's perspective was critical of both practices, he continuously argues that although a closer examination of the text is not fit for every situation, without it the critic faces an "exercise in futility."

Edwin Black (1980, pp. 335-336), in the *Western Journal of Speech Communication*, introduces the general argument concerning theory and practice. He favors the nominalistic or emic viewpoint because it is grounded in a close examination of text. He argues that the deficiency in rhetorical criticism from both etic and emic viewpoints could only be corrected by the critic's "extending himself, risking himself, not possessing a method but being possessed by it: mastering a subject by yielding to it." By not "possessing" a method, Black urges the rhetorical critic to reject the etic standpoint that favors excessive historicism.
and to adopt the emic standpoint.

Michael C. Leff (1986, p. 385) remembers his colleague G. P. Morhmann in his article written in the Quarterly Journal of Speech. He recounts the importance of textual analysis via the advances made by himself and Morhmann. In the article, Leff reflects on Morhmann’s research utilizing Calhoun’s Speech on the Reception of the Abolition Petition. By evaluating Morhmann’s uncompleted work, Leff draws conclusions upon the importance of the textual analysis in understanding a rhetorical representation of the world at a certain moment. As Leff explains, “The central task of textual criticism is to understand how rhetorical action effects this negotiation, how the construction of a symbolic event invites a reconstruction of the events to which it refers. The complexity of this process, moreover, reveals the artistic density of well made rhetorical texts and the reason that they demand and reward careful interpretive study.”

In a paper presented at the Fifth SCA/AFA Conference on Argumentation, David Zarefsky’s (1987) summarizes common precepts for directing rhetorical criticism as a process of argumentation. In explication of the “critic as arguer,” Zarefsky identifies the close reading of the text as quintessential to any rhetorical study. He writes, “Rhetorical action is ephemeral, and yet the text has outlasted its immediate situation. That fact invites respect for the text and gives it presumptive authority” (p. 55).

Stephen E. Lucas’s (1988, pp. 245-255) essay in the Quarterly Journal of Speech takes into account the developments in American public address. Lucas’s argument is carefully structured to illuminate the co-dependency of both text and context. He acknowledges that eliminating either text or context would make for a futile analysis of any speech. He argues, “Moreover, it is invariably true that the more we know about a speaker’s life in general, the
more likely we are to transcend what is obvious about his or her discourse and to reach a level of insight that produces genuine scholarly break-throughs.”

Calvin L. Troup’s (1995) textual study of New York Governor Mario Cuomo’s address at Notre Dame University on September 13, 1984, exemplifies the rhetorical views of the above mentioned practitioners, along with representing ideas similar to those encapsulated in my study.

Troup investigated the risk taken by American politicians who speak publicly about both politics and religion in the same speech. He asserts that Cuomo’s rhetoric promotes a “chilling environment for religious rhetoric in public context—one that silences rhetoric before it begins (p. 168).” By quoting Black and Goankar, Troup justifies the employment of an emic or non-theoretical standpoint to the text. His close reading of the text enables the identification of spatial metaphors, like the “wall of separation,” which builds a division between religious rhetoric and what is acceptable in political speech. Cuomo places religious faith and rhetoric in a “spiritual home,” a home far removed from the home of political rhetoric. Thus he labels religious rhetoric as unacceptable discourse in the political forum.

By outlining what Cuomo states as specific guidelines for what should or should not be said in public, Troup’s analysis leads to the discovery of Cuomo’s protocol constructed for public discourse. This evaluation represents a very gloomy environment for religious speech in the political forum. Troup compares Cuomo’s rhetoric to the discourse described in Richard J. Neuhaus’ (1984) book The Naked Public Square. Neuhaus writes of the negative effects of the exclusion of religious rhetoric from the public forum. Neuhaus states that an insistence of separation between political and religious rhetoric violates democratic pluralism, which serves
as a contradiction to Cuomo's argument of supporting democratic pluralism through his "wall of separation."

Textual analysis presents an approach to investigate the conflict paradigm that is evident in the current status quo. It is confirmed by both secular and religious authorities that in order for a religious-based individual to be successful in the political square, he or she must conceal staunch convictions. The two terms "stealth" and "subterfuge" which emerged in the introductory section uncover a covert rhetorical strategy used by the religious right to get far-right religious individuals elected to office.

In this research, I identify an anomaly: A politician who communicates his strong religious convictions using overt rhetorical strategies and yet is successful in the political forum. This politician's move toward reconciliation of political and religious ideologies warrants examination on the basis of divergence with the established order. By exercising a close reading of the politician's discourse in contrasting contexts, I endeavor to identify ways in which a politician uses rhetorical strategies to create a personal and public nexus with his political and religious ideologies. By analyzing the religious and political elements in his speeches in three separate contexts, I catalog patterns consistent in his rhetoric to explicate a current phenomenon.

In light of the rhetoricians represented, I use textual analysis to research the rhetorical strategies of Arkansas Governor Mike Huckabee in his use of overt religious rhetoric in the political arena.
Methodology

Governor Mike Huckabee (R-AR) is a successful politician and ordained minister who moves easily and frequently between secular and religious realms. In 1996, while serving as Lieutenant Governor he ran for the U.S. Senate seat only to step out of the race to become governor of Arkansas when the governor resigned. His use of both religious and political rhetoric, regardless of context, makes him an appropriate subject for study of the reconciliation of political and the religious ideologies. By comparing and contrasting the rhetoric used by this politician across a spectrum of contexts, I attempt to uncover the rhetorical strategy which propels him as one of the few successful religious-political leaders.

The discourse analyzed is a product of three different social settings: a church, a political rally for a religiously oriented special interest group, and a political forum. First I analyze the discourse used by Governor Huckabee in his sermon delivered at the Life Center Church in Russellville, Arkansas, June 18, 1995. This analysis is followed by an examination of his speech, “A Grassroots Success Story,” delivered at the Christian Coalition Road to Victory, September 10, 1995, in Washington, D.C. The last speech analyzed is his transition speech, on March 30, 1996, in which he announced he would withdraw from the U.S. Senate race.

Huckabee’s discourse is analyzed and evaluated through the application of the following fundamental rubric: The speaker, the situation, and the message, which is equivalent to the context and the text represented in textual analysis. In the analysis of context, both the speaker and the situation are examined. Information about the speaker and situation builds a frame of reference that aids in the interpretation of the text. Analysis of the text consists of
investigating the internal structure and dynamics of the speech and gauging how his rhetoric changes based on a shift in context. The Qualitative Solutions & Research for Non-numerical Unstructured Data Indexing, Searching and Theorizing (Q.S.R. NUD.IST) program is used to assist in sorting Huckabee's rhetoric for qualitative analysis. The program was designed to guide researchers through comprehensive textual analysis by simplifying the ability to code the document and retrieve statistical computation. The sequence of steps utilized in this study to accrue information from the Q.S.R. NUD.IST were introducing the document into the program, coding the document, and searching the code system.

Introducing the document included transferring the text to be analyzed into the system. In this case, Huckabee’s speeches were either typed directly into the system or installed into the system using a previously transcribed disk. Unless specified, the program automatically designates text units by searching for hard carriage returns, intermittently found at the end of each paragraph. After introducing the document, the data was ready to be coded. The documents were coded by a close reading, manually scrolling through the document line by line and identifying what was happening in each individual instance. During this process codes were identified and created which built a relationship scheme between primary and subordinate codes. Following the coding process several system searches were performed in order to document the number of times similar rhetorical tools were used in Huckabee’s discourse.

The following research is an exercise in inductive theory building focusing on two research questions: (1) Because there are few religiously pronounced individuals who are also successful in the political arena, what rhetorical strategies does Huckabee use in order to procure acceptance by the majority and (2) does the strategy vary by audience (context)?
Although it is unwise to attempt to generalize from one case study, this analysis provides a starting point for understanding the interaction of the two kinds of rhetoric. By identifying key strategies used by Huckabee, it lays the groundwork for theory building regarding political-religious rhetoric. Therefore, examining political rhetoric via this case study is justifiable for it may stimulate other quantitative or qualitative inquiries which define the degree in which religion becomes inclusive in political discourse.

**Structure**

In order to identify other rhetorical strategies used by religious-political activists, Chapter II reviews the political activism of the Religious Right in the mid 1990s. I outline their core issues and activities in the political arena, and by flushing out other identifiable covert strategies used by the Religious Right set the stage to examine a new phenomena.

Chapter III will begin with a condensed account of Arkansas Governor Mike Huckabee’s religious and political life. Then the current communication climate is characterized by examining rhetoric concerning political and religious cohesion.

Chapter IV will consist of tracing Huckabee’s use of religious and political propositions in changing contexts. The results collected with use of the Q.S.R. NUD.IST program are examined.

Chapter V summarizes the findings of chapter IV in terms of identifying three consistently used rhetorical tools and how it represents an overt rhetorical strategy.

The final chapter discusses the limitations of this political-religious case study and proposes directions for future research.
CHAPTER 2

RHETORICAL STRATEGIES OF THE RELIGIOUS RIGHT

David W. Moore (1995), managing editor of the Gallup Poll, collected empirical data to define who and what makes up the religious right. His findings exhibit the ignorance and confusion of the general populace of what really makes up the religious right movement. Moore states, "Not only do most people indicate that they have little idea of what 'religious right movement' means, many of those who are willing to classify themselves as such do not fit what might seem a reasonable definition of that group—no doubt because they have a different view of the concept than the political observers who are using the term in the first place" (p. 11).

For definitive purposes it is necessary to clarify what is meant by "religious right movement" in the mid-1990s. In researching this subject I attempt to prevent either side, right or left, from controlling the discourse. Therefore, the neutral two-way perspective will help clarify rhetorical tactics being used by the religious right. Finally to identify this collective rhetorical strategy for religious conservatives, the chapter focuses on an investigation of the discourse used by the largest religious organization, the Christian Coalition. Rhetorical strategies are discovered by reviewing the organizations communication tactics for their core issues.
Defining the Religious Right

"Halfwits," "yokels," "rustic ignoramuses," were words used by H. L. Mencken to describe religious conservatives in the 1925 Scopes Trial in Dayton, Tennessee (Kristol, 1994). Even in 1993 the religious right was characterized by a reporter for the *Washington Post* as "largely poor, uneducated, and easy to command." Although this is a harsh depiction, it holds historical accuracy. Capps (1990) documents old evangelical and conservative religious communities that at one time chose to be both "anti-intellectual and apolitical." However, this description is now an outdated stereotype as the religious right has evolved and currently addresses a much different agenda. The "new" religious right is very politically minded, and according to Moore's findings, 57% of the empirically-defined religious right have some college education or hold a post-secondary degree.

As documented by Chesser (1994), the convictions of the religious right appear to be uncomplicated:

1) "The Holy Bible is the absolute authority in every man's life. The United States was founded on Judeo-Christian beliefs and we, the citizens and lawmakers, should continue to give precedence to them.

2) The writers of the books of the Bible were completely inspired by God and no mistakes or biases were included in or influenced the original writings. The Word of God as we know it is not to be questioned by man.

3) Members believe it is God's will that they change modern society to conform to Christian ideology. Conformity within the Religious Right is maintained by asserting that opposition to the Religious Right is led by Satan" (p. 3).
Using this doctrine to interpret the natural occurrences in the political forum instead of the social domain broadens the translation of good versus evil, especially in their third dogma. The reasoning within this doctrine would lead one to view any political opposition against the Christian Coalition as directed by Satan.

Rhetorical Strategies of the Christian Coalition

As the religious right increases political activism, changes become inherently essential within the organization's communication approach to ensure political success. Two rhetorical strategies are eminent when reviewing the organization discourse as they market their core issues.

Political Correctness

The religious right has learned to moderate its radical arguments and camouflage its discourse with secularly acceptable dialogue. Looking at the controversy of religion in the public school system is a case in point.

What was formerly suggested as a conspiracy by the secular government to deny the populace their religious heritage has been transformed by the newly moderate rhetoric of the coalition into an infringement of First Amendment rights. Religion in the public school system has been a controversy since the John Thomas Scopes trial of 1925 (Manchester, 1986). At the center of the Scopes debate was whether or not public school teachers should be allowed to teach evolution theory. The current debate is over voluntary prayer, or in jurisprudent terms now used by the coalition, the right to free speech. A Supreme Court decision in 1962
removed compulsory prayer from the public schools. Religious conservatives have prepared
two amendments, the Religious Equality Amendment and the Religious Liberties Amendment
(Sekulow, 1994). While the two amendment initiatives pursue different changes, both focus on
rewriting the First Amendment.

Another example of political correctness can be examined in the following quote in
which Ralph Reed, the executive director of the Christian Coalition, conveys his expectations
for America’s future.

According to Reed,

The America envisioned by religious conservatives, then, encompasses much of
the republic and adds to this some more recent gains. As the foundation: marriages
that work and a far greater proportion of intact, two-parent families. Lower taxes, less
bureaucracy, leaner government. A thriving, expanding economy with less job-killing
government regulation. An educational system without rival. Greater empowerment
of private citizens to free themselves from dependency on government programs.
Hard-core and child pornography illegal and socially stigmatized. Abortion rare and
largely restricted to the hard cases of rape, incest, or endangerment of the mother’s life.
Voluntary, student initiated prayer and other public expressions of faith protected as
free speech under the First Amendment. Television shows and movies that celebrate
the family and elevate the human spirit and do not glorify violence, extramarital sex,
vulgar language, and human cruelty. A color-blind society in which people are judged
by their abilities rather than by their skin color, gender, or national origin. A tougher
criminal-justice system that puts violent offenders behind bars, while providing
rehabilitative alternative to incarceration for young, non-violent offenders (Reed, pp. 3-4).

As noted, their radical tone is moderated with talk of economy and taxes; however,

social issues still hold preeminence (Utter & Storey, 1995). Moderation is an effort to infuse a
secular tone to their agenda because as Reed admitted: “the fundamentalist Christian pols will
never abandon their tenacious opposition to abortion, gay rights, and sex education” (Dunham,
1993, p. 45).

With this strategy of political correctness, the coalition has become less absolutist and
appears to be more tolerant of diversity. Bates (1995) shows how its leaders manipulate politically correct language to attain a favorable response from the secular community. “Instead of condemning failed surgeon general nominee Henry Foster as a godless baby killer, they speak of him as ‘outside the mainstream of American culture.’ They talk more about the First Amendment than the First Commandment, more about anti-Christian bigotry than anti-Christian conspiracies, more about immoral taxation than immoral sexuality, more about the ecumenical-sounding ‘people of faith’ than God-fearing Christians” (p. 37).

By using an ecumenical approach instead of exclusionary tactics, the religious right is winning over more conservatives and making the group harder to define. Organization members preserving the old rhetorical scope view this transcendence as exacerbating the problem of members taming religious rhetoric to gain political effectiveness.

No matter how tempered their rhetoric may sound through the use of covert rhetorical tactics, when speaking within their own ranks moderation is not the theme. For instance, tolerance for abortion practices is nonexistent for staunch Christian conservatives. Anti-welfare activist Star Parker justifies this unwavering stance in her 1995 Road to Victory speech in Washington, D.C.: “We start talking about [abortion] in cases of rape and incest. Need I remind you that out of the four women listed in the genealogy of Jesus Christ, two of them, one [was] a product of rape and [one] a product of incest” (Boston, 1995, p. 12).

The Stealth Strategy

The moderate talk generated from politically correct language is evident in the coalition's 10-point contract and a significant part of the second rhetorical strategy employed
by the Christian Coalition, the stealth tactic. The 10-point agenda corresponds to the Republican's Contract with America in several details, such as closing the National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities. Reed, was quoted in 1992 as saying that the coalition is moving to "an underground strategy, a stealth strategy. You wouldn't know what's going on because it doesn't show up on the radar screens" (Schneider, 1995, p. 1314).

Cromartie (1993) describes the religious right's involvement in government as a "defensive offensive." To protect its own religious convictions, the religious right has made government positions its goal. Candidate training, workshops conducted to instruct religious conservatives how to run for a political office, has become top priority in many of the grassroots state coalitions (Bob Myshka, personal communication, January 11, 1996). National attention has focused on the religious right's ability to teach political effectiveness; in spite of some officials being elected under false pretense. As Reed confirmed, "What Christians have got to do is take back this country. I honestly believe that in my lifetime we will see a country once again governed by Christians and Christian values" (Swomley, 1995c, p. 35).

The stealth strategy enables the religious right to initiate grassroots campaigns to immobilize groups that adhere to ideas that are counter to their perspective; like, gay activists. In this event, the stealth officeholder propagates information for the right that works to stimulate homophobic responses for the purpose of instilling fear in parents and inciting local communities (Smolowe, 1996). Therefore, influences voters by the stealth campaigner contending gays and lesbians are requesting "special rights" and by using basic theological arguments (Holmes, 1995).

The preceding research enables us to acquire a more valuable view of the monumental
differences which exist in the covert communication strategies employed by the religious right movement and the overt communication strategies used by one of its members, Governor Mike Huckabee (R-AR).
CHAPTER 3

CASE STUDY BACKGROUND

In a holistic approach to textual analysis one must first understand where the message emanates. An examination of the life of Mike Huckabee delineates the frame of reference used in analyzing the text. Secondly, we must understand the climate in which this communication takes place.

Governor Mike Huckabee

One could not argue that Huckabee adopted conservative rhetoric merely because it was a cultural trend. “Conservative all the way through,” Tomye Power, Huckabee’s Western Civilization high school teacher, said of the governor (personal communication, December 2, 1996). And Judy Garrett, a close school friend of Huckabee and his wife, Janet, and in the same high school graduating class of 1973, recounts, “For a kid that age, he was focused and had a lot of integrity” (personal communication, December 2, 1996). Huckabee’s life exemplifies political and religious conservatism.

Michael Dale was born to Dorsey and Mae Huckabee on August 24, 1955, in Hope, Arkansas. At the time Dorsey worked two jobs. He was employed as a fireman with the Hope
Fire Department and worked with his father at Huckabee Generator and Starter shop. Mae
was an office manager for Louisiana-Nevada Transit rural gas company (Sue Smith, personal
communication, December 2, 1996). Dorsey and Mae were not overbearing when it came to
religion. Huckabee’s sister, Pat Harris, remembers: “I never felt forced to go to church. Mom
took us. Dad didn’t really go until we were in junior high or senior high” (personal
communication, December 2, 1996). But Harris remembers Nanny, her paternal grandmother,
as “extremely faithful.” She was “the every time the church door was open” type of person,
Harris said.

At age nine, Huckabee played with the Hope baseball team, but broke his hand playing
catcher and was out for the season. Since he couldn’t play baseball, broadcasters from the local
Hope radio station, KX 101, let him join them in the press box and announce team member
information during the final games. Huckabee enjoyed radio announcing so much that for
years to come he would call sports instead of play sports. His ability to speak well was
recognizable at this young age. Whether it was over the radio or at the pulpit, Huckabee’s
style demanded attention.

By the age of 15, Huckabee’s religious calling was undeniable. When attending the
Hugh O’Brian Youth Foundation Space Seminar in the summer of 1971, he encountered
something foreign to his usual hometown experience. After spending time with the other 49
students chosen at the seminar, Huckabee was amazed at how many of them had little or no
spiritual faith. Upon returning home he spoke to his pastor about his experience and decide to
accept the pastor’s invitation to speak in the church the following Sunday. Thus at age 15,
Huckabee preached to his first congregation. The title of the sermon was, “Watering down the
blood of Christ.” Although as a preacher he was a little rough around the edges, Huckabee found himself in demand, substituting for many pastors around the county. He polished his presentation with the help of his elders. Huckabee recounts, “A very patient and kind elderly pastor would pull me off to the side and say, that was a good message, and I think it really meant a lot to the people, but in the future, probably, it would be better not to use words like ‘crap’ from the pulpit” (Haman, 1996).

At school Huckabee found that his gift of small talk led him into many school activities. School politics became one interest. Harris said that except for an unsuccessful run for student council representative in junior high, Huckabee always won the position he sought. He was student council president his senior year at Hope High School and organized a regional student convention held at the school. Garret recollects, “Mike was really good at organizing, delegating authority and then making sure it got done” (personal communication, December 2, 1996). Huckabee also debated on the school debate team and was Governor of Boy State in 1972.

Another, more liberal, activity in which Huckabee participated was drama. Power described Huckabee’s performance in the senior play Flowers for Algernon as the “best job acting I have ever seen done by a student.” Huckabee was known as a cut-up, but not the kind that got in trouble. He was also known for his skilled impersonations, which he incorporates within his speeches to this day.

Huckabee claims that his persevering nature was developed through his background. “When you grow up in a home where you don’t have the nice things, you know what it’s like to be laughed at. You either accept that and basically give up and fold, or you just build within
you this incredible resolve that “you can laugh [at me] now, but you won’t someday” (Haman, 1996, p. 13). Power stated, “One day in Western Civilization, we were having a discussion and I asked him. ‘What are you planning to do with your life...be a politician or a preacher?’ Huckabee said, ‘both.’”

By the time Huckabee went to college he had spoken in front of more congregations than most seminary graduates. He attended college at Ouchita Baptist University in Arkadelphia, Arkansas, while simultaneously pastoring a small church in town. After their freshman year in college, Huckabee married his high school sweetheart Janet McCain. They now have three children, John Mark, David, and Sarah.

Directly after college he pursued his theology degree at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in Fort Worth, Texas. While in seminary, Huckabee directed a Christian advertising agency. After graduation, as an ordained Baptist Minister, he worked in communications for a Christian organization, James Robinson Evangelical Association in Dallas, Texas. It wasn’t until 1980 that he began his ministerial career in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, at the Emanual Baptist Church; meanwhile he continued in the communications work by establishing in Pine Bluff a Christian broadcasting station.

Huckabee left Pine Bluff in 1986 to accepted a position as pastor at the Beech Street First Baptist Church in Texarkana. Still active in the communication field, Huckabee ran KBSC-TV in Texarkana were he hosted the national award winning show, “Positive Alternatives.” In 1989, Huckabee was elected president of the Arkansas Baptist State Convention becoming the youngest ever to hold this position. Huckabee resigned from his pastoral position to run in the 1992 U.S. Senate race, which resulted in his first loss since junior
Huckabee's transition between pastor to politician was complicated. Although his family supported his ambitions, Huckabee encountered many friends, as well as members of his congregation, who were not supportive. Huckabee's run for the U.S. Senate was not the main source of agitation for those against his move; it was that he had declared himself a Republican candidate being that Arkansas historically holds Democratic convictions. In his interview with Haman (1996), Huckabee describes what it was like after he lost, "At this point I was damaged goods. Nobody wanted me in their church. It was a very painful time, because I found that I had very few friends after I had lost. Pastors canceled me, just said 'Man, the people don't want you to come, the deacons voted not to have you. They don't want a Republican here, I'm sorry.' I was trying to get a job at anything. I went out and got one of those employment gazettes at the news stand, where you look for jobs on a Kuwaiti oil freighter. Anything. Literally, I was making calls just to find something so I could put food on the table. We had spent in the campaign everything we had ever saved and it never occurred to me that I might lose" (p. 13).

However, Huckabee had sown political seeds that would soon bear fruit. When Bill Clinton won the Presidential election of 1992, Jim Guy Tucker, then lieutenant governor, became Governor of Arkansas and a special election was held for the vacancy of lieutenant governor (Oman, 1993). Huckabee ran for lieutenant governor and was elected in July 27, 1993. In 1996, he again entered the Senate race, but early in the campaign Governor Jim Guy Tucker was convicted of mail fraud and conspiracies in the Whitewater trial. With guilty verdicts on two felony counts, Governor Tucker agreed to resign. At a news conference at the
state Capitol on May 30, 1996, Huckabee announced that he would be dropping out of the U.S. Senate race (O'Neal, 1996). At the age of 41, Mike Huckabee became the Governor of Arkansas.

Clearly, Huckabee's Christian convictions run deeper than just words. Religion is a major cornerstone in his life, and his religious convictions and religious discourse permeate everything he does. This success as a religious politician is what makes Huckabee a deviation from the norm and appropriate for this study. An examination of Huckabee's speeches will identify rhetorical strategies which outline an acceptable and possible route for other religious politicians to find success in the political forum.

Communication Climate

Separation of religion and politics is the regimented standard; however, the two principles sometimes appear inseparable. Ellis Sandoz in Political sermons of the American founding era (1991) states that the biblical understanding of our secular society is reflected in the most famous passage of The Federalist (no. 51), which turns on the sentiments that "if men were angels there would be no need for government, for what is government but the greatest of all reflections on human nature?" The documents of our democracy were written with an intentional separation between church and state; however, many insist that the biblical principles with which the documents were written are of predominant importance (Mathisen, 1982; Noll, 1990; Sandoz, 1991; Evans, 1994). Despite this historic connection, today a politician who credits his decision making to morals and other teachings learned from the Bible is often ridiculed and possibly labeled as a "stealth" candidate for the Religious Right. John
Swomley (1995a) defines a stealth candidate in the *St. Louis Journalism Review* as one who is believed by the populace to have concealed his radical religious agenda and affiliations in order to become elected. Missouri Republican Ron Freeman was targeted as a stealth candidate in the 1994 primary (Swomley, 1995b). Huffington (1994) argues that "In attempting to censor religious conservatives, they [liberals] demonstrate a lack of confidence in a system at once strong and flexible enough to accommodate even those opinions they ardently oppose...If critics truly believe that religious conservatives have nothing to add to the democratic debate, why are they so frantic to keep them quiet?"

The media consistently send messages to the public that politicians must not be religious, and religious individuals cannot be politicians successfully. President Clinton verbalized a similar viewpoint, stating that politics which are religion-oriented retard the development of a country. The President was not stating that the Religious Right should not be involved in government, but that they should not "put on the mantle of religion and then justify anything they say or do" ("President Clinton," 1994, p. 16).

Other critics say that religious groups have no place at all in the government. W.J. Bennett and M. Kinsley (1994), in the *CQ Researcher*, assert that "by entering into the world of politics, religious groups have voluntarily given up any claims to moral superiority" and are now just another special interest group. Some think that by engaging in politics, religious groups take on a new role of political backstabbing instead of the old role of moralistic backslapping.

Although ridicule follows both sides with increased participation, the debate over the complete separation of church and state is a historical controversy of interminable status. The
dedication with which the religious conservative continues to fight against the repression of religious and moral beliefs in our political culture is paralleled with the documentation of their concerned voices opposing politicians who spout religious rhetoric in the political forum.

Although there has not been a serious attempt to ban religious rhetoric from American politics, some would like to prohibit it because politicians misinterpret, misquote, and exploit scripture in support of their positions. Mark A. Noll (1992, p. 16) states, “Such blatant abuse of Scripture should stop. But as always in religion and politics, the issue is not entirely clear. If it is offensive to misquote the Bible wildly, what about quoting the Scripture accurately (as Clinton did in quoting, “Where there is no vision the people perish”) to make a political point?”

Studies show the tendency for politicians to use their religious affiliation as a variable intended to gain support. Clyde Wilcox (1992) examined religion as a source of support among Southern whites for Reverend Jesse Jackson and Reverend Marion (Pat) Robertson in the 1988 Democratic and Republican presidential nomination campaigns. Wilcox predicted that in view of the hostile relations between different theological groups voting patterns would be consistent with the theological commitment of Southern white voters. He said that “religious doctrine and religiosity, along with Pentecostal church involvement, will be associated with increased support for Robertson, and that involvement in fundamentalist, southern Baptist, and other evangelical churches may be associated with decreased support” (p. 324). Wilcox examined telephone interviews with residents of states that held primaries on Super-Tuesday, March 8, 1988, excluding respondents from Massachusetts and Maryland. He measured support for Robertson relative to other Republican candidates, and support for Jackson relative to other Democratic candidates. He compared church attendance,
denominational preference, political attitudes, and basic values. The results indicated, as predicted, that both candidates received consistent support from different sectors of the public, depending on their religious interests.

Some researchers contend that secular candidates who choose to color their agenda with religious rhetoric have a stronger appeal to the populace. Margaret O'Brien Steinfels (1994, p. 5) supports this view when she describes Hillary Clinton as satisfying a generational role that first ladies had not formerly filled concerning “education, good works, marriage, motherhood, and career.” In spite of this distinguishing accomplishment, Steinfels contends, since Mrs. Clinton “gives signs of being a serious believer,” she should add to her repertoire the avocation of “personal conversion.” Steinfels continues by urging “subterfuge” as a tactic to resolve problems stemming from the separation of religion and politics. The first lady could indirectly campaign for a union between the two issues with successful results. Steinfels cites this possible role for the first lady as one that “the country could use.”

In contrast to Steinfels, Peggy Noonan (1995) says the secular populist jeers at the suggestion of a religious and political nexus. In the introduction to her interview with Michael Lerner, the editor of the liberal Jewish Magazine Tikkun, she says, “Michael Lerner has talked a lot about what he calls the politics of meaning, and Hillary Clinton has quoted his work, approvingly, and both of them [have been] derided for it.”

The clash between politics and religion in our culture is not a problem that will eventually go away. The unity that Tom Hayden spoke of in 1962 in The Port Huron Statement, where politics and spiritual values worked collectively for the common good, is still far from reach (Herbert, 1994). Lance Morrow (1993, p. 25) points out that “the world is
becoming both more religious and more secular simultaneously," only adding to the distention.

Under these conditions, this research focuses on the following premise: A small number of politicians working toward a reconciliation between their religious lives and their political lives acquire success.
CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

In the current study, only one southern politician and his rhetoric is examined. Governor Mike Huckabee was chosen for examination based on two reasons: (1) his official connection with the church and his political success despite this connection and (2) his pronounced religious rhetoric. Three speeches are analyzed—a sermon, a political speech, and a religious/political speech given to a religious special interest group—to find rhetorical similarities and/or differences that exist in his discourse, depending on the context. Two different routes were used to acquire the speech texts. I recorded the sermon while being a guest visitor at the Life Center Church and thereafter had it transcribed. The other two speech texts, the political speech and the religious/political speech, were requisitioned consecutively from the Arkansas Republican headquarters and the Christian Coalition. Coding for the textual analysis was done by the author with the use of the Q.S.R. NUD.IST program. An outline of the coding system used for this textual analysis and how those codes are represented in the hierarchical index system of the NUD.IST program is in Appendix I.
Huckabee’s Use of Rhetorical Strategies

“Please join me in welcoming a man who has unplugged the political machine in Arkansas and is helping many of you to do the same in your states. A rising star of the Republican party, inspiring true hope in the land of opportunity, ladies and gentlemen, Lt. Governor Mike Huckabee,” proclaimed the announcer introducing Huckabee at the 1995 Christian Coalition Convention. Huckabee’s religious-political success story is recounted throughout the religious ranks. He is commended by many religious organizations for his political success and for steadfastly adhering to a religious agenda. Few overtly religious individuals have also been successful in the political arena. Why do Huckabee’s rhetorical strategies work when so many others fail? Two general questions are addressed in the following analysis: What rhetorical strategies does Huckabee use in order to procure acceptance by the majority, and Does the strategy vary by audience?

In the analysis of Huckabee’s rhetoric, reoccurring ideas become visible in coding and cross-referencing the categories. “Religious references” and “political references” were selected for coding because it is the conflict between the two styles, which is outlined in the previous chapters, that makes Huckabee’s ability to combine them rhetorically distinctive. Coding results will be discussed in the following groups: references to the occasion, religious and political references, cross-references, religious and political self-portrait, and religious and political humor.

References to the Occasion

In the coding of religious and political references, a bifurcation became apparent
between religious and political references actively within the speech and religious and political
references that specifically acknowledged the occasion. To increase accuracy in defining
Huckabee's rhetorical strategies, the two differences were coded separately.

In coding references to the occasion an acceptable framework would be any reference
Huckabee made in direct referral to the situation in which he was speaking. There are several
examples to draw upon which illustrate the context included in the political/religious speech:

I want to tell you something. Getting on this program with all of these distinguished speakers is a little
bit intimidating. I feel a whole lot like a jackass at the Kentucky Derby. I know I don't belong on the
same track, but it sure does feel good just to be among them.

I have great respect for all of us in the Christian Coalition and particularly Ralph Reed who is absolutely
one of the most brilliant and articulate spokespersons that we could ever hope to have. Ralph Reed is the
only guy I know who is so persuasive he could sell an NRA membership to Bill Clinton. That's how
good he is. But, by the way Ralph, I hope you're listening and that's good enough to get an invitation
back next year, if not I'll continue.

But I've been asked to talk of a Grass Roots Success story.

There are fewer incidents within the religious speech and the political speech where
Huckabee references the occasion or relates his topic choice to the situation at hand. The
references to the occasion in the last two contexts occur only at the beginning of the speech.
The following two examples come from the religious context and political context
consecutively:

Well, I'll tell you what, I've had many wonderful and blessed experiences. This is the first time I've
been interviewed just prior to actually opening up the scriptures to speak.

Ordinarily, the privilege and honor of serving as our State's Governor would be cause for celebration.
Unfortunately that day will for me not be one of celebration, but accepting, with sobering reality, the
solemn duty entrusted to me by our citizens.

Distinguishing references to the occasion from other religious or political references
lowers the possibility of a bias being recorded to active references. References to the occasion might be a reflector to individual speech genre and used as a tool to build camaraderie within the audience. Although the number of references to the occasion is great within the political/religious context, its direct effect on religious and political discourse at this point is unknown. Results for this code from the three documents can be seen in Table 1.

| Table 1 Percentage of Text Units Containing References to the Occasion |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Frequency | Number of Text Units | Percentage |
| Religious/Political Speech | 5 | 47 | 11% |
| Religious Speech | 1 | 49 | 2% |
| Political Speech | 1 | 62 | 1.6% |

Religious and Political References

There is a plethora of religious references throughout Huckabee’s rhetoric. These images are represented by God terms, phrases of praise, and Biblical citations. The religious/political speech has the fewest religious references of the three speeches, but still has many salient instances:

Politics and government is not about one candidate, one election, one issue, or one single day. It is a long process. Let us never forget that in Deuteronomy, Chapter 7, Verse 22, when God told the Israelites how they would take the promise land.

That Jesus, who lived on the planet, who is our standard, is not one who came to encourage us to cynicism, but to citizenship.

Jesus told us to be the salt and the light, let us be just that.

If Christians do not get in the world, become active participants in the process of citizenship, we won’t
be much in the way of being Christians.

As was expected, the religious speech or sermon had the highest number of documented religious references (Table 2), almost double the findings in the political/religious speech. The sermon was constructed around the experiences of Abimelech, Judges, Chapter 9, and his un-Godly attempt to lead the people by taking over all responsibilities. However, the frequency of religious references in the political speech was only 5% lower than in the sermon. Several of Huckabee’s statements illustrate this religious factor within his political rhetoric:

It is an awesome task too great for a human standing alone. But I do not intend to stand alone.

We must rebuild faith in government. We must restore confidence in those who hold positions of honor and trust. In doing so, I believe that the prayers of our people will surround me with the invisible, yet incomparable, presence of God. Only in Him can we place our total and perfect trust.

I enter upon my new responsibilities as one who puts his faith in God’s perfect character, not mine or anyone else’s imperfect character.

I join our State’s gracious citizens in extending to Governor Jim Guy Tucker, his wife, and his children, our heartfelt compassion as they walk through the valley which few others have journeyed.

There is power and truth as we remind ourselves that “but for the Grace of God, there go I.”

I covet your prayers...May God bless you and our great State of Arkansas.

In Table 2, the consistently high percentages of religious references from each context is evident:
Table 2  Percentage of Text Units Containing Religious References

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<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Number of Text Units</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religious/Political Speech</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Speech</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Speech</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>15%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Political references (Table 3) did not over-shadow or equal the percentages calculated for religious references. References found in the political speech came close, but religious references were more prevalent.

Documented political references were identified as any political issues, government references, or mention of political leadership as in the following examples from the political/religious speech:

We’re living in a time where most people just don’t trust politicians and you can understand why when you come to Washington and try to do any real lobbying up here.

But I’ve been asked to talk of a Grass Roots Success story. How is it that we go from obscurity, where no one takes us seriously, to actually holding public office. And then, what do we do with it. Well, first of all, I want to talk about how we win and then why we win.

And I want you to contrast that attitude of parents when I grew up with the attitude today that has prevailed because of the culture of abortion. I want you to understand that I believe that the abortion issue is not just about solely an abortion. It’s a bigger issue of the whole culture shift that we’ve seen.

The frequency of political references within the religious speech is significant. Prior to Huckabee’s sermon, Pastor Larry Pyle, spends a notable amount of time questioning Huckabee about his Republican agenda. Huckabee makes reference to this line of questioning in the opening of his sermon and then proceeds to maintain that politics is not his agenda—his agenda is delivering God’s word. However, much of Huckabee’s sermon contains political references.
as seen below:

Unfortunately his desire to be the leader of his people was not so much for the gain of the people, but was for the glory of himself. He was like so many whose primary interest was not in serving others but was being served by others.

I want you to notice what he said, because I believe there is a real important lesson for us today. He says, let me be your king and I will simplify your life...Get rid of all this confusion of the government ...

And I tell you that, if we look at Abimelech and what he promised the people and what he did, we will look at ourselves in the twentieth century as we come to the end of the twentieth century in America, and we will shutter with fear because we have repeated the mistake. We have somehow believed that it was someone else's responsibility to take care of us. It was somebody else’s fault if we didn’t turn out well. And so a child who murders another, we will say, oh it’s not really his fault, it’s societies, it’s his parent’s, it’s television. All which may have contributed, but none, let us never forget, God holds us responsible for our actions and part of the reason that our society is collapsing is because, like Abimelech, we were so willing and are so willing to shift all responsibility for our lives over to someone else, be it our pastors, our parents, or our government.

He wants us to be the people. He’s not waiting on the Gay and Lesbian Task Force to change their minds. He’s not waiting on the ACLU to support prayer in schools. God is not waiting on people for the un-American way under Norman Lear.

In the political speech, religious references are coded 5.3% higher than political references. With the content of the speech focusing on Governor Tucker’s conviction and Huckabee’s transition from the U.S. Senate race to his new position as Governor, political references are at their lowest when compared to the other speeches. Some salient illustrations of political references in the political context:

I will be surrounded by...good citizens of our state—Republicans, Democrats, and Independents—who join in putting aside the weapons of partisanship to pick up the tools of partnership. This is no time for political division.

Since last October, I have stood as a candidate for the United States Senate. My dream was to provide Arkansas with a clear voice for our children’s future in the World’s greatest deliberative body.

Representation of political references in all three context can be seen in Table 3.
Table 3  Percentage of Text Units Containing Political References

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Number of Text Units</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religious/Political Speech</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Speech</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Speech</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In synopsis of religious and political references, one should direct their attention to the fact that religious references coded higher in two of the three contexts with political references having a noteworthy increase only in the political/religious speech.

Cross-References

In certain situations, Huckabee uses religious references that allude to a political point. This factor could account for an increase in percentages of political references in two of the speeches: the political/religious speech by 6.4% and the religious speech by 4.1%. The following citations explain by example this allusive tactic.

In his political/religious speech, Huckabee recounts a moral dilemma he faced while visiting Taiwan. He describes a custom in which Taiwanese offer a toast in honor of a special guest in which it is considered offensive not to reciprocate. Huckabee’s actions exhibit his religious choice not to consume alcohol and are a parody of President Clinton’s riposte to smoking marijuana.

So, I’m thinking, now what do I do. My Hope instincts apparently took over. I knew exactly how to handle the situation. Instinctively, I reached over, I picked up the glass, I nodded and thanked my host, and accepted his hospitality. I took the glass and I put it to my lips, but I didn’t swallow. So, it worked for me.
Huckabee’s entire religious speech is built on a comparison of President Clinton and Abimelech. Although Huckabee never verbalizes the analogy, the references to “our life,” the “twentieth century,” and the present day, builds an association. In closure, Huckabee outlines this scenario as affecting Americans today and directly links this choice to our morality:

And I tell you, if America has a sin before God, it’s that we’re looking at the Abimelech’s to lead us and in the mean time we are keeping our boats in the warehouse. Although Huckabee points to un-Godly fellowship as the root to this sin, the reference made to current leadership is undeniable and irreversible.

Although the cross-referencing figures do not appear monumental, adding the figures to political reference totals as suggested in the opening statement make the differences greater in one case and lesser in the next. As for the political/religious speech, adding the cross-reference to the political references would raise the political reference to 25.4%, elevating the margin between political and religious references to 12.4%. Adding the cross-references in the religious speech would lessen the 50% margin between religious and political references. For that reason, coding cross-references has direct application to understanding the amount of religious and political messages inherent in the Huckabee’s discourse.

Religious and Political Self-Portrait

Huckabee spends generous time in his speeches defining himself religiously and politically. His regulated self-disclosure can be separated into five categories: moral compass, messenger, selflessness, commitment, and indiscriminate.
Moral Compass

Huckabee allots most of his time to being a human compass. Often Huckabee templates a situation from his vantage point by defining his moral philosophy and by teaching us what is morally right or wrong in the particular religious or political event. The following two excerpts were chosen to exemplify Huckabee as a moral compass in the political/religious context because of his use of extended examples:

Let me tell you that from the time that I was a child in the 1950s and 1960s and the time that now my three teenage children that are growing up in the 80’s and 90’s are living. The culture contrast couldn’t be more stark. I grew up with “Leave It To Beaver,” they’re growing up with “Beavis and Butthead.” I grew up when we watched television “Father Knows Best.” Today, on television sitcom father knows nothing, he’s some bumbling idiot who has to have help to get out of the house. I remember when art was Norman Rockwell. My kids today are confronted with Robert Mapleshope. I remember when there was prayer in schools. Now, we’ve got policemen in our schools. I remember when we had Cracker Jacks. Now, kids today are confronted with crack cocaine. I remembered once when, as kids, we could play in the streets, even ride our bikes after dark at night in the neighborhoods’ cause criminals were locked up. Today, it’s our kids who are locked up behind burglar bars and electronic security because gangs and criminals are running free in the streets. I remember once, we had drive-in movies. Today, we read about drive-by shootings. Once, the Gideons would give out New Testaments to fifth graders. But, now we live in a society where school nurses are passing out condoms to the seventh graders. Teenagers once held hands to demonstrate romance, now we’ve got teenage mothers holding babies the rest of us are going to have to pay for because of the message of irresponsibility which we’ve promoted through tax dollars. There was once a time in this country when a parent believed, as my parents did, that the most fundamental responsibility of a mother or father was to be willing to lay one’s life down for a child...I knew my parents would literally have laid their lives down for me and my behalf.

But, now let me close with this warning. How we win is important, but why we win is perhaps even more important. As Christians, let us understand that we can disagree without being disagreeable. That Jesus, who lived on the planet, who is our standard is not one who came to encourage us to cynicism, but to citizenship. I do not believe he is one that would encourage us to heckle, to boo, to hiss, to be difficult and dissident, but rather to be people who are known by our love not by our animosity. Let us be the people who win not because we bust the kneecaps of our opponents and disable them in the contest, but because we offer better ideas. Ideas that work and ideas that reflect and resonate with people all over this land who deep down know that the agenda for the past generation has failed us miserably. Let us be careful that we don’t get caught up in the political rhetoric that just says get tough, get tough. We hear a lot of that and I understand it. Get tough on crime, get tough on taxes, I believe that. But, all at the same time, let us never forget to accept our responsibility in that one of the reasons we’re having to talk about getting tough, is because as Christian believers, we were the ones who failed to get tender when it really counted in the lives of people. Let us be the ones who understand that part of the reason that government has gotten too big and is trying to do things it was never intended to do such as operate charities and take care of the homeless, the hungry, and the helpless, is because some of us in church, let’s be honest, who
now complain about fifty cents of every one of our dollars going to support a bloated federal
government, are the same people who refused to give God one dime out of a dollar which should have
been going to take care of the homeless, the hurting, and the helpless.

As one would expect, Huckabee’s use of moral compass is higher in the religious
speech—15% in the political/religious speech, 31% in the religious speech (Table 4). Since
giving ethical direction is the primary function within religious discourse, moral compass is
also more evenly distributed throughout the religious speech. This even distribution is
attributed to the context as well for it reduces Huckabee’s need to harangue. Moral compass
can be found in smaller segments and is demonstrated in the following quotes:

So, I don’t know about you, but I decided long ago that I’d rather burn out than rust out and I think
that’s how God wants us to be.

You know, in many ways sometimes we forget that the leadership of a nation, if it’s corrupted, can
corrupt the whole nation. The leadership of a church, the leadership of a family, if corrupted, can
corrupt all that is within it. That’s why, on this Father’s Day, it’s so very important that everyone of us
who call ourselves fathers, recognize that the single most important responsibility that any of us have is
the responsibility that we have to be Godly men of character of decency before our families.

He was like so many whose primary interest was not in serving others but was being served by others.
There’s nothing in all the world that’s more dangerous in the heart of a person’s ambition than that a
person would desire first and foremost to be served rather than to serve.

When we believe that leadership in our government is there to make our lives simpler and easier. When
we believe that God has ordained civil government for purpose of shifting responsibility which should be
ours on to someone else’s shoulders, let us learn something from history. It is a fatal mistake.

I’m saying that it is out of the crucible that we learn character, out of the tough moments. When did the
disciples really understand the power of Jesus? Was it when they were just leisurely crossing the lake in
the boat? No, it was when the storm came.

In the political speech, moral compass is at its lowest, 11 percent; however, considering
the context, the percentage may seem high. As in the religious context, moral compass
statements seemed abridged, often without illustration. The following are examples of moral
compass in the political speech:

This is no time for political division. It is a time for putting our children and our families’ future ahead
of all other concerns.
Governor Tucker was judged by a wise, experienced, highly respected Judge from his own political party and by a jury of fellow Arkansans.

Anyone who might express some kind of sick pleasure in his tragedy is surely made of different stuff than me. We must never take joy in seeing one of our brothers or sisters in the human family stumble or fall.

As Governor, I intend to present a clear and positive direction for our state, one defined by progress, guided by fairness and justice for all our citizens.

To be unwilling to take a difficult path is to be unfit to lead others on any path.

**Table 4 Percentage of Text Units Containing Moral Compass**

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<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Number of Text Units</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religious/Political Speech</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>15%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Religious Speech</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Speech</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>11%</td>
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**Messenger**

Huckabee relates his audience to the word of God in all three contexts by means of identifying himself as a instrument of God. In the political/religious speech, Huckabee defines himself as a messenger by reasoning via comparison and by referring to Scripture.

Whatever you want to believe, let us never forget that Dr. Martin Luther King and others came right out of their spiritual convictions, out of their Biblical roots and they changed this country. I have to ask, much to our shame, why weren’t the white churches speaking out for what was right in those days.

Let us never forget that in Deuteronomy, Chapter 7, Verse 22, when God told the Israelites how they would take the promise land, He said, you’re not going to get it all at one time. You couldn’t handle it if I gave it to you. You will take it little by little...Folks, we got to keep the organization simple and understand that our process is to take back America.

Jesus told us that we are to be the salt and the light, let us be just that...Let us be what we are. Let us be the salt that preserves, the light that leads and let us stand for what we believe is right and wholesome and decent, not just for now, but for our children’s future.
In the religious speech, the entire speech could be considered a documentation of the messenger code. The context warrants that the speaker, Huckabee, is the rank and profile of a man of God. This representation of 100% due to context is represented in Table 5. Identifying himself as a messenger, someone who previously has understood his calling, Huckabee is able to explicate God’s intentions, His love, and His aspirations for His people.

And I want to speak this morning what I pray will be just the truth of God’s word. Just sticking to the truth. Let’s pray God will help me to do that.

I say that because I am convinced that we need to look at what has happened in Biblical history, because everything in the Bible is there for a specific purpose to teach us something. There’s not a single word in all the scripture I believe that is there accidentally or there superbly. Every bit of it is there because God wants to teach us something.

God is a God who is alive, he is the same yesterday, today, and forever. He’s not changing. His principles don’t change. The application indeed may change. But the root principle, the root understanding and foundation of anything in the scripture is valid.

That God would actually love us so much that rather than only demanding from us and from us and from us, here is a God who pours out to us. Serves us even at the expense of his own life by going to the cross and dying and giving everything he had including his own blood so that we would not have to pay for our own sins. He would pick up the tab for what we had done. It’s an incredible thing when you stop to think about it. Phenomenal, that God’s love would be that intense for us.

Even in his political speech, Huckabee profiles himself as a messenger by referencing Scripture:

There is power and truth as we remind ourselves that “but for the Grace of God, there go I.”

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<th>Table 5 Percentage of Text Units Containing Messenger</th>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
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<td>-----------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Religious/Political Speech</td>
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<tr>
<td>Religious Speech</td>
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<tr>
<td>Political Speech</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Selflessness

Huckabee provides narratives which articulate the hardships he has endured on his religious and political paths which demonstrate a dedication to purpose before self-concern. Selflessness was consistently utilized in each speech (Table 6).

| Table 6 Percentage of Text Units Containing Selflessness |
|---------------------------------|----------------|---------|
|                                | Frequency | Number of Text Units | Percentage |
| Religious/Political Speech     | 4         | 47                  | 8.5%       |
| Religious Speech               | 5         | 49                  | 10%        |
| Political Speech               | 7         | 62                  | 11%        |

The following narratives which demonstrate levels of selflessness are retrieved from the political/religious speech:

I found out that the battle is not over when you win. I got to the capitol, my office door was nailed shut, literally, from the inside. That’s no joke. It remained nailed shut for fifty-nine days. I worked out of a make-shift office which had been created from a vault. My chief of staff and I shared a desk and a phone. All the furniture had been stripped so we got a furniture company to donate some furniture to the office. That’s no joke. The computer hard drives had all been taken out. So, we had to get a computer company to help us get some computers. The process of state purchasing slowed up when I got to office and it took over eight weeks just to get letterhead. So, it was an unusual situation. It was sort of like, welcome to the capitol Huckabee, we’re sure glad you’re here.

I remember when I was out there on a campaign trail, and this is no joke and no exaggeration. I would watch as the candidates from the other party would be placed all in the front of the parade...They’d all be marched there in front. Everybody would cheer. They would hold my car and any other Republican candidate to the very end of the parade and we would be held and then finally after all of the floats, the scout troops, the bands, the fire trucks, and the horses had all gone, ya’ll come on in now. I cannot tell you how many times I have ridden through parades with a car driving around behind the horses.
Huckabee’s self-disclosure as messenger at points intersects with selflessness in the religious speech for doing God’s will correlates to selflessness in our society. Almost as an activity of resurrection or glossolalia Huckabee states:

And I want to speak this morning, what I pray will be just the truth of God’s words. Just sticking to the truth. Let’s pray God will help me to do that.

Huckabee also speaks of sacrifice which is an act of selflessness due to his commitment to the church.

I’m hoping that in the not too distant future, to do something that I’ve been wanting to do for a long time. That’s, get a boat. I used to have a boat when I lived in Pine Bluff. Our church got it in a building program in Texarkana. I sold my boat. I love God, but I tell you what, I’ve wondered ever since then if I wanted to sacrifice that much. I guess I did.

In the political speech, selflessness occurs at the highest level, 11 percent. Selflessness, which has taken on both a political and then a religious focus, now establishes a dual reality. Both forms of selflessness attribute to Huckabee’s transition response as we see him dismiss his own dreams, an act of selfishness, to take on Government responsibility as if it was an understood assignment from God:

My dream was to provide Arkansas with a clear voice for our children’s future in the world’s greatest deliberative body...The right thing, indeed the only thing, for me to do is to forego my campaign for the Senate and focus solely on fully and properly discharging the duties to which I have been unexpectedly called...This decision is the right one for the people of Arkansas.

Commitment

One could argue that the codes, messenger, selflessness, and commitment overlap, but enough variances exist to justify independent classifications. Commitment represented in discourse that embodied a pledge, devotion, or loyalty to God or country.
In the political/religious speech, commitment to God and the Christian Coalition’s cause are central issues. The Coalition’s primary commitment is finding ways of institutionalizing Christian values and morality and reintroducing them into our country. In addition to commitment via selflessness already cited, the other instances of commitment can be found:

Well, first of all, I want to talk about how we win and then why we win. How we win is fairly simple. First of all, we maintain our message. We do not lose focus on it.

And let us be reminded that as believers we are really like boats. If a boat never gets in the water, it’s not much of a boat. But if a boat gets filled with water, it won’t be much of a boat. If Christians do not get in the world, become active participants in the process of citizenship, we won’t be much in the way of being Christians.

Commitment in the religious speech follows the same content pattern—commitment to God and Christian values that contribute to the country’s good. Talk of commitment is central to the religious speech and hence the percentage of incidents is higher than in the other two forms (Table 7).

...so that whatever else happens to us, that on the home front, at least our children will know that we love God unapologetically.

I can tell you that there are many times in my own life when the greatest concern I have that I will spend so much effort and time traveling all over the place, trying to do what I sometimes think is the saving of everyone else’s family through different kinds of public policies, the greatest horror is that I would do that to the expense of caring about my own family. And it is a constant concern, I pray daily that the Lord will give me the proper balance.

Many of the times in our lives when we want to shift our responsibilities, responsibility and freedom is like the wings in an airplane. Somebody might ask, which one is the most important, the one on the left or the one on the right. Folks, I don’t know about you, but every time I get on an airplane I want both wings to be there.

I will tell you that the key is a understanding that in this wonderful world of ours, God wants us to be real Christians living in a real world. Christians are just like boats. Folks, boats. boats were intended to be in the water. And I’ll tell you what I’ve come to realize more and more that if a boat never gets in the water, it’s not much of a boat. But if a boat gets full of water it’s not much of a boat, cause it’s going to sink.
Table 7  Percentage of Text Units Containing Commitment

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<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Number of Text Units</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tr>
<td>Religious/Political Speech</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Speech</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Speech</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>62</td>
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Commitment in the political speech is a combination of God and state pride. The following examples illustrate:

We must rebuild faith in government.

No one can replace David Pryor, one of the most gracious and good persons to have served our state. The spirit of trust he engendered offered America a worthy portrait of Arkansas—a place of civility, respect for others, and compassion for all persons—black or white, rich or poor, Democrat or Republican.

Indiscriminate

Some forms of self-disclosure present in Huckabee's speeches were standard revelations about his personal life. Albeit standard, all self-disclosure is coded under the notion that a high percentage of occurrences of any kind that are consistent across the contexts may be capable of representing a rhetorical strategy. Forms of miscellaneous disclosure in the political/religious speech follow:

The thing that people ask me sometimes is, are you really from Hope, Arkansas. I say, yes. I really am from Hope, Arkansas. They say, what is it, is it something in the water down there. Out of a town of 8,000 people and it seems like every time we turn around, somebody is from Hope, Arkansas. But, I will say this to you, that every now and then I do think there is something about that wonderful community from which I hale that does bear some influence on many of us who get into politics.

When I paid my filing fee it was five thousand dollars. I didn't pay for it with a five thousand dollar check. I paid for it with five thousand one-dollar bills given by five thousand different Arkansans...
average contribution when I won in 1993 was nine dollars.

A much higher percentage of miscellaneous disclosures about Huckabee’s life emerge in the religious context. For example:

In 1975, when my wife was diagnosed with cancer of the spine, she and I had been married for less than a year. I was pastoring a small church. I was a student in college. We were struggling to make ends meet. It was the toughest time of our lives. The early prognosis was anything but very encouraging. In fact, it was dismal. We were told that if she lived, which she probably wouldn’t, that at best we would have to accept the fact that most likely the surgery that would be done to spare her life would take away her ability to walk permanently.

But the truth is, there’s something wonderful about getting out on the lake and I’m determined I’m going to get another boat.

A few years ago I had a little lap top with forty megabytes on the hard drive and that seems like a puny little hard drive now, but back then it was a real something. About two weeks before Christmas, thirty-three megabytes and that forty megabyte hard drive were destroyed because the hard drive completely crashed. Now for those of you non-computer types, I know this is hard for you to understand, but it’s sort of like a significant portion of your brain is suddenly unavailable for use ever again. My wife used to call my lap top computer, my brains in a bag.

Other forms of miscellaneous disclosure can be documented in the political speech.

My father, who died just a few months ago, and my mother, taught me important values as I grew up in my home town of Hope. These hard working, honest, devoted parents instilled in me the belief that one is never wrong to do what is right—and one is never right to do what is wrong.

It is my hope and belief that I will be surrounded by my faithful and devoted wife, Janet, my partner of 22 years...

In a collective view indiscriminate forms of self-disclosure characterize 7.6% of all disclosure reported (Table 8).
Table 8  Percentage of Text Units Containing Indiscriminate Disclosure

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<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Number of Text Units</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religious/Political Speech</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Speech</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>10.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Speech</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
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Religious and Political Humor

In Huckabee's rhetoric secular humor is much more prominent than religious humor. As seen in Table 9, the only case of equal or comparable percentages of the two styles of humor is in the religious speech.

Table 9  Percentage of Text Units Containing Religious and Secular Humor

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<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Number of Text Units</th>
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<tr>
<td>Religious Secular</td>
<td>.0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious/Political Speech</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Speech</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>62</td>
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</table>

Religious humor did not exist in either the political/religious speech or the political speech. Examples of religious humor used within the religious speech follow:
I sometimes have thought, when I come to churches where there is so much, just freedom in worship, that, I'll sometimes say to somebody, "I'm not worried about those folks getting to heaven, but I am afraid they may get so excited they'll run right past it."

Just recently, we finally were able to pretty much take care of all of the expenses from the last campaign of several months ago. My wife is so excited about it that she went to celebrate by buying a new dress. She came home and she showed it to me and I said, "Well, that's very nice." Now you have to understand, my wife is probably one of the most thrifty and frugal people in all the world. When I found out how much it cost, I was amazed. I mean, this is not like her. And, I said, "I cannot believe you spent that kind of money on a dress. This is sort of out of character for you." She said, "Well you know, it was so good for me to know that we weren't going to have to sell our house to pay off the campaign expenses and that was just sort of a nice thing, and so I just couldn't help myself. The temptation was just too great." And I said, "You're a Christian, you should know how to deal with temptation. When that temptation came, didn't you say, get thee behind me Satan?" And, she said, "Well yes I did. And he said it looked real good from back there, too."

Secular humor was used in all three speeches. The lowest level of secular humor within the political speech is a result of the speech's specific purpose; however, it is interesting that humor was included at all. Some examples of Huckabee's secular humor in the political/religious speech:

I feel a whole lot like a jackass at the Kentucky Derby.

I was on the plane coming out here. I was flying and the guy punched me, next to me, he says, "I got a joke I want to tell you. It's a joke about an Arkansas politician." Well, these are kind of tough days for Arkansas politicians and I said, "Excuse me, but before you say that sir, you need to understand, I am an Arkansas politician." He said, "Oh, that's O.K., I'll tell it real slowly."

A friend of mine had come up a few weeks ago and he went to lobby some of the members of Congress from his state. And he went from office to office and did his best to try and get a particular project looked at. And, he had the typical Washington experience. When he came back to Arkansas he took a nice young lady out for dinner who he had been dating for a while. At dinner, in just the overwhelming mood of the moment, he reached over the table and he was gonna just give her a nice kiss, but when he reached over to kiss her, she just rared back and busted him right in the face. He told me about this. I said, "Boy, I bet that made you mad." He says, "No, it was the first definite answer I had had all week."

Secular humor in the religious speech is exhibited as an example which shows the absurdity of sinful actions or characteristics. For example:

I ask you something, have you ever seen a monument built to Adolf Hitler? Have you ever seen a statue erected in his honor. How many people do you know who name their kids Adolf, after him? I don't know of anybody. Or, [say] "We hope our son will be little Hitler some day." How many, how many teenage rooms, you know, you see some pretty weird things on the rooms of a teenager, but I've never
seen a poster of Adolf Hitler on anybody's wall. It would be a real loony tune. Now, if you've got one on your room today, please go home and take it down before your mother comes in there and burns it up or something.

In the political speech, secular humor is used in one instance. As stated before, with the content of the speech focused on the conviction of Governor Jim Guy Tucker and the dismal effects it will have on his family, humor of any kind would seem inappropriate. Although mild, we still find an example of secular humor in Huckabee’s political speech:

I hope that the people of our State can patiently accept me as I am, giving me their support when deserved, and their strong voices of dissent when equally deserved. Given my life long identity with Arkansas, I have no doubt I’ll receive plenty of both.

By observing speech content independently, the Huckabee strategy identified and discussed in the ensuing chapter may give a new route to be pursued by inexperienced religious-based political hopefuls.
CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS

With the ongoing conflict of church and state separation, political candidates who do not voice strong religious convictions retain leverage in political affairs. The consequences of state-controlled religion creates a basic apprehension among the general public, particularly in relation to politicians with fundamentalist beliefs. However, Huckabee’s rhetoric and this research indicates that there is a way to be religious and speak religiously and still hold office.

Huckabee’s strategy is one that is founded on the issue of speaker credibility. The voting populace must believe that when issues arise that Huckabee will do the right thing, not just religiously, but also politically. Discussing the tactics exhibited in Huckabee’s rhetoric will aid in building a theoretical framework religious politicians can draw upon to maintain their religious positions but dilute the negative effects of religious talk. The textual analysis shows that Huckabee’s nonpartisan ethos is constructed by employing three rhetorical tactics: self-disclosure, logic via example, and secular humor.

Self-Disclosure

As noted by Wenburg and Wilmot (1973), the principal benefit of self disclosure is
“personal growth.” The researchers describe a person that engages in self-disclosure as a “healthy personality” and one who states “his feelings, beliefs, and goals, and accepts the consequences that follow” (p. 220).

Huckabee’s use of self-disclosure, whether it be political or religious, is a defining characteristic of his rhetorical method. Huckabee’s employment of self-disclosure is used to assure his audience of his qualifications—qualifications that state his competency in being Godly and politically galvanized proportionately. Huckabee’s disclosure is conventional; he characterizes his religious and political self as a facsimile of the expectations voters have for a public servant. He communicates first-hand experience of a modest existence to construct a common ground and to exemplify his meritorious character.

Huckabee talks of being a “cotton sock boy’s club Republican,” not the “silk stocking country club” kind. The image of a leader of the common man is represented in his political/religious speech. Huckabee reports how he paid his candidate filing fees to document his ability to influence the common man: “I paid for it with five-thousand one dollar bills given by five-thousand different Arkansans.” Huckabee’s humble and persevering character is also told by his disclosing of the “parade experience:” “They would hold my car and any other Republican candidate to the very end of the parade. And we would be held, and then finally after all of the floats, the scout troops, the bands, the fire trucks, and the horses had all gone, ‘Ya’ll come on in now’. I cannot tell you how many times I have ridden through parades with a car driving around behind the horses. It was not exactly a wonderful experience, but now things are different.”
Huckabee’s self-disclosure always templates a man with great patience and wisdom, understanding that benevolence will eventually pay off. Huckabee’s openness about his convictions is perceived as honesty which is an advantage and a personal quality that is considered scarce in the political arena.

**Logic via Example**

Self-disclosure has a direct link to using narrative examples as creditable evidence. Griffin (1976) argues that if common ground does not exist from previous association, one should establish common ground through regulated amounts of self-disclosure through narrative. Huckabee relies less on statistics and bare facts and depends heavily on imagery and narrative to build credibility and advocate his ideas on what is morally right or wrong.

"Analogies are arguments that compare things with which we are familiar, or about which there is some agreement, to things with which we are less familiar, or about which there is some question" (Herrick, 1991). Comparisons are the most frequently used form of argumentation. Three genres of analogies are found in Huckabee discourse: the literal analogy, the figurative analogy, and the contrasting analogy.

**Literal Analogy**

A literal analogy is the comparison of two things, one that is familiar and one that is unfamiliar, from a similar realm of experience. Huckabee’s employment of the literal analogy is
observable in the political/religious speech and the religious speech.

In the political/religious speech, Huckabee compares the discrimination endured by Christian conservatives and the movement for a Christian voice with the past prejudice experienced by African Americans and their battle for equal rights.

Why in the world should we be ashamed of what it is we believe? I don’t think we ever have to apologize for being who we are or what we are. I grew up in the deep South in the 1950s and 1960s. I remember very vividly that there were racist in those days who treated black people with the attitude of, black people are O.K. as long as they stay in their place. I remember hearing that as a child. But, thank God he raised up some people, some leaders out of the churches. What ever you want to believe, let us never forget that Dr. Martin Luther King and others came right out of their spiritual convictions, out of their Biblical roots and they changed this country. I have to ask, much to our shame, where were the white churches speaking out for what was right in those days? But thank God there were people who were willing to take the heat, bare the brunt and let us never forget that the Civil Rights movement was largely a movement that rose right out of the pew s and pulpits of churches across the south as people with conviction and conscience understood that what was happening was wrong and this idea of, putting people in their place was missing the mark...Thank God that there were spiritual people who are willing to bring that message to bare.

Although the evidence case does not support the conclusion case, the comparison still exists.

The literal analogy contained in the religious speech was a direct comparison between how Huckabee and the disciples learned to have faith in God.

In 1975, when my wife was diagnosed with cancer of the spine, she and I had been married for less than a year. I was pastoring a small church. I was a student in college. We were struggling to make ends meet. It was the toughest time of our lives. The early prognosis was anything but very encouraging. In fact, it was dismal. We were told that if she lived, which she probably wouldn’t, that at best we would have to accept the fact that most likely the surgery that would be done to spare her life would take away her ability to walk permanently. I want to tell you, that wasn’t good news. You learn a lot of thing in those moments. Faith does not become some abstract thou^ feat someone preaches. It becomes something you better either have or die by. And I will so vividly remember during that period of time learning how to really pray, learning how to really walk with God and trust God in a way that I’ve never had to before, because I never had to before. I’m saying that it is out of the crucible that we learn character, out of the tough moments. When did the disciples really understand the power of Jesus? Was it when they were just leisurely crossing the lake in the boat? No, it was when the storm came. And it was so rough of a storm that even the experienced sailors on board couldn’t handle it and they went back to Jesus who was back there on the pillows sound asleep. And they woke him up and said, "Master,
don't you care that we’re going to die...Isn’t that the way we react most of the time. Selfishly, impulsively concerned about our future rather than His future.

The other literal analogy used in the religious speech was at the core of the entire message. Huckabee’s sermon, which was titled Freedom, expounded upon the sinfulness of delegating all personal and societal responsibility to the government. He does not name President Clinton as the ungodly leader, but Clinton’s role parallels the role of Abimelech. The comparison insists that the audience supply this proposition, a comparison in characteristic of an enthymeme.

Back to Judges, Chapter 9, and Abimelech. He says to the people who have now a roughly seventy leaders over them. Ant that’s a lot of leaders to have. But, Abimelech says, "You know, you’ve got so many people who are ruling over you and I’ll be willing to take the role of single, sole, leader of your lives and of the nation. If you will just elect me king, I’ll get rid of all the other seventy leaders and I will become your only ruler.” I want you to notice what he said, because I believe there is a real important lesson for us today.

And I tell you that, if we look at Abimelech and what he promised the people and what he did, we will look at ourselves in the twentieth century as we come to the end of the twentieth century in America, and we will shutter with fear because we have repeated the mistake.

Figurative Analogy

Whereas a literal analogy compares two things of the same realm of experience; a figurative analogy compares the relationship of two things of different realms of experience. A figurative analogy, with slight variations, consistently appears in all three of Huckabee’s speeches. This analogy intended both for illustration and for argumentation deals with boats, boat warehouses, and/or a captain of a ship.

In the political/religious speech, Huckabee compares Christian believers to boats.

And let us be reminded that as believers we are really like boats. If a boat never gets in the water, it’s not much of a boat. But if a boat gets filled with water, it won’t be much of a boat. If Christians do not get in the world, become active participants in the process of citizenship, we won’t be
much in the way of being Christians. But if we get out there and we use these same tactics and we use
the same mean rhetoric and we use the same harshness of spirit, then we won’t be much Christians
either.

With more detailed composition the comparison between Christians and boats is
recounted in the religious speech. The warehouse is added as a comparison to a house of
worship.

Though, imagine what would happen if you heard that I had gotten a boat, by the way, I don’t want just
any boat, I mean I want a nice boat. I’ve often said I’d like to get a 19 foot Ranger Bass boat with a 150
mercury motor on it, a motor guide trolling on the front, the whole works... if you ever heard I’ve gotten
a boat, imagine how silly it would be if you say, “How’s it running?” And I gave you this answer. I
said, “Oh, I hadn’t turned the motor on.” “Do what?” “Oh I haven’t turned the motor on because if I
turn the motor on it might burn up. I mean, something could happen to it, it could wear out...Oh man, I
keep it in a warehouse. There’s a bunch of us boat owners. We all have our boats down in this
warehouse. And, every weekend when we get off work, man, we all rush down to the warehouse. We
set up there in the warehouse sitting up in our boats. We wave at each other and we talk boats. We read
boat books. We study boats. We bring in films and videos on boats and boating. And we get together
and pool our money and we’ll get together and collect enough that we can actually bring in someone to
speak to us whose actually been out on the water. And he comes in and talks to us about what it’s
really like out there on the water. And man, we feel so good about that. We give him more money so he
can go back out on the water and then come back and tell us what it’s like...We have such a warm
fellowship among us boat owners. When the end of the weekend comes, we polish up our boats for the
last time, we turn off the lights, close the doors, wave good-bye and promise that we’ll see each other
next weekend when we get together down at the warehouse.

Can you imagine anything so crazy in all your life as to spend the thousands of dollars it takes to get a
nice boat these days and to do nothing more with it than to put it in a warehouse and to think that we are
really interested in boating? Yet, my dear friends, I look at my country and I ask myself, “How really
interested are we who call ourselves Christians in changing this world of ours when we still view our
faith as something like a boat in a warehouse?” And on the weekends we go and get all interested in it...

In the political speech, Huckabee does not deviate from his boating analogy as he
describes himself as the captain at the bow, waging battle.

But duty comes ahead of personal desire. My responsibility is to lead this state as its Governor, and to
devote my full energy and attention to discharging the awesome responsibilities of this great position of
public trust. With a storm raging and cannons firing at our hull, this is no time for the captain to jump
ship for another boat.
Contrasting Analogy

Contrasting analogies compares two similar things of the same realm in order to identify and explain the differences. Huckabee uses a contrasting analogy in his political/religious speech in order to ascertain for the audience the contrariety of moral accountability in the 1950's juxtaposed to our contemporary milieu. This contrasting analogy is used as proof that the “liberal agenda” that has captured our culture is the basis of moral decline in our society.

And we need to remind the people of America why it is that organizations like this are capturing the attention because we are tired of seeing the liberal agenda capture the culture. People have seen the difference. Let me tell you that from the time that I was a child in the 1950s and 1960s and the time that now my three teenage children that are growing up in the 80's and 90's are living. The culture contrast couldn’t be more stark. I grew up with “Leave it to Beaver,” they’re growing up with “Beavis and Butthead.” I grew up when we watched television “Father Knew Best.” Today, on television sitcom father knows nothing—he’s some bumbling idiot who has to have help to get out of the house. I remember when art was Norman Rockwell. My kids today are confronted with Robert Mapplethorpe. I remember when there was prayer in schools. Now, we’ve got policemen in our schools. I remember when we had Cracker Jacks. Now, kids today are confronted with crack cocaine. I remember once when, as kids, we could play in the streets, even ride our bikes after dark at night in the neighborhoods cause criminals were locked up. Today, it’s our kids who are locked up behind burglar bars and electronic security because gangs and criminals are running free in the streets. I remember once we had drive-in movies. Today, we read about drive by shootings. Once, the Gideons would give out New Testaments to fifth graders. But, now we live in a society where school nurses are passing out condoms to the seventh graders. Teenagers once held hands to demonstrate romance, now we’ve got teenage mothers holding babies the rest of us are going to have to pay for because of the message of irresponsibility which we’ve promoted through tax dollars. There was once a time in this country when a parent believed, as my parents did, that the most fundamental responsibility of a mother and father was to be willing to lay one’s life down for a child...I knew my parents would literally have laid their lives down for me and my behalf. And I want you to contrast that attitude of parents when I grew up with the attitude today that has prevailed because of the culture of abortion.

Through analogies Huckabee urges the audience to accept arguments for or against an unknown by referencing something familiar. This logic via the use of narrative example seems to be the sole evidence method that Huckabee uses to bolster credibility and endorsement.
Secular Humor

"Political campaigns have become, to me, a whole lot like Wonder Bras. You take what you've got, and you try to arrange it in such a way that at the appropriate moment, you're pushed over the top," stated Huckabee in his keynote address at the 1996 annual convention of the Christian Coalition. This comment is not an isolated moment of entertainment in the discourse of Governor Mike Huckabee. Secular humor is a large part of Huckabee's repertoire, and serves as his third rhetorical strategy to counterbalance his religiosity. Kiely and Fullerton (1996) used the euphemism "rhetorical liberties" when describing Huckabee's use of secular humor. Anyway you look at it, the high percentages of secular humor found in Huckabee's speeches is compelling enough to be recognized for its effect on his rhetoric.

Larson indicated in his work, Persuasion: Reception and Responsibility (1995), that humor is either a part of the speaker's style or is used as a diversion tactic. In Huckabee's case it accomplishes both objectives. The frequency of humor in his speeches and his past reputation as a practical joker attests to the fact that humor is part of his style. However, that the humor is secular in nature also helps this rhetorical strategy to serve as a diversion tactic. The research does not indicate that Huckabee's use of secular humor was a calculated attempt to balance a religious effect, but humor is a pronounced part of his rhetoric that makes him a successful religious politician.

Three rhetorical tools outline the Huckabee strategy: Self-disclosure, logic via
example, and secular humor. This may only be a small link, but perhaps a significant one in building cohesion between political and religious rhetoric.
CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The results of this study suggest that despite the disunity between our political system and our religious order, a nexus has taken place. The intention of this researcher was to identify what language strategies existed in a successful religious politician's rhetoric that might be a link to political success. In the examination of three of Huckabee's speeches, each chosen for its different context, consistent patterns emerged. Huckabee's discourse directs us to his application of three rhetorical strategies: Self-disclosure, logic via example, and secular humor. A combination of the rhetorical strategies benefits Huckabee by neutralizing the aftereffect of immoderate religious speech. Although not apodictic, this investigation will contribute to the development of rhetorical frameworks for the religious-based politician.

Limitations and Future Research

Limitations to this study consisted of the number of speeches that could be accessed during the outset of the analysis. Moreover studying multiple texts in each context might have revealed additional rhetorical strategies used by Huckabee. An extended study with more participants would presumably gather a larger pool of rhetorical strategies and therefore testing
for consistency could be operable. However, an extended research project would have been too expansive for a thesis. Furthermore, finding more successful religious politicians that apply to the criteria of Huckabee's selection could prove challenging, possibly making an extended study impossible.

This study leaves us to contemplate the future of religious/political rhetoric. Although expanded cohesion will be gradual, I would speculate that we will witness in the future a greater nexus between religious/political rhetoric. A direct correlation might be found between higher status religious-politicians, like Huckabee, being elected in areas where a preponderance of lower status religious-politicians exist in result of grassroots campaigns.
APPENDIX I

Coding System

I. Political/Religious Context
   A. Religious References
      1. Self-Portrait
         a. Messenger
         b. Moral Compass
         c. Selflessness
         d. Commitment
      2. Cross-References
      3. Religious Humor
   B. Political References
      1. Self-Portrait
         a. Messenger
         b. Moral Compass
         c. Selflessness
         d. Commitment
      2. Cross-References
3. Secular Humor

II. Religious Context

A. Religious References

1. Self-Portrait
   a. Messenger
   b. Moral Compass
   c. Selflessness
   d. Commitment

2. Cross-References

3. Religious Humor

B. Political References

1. Self-Portrait
   a. Messenger
   b. Moral Compass
   c. Selflessness
   d. Commitment

2. Cross-References

3. Secular Humor

III. Political Context

A. Religious References

1. Self-Portrait
   a. Messenger
b. Moral Compass

c. Selflessness

d. Commitment

2. Cross-References

3. Religious Humor

B. Political References

1. Self-Portrait
   a. Messenger
   b. Moral Compass
   c. Selflessness
   d. Commitment

2. Cross-References

3. Secular Humor
APPENDIX II

Religious Speech

Speaker: Mike Huckabee
Date: 18 June 1995
Topic: Freedom
Location: Life Center Church
Pastor Larry Pyle
3001 East "H" Street
Russellville, AR 72801

Well, I'll tell you what, I've had many wonderful and blessed experiences. This is the first time I've been interviewed just prior to actually opening up the scriptures to speak. Thank goodness it wasn't John Brummett doing the interviewing, I guess, right. I don't think I would be in any mood to preach after that. This is a great thrill and pleasure for me to be with you today. I want to say, first of all, what an exciting worship time that you've had here today, and I appreciate that more than I can tell you. And, I mean that sincerely. You've got to understand, these old Baptist bones of mine might not move around as well as some of your's, but it's not that I don't enjoy it and appreciate every, every moment of it. I, sometimes have thought, when I come to churches where there is so much, just freedom in the worship, that, I'll sometimes say to somebody, I'm not worried about those folks getting to heaven, but I am afraid they may get so excited they'll run right past it. So, I don't know about you, but I decided long ago that I'd whether burn out than rust out and I think that's how God wants us to be. But, this has been a wonderful, wonderful atmosphere here today, just a real freedom and what a pleasure. I say that because also, your pastor has been a real friend to me and through the last several years when I've had the privilege of knowing him just as a brother in Christ and also one who does a regular television program. We've done several interviews together. I've always been impressed with his integrity and his character, his real single minded devotion to the Lord.

We had a special treat this year when Chris, the pastor's son became one of our summer volunteer workers in the office during his time away from law school out in Virginia at Regent University. And, one of the things that I was so thrill by, not only was Chris getting married here recently and all of that, but as even in the few days that he was there with us, already, anyone who had any contact with him just remarked over and over to us about what an intelligent, bright, and wonderfully helpful person her was. So, I don't know what Chris' future is, but I hope it involves coming back to Arkansas when he gets his law degree. We need a whole lot more like him and I'm just so grateful that Chris has been a part of our office. He introduced me today to his wife, he said I want you to meet...
my new wife. I said, I didn't know there was an old one. He said, well this is my first 
wife. I said, I hope it stays that way Chris, that's great.

I just have had a great week. We, yesterday, saw a lot of inventors come together 
in the hall of industry down in Little Rock for what we call the Arkansas Idea Symposium. 
And it was really a fascinating thing to see. All of these people with their inventions and 
innovations come together and hope to find a market place for them. Those are the sort 
of good moments of state government, the ones you really enjoy. There are other tough 
ones, like the political times. I'm not going to go into a lot of that today, but just recently, 
we finally were able to pretty much take care of all of the expenses from the last campaign 
of several months ago. My wife is so excited about it that she went to celebrate by buying 
a new dress. She came home and she showed it to me and I said well that's very nice. 
Now you have to understand, my wife is probably one of the most thrifty and frugal 
people in all the world. When I found out how much it cost, I was amazed. I mean, this is 
not like her. And, I said, I can not believe you spent that kind of money on a dress. This 
is sort of out of character for you. She said, well you know, it was so good for me to 
know that we weren't going to have to sell our house to pay off the campaign expenses 
and that was just sort of a nice thing, and so I just couldn't help my self. The temptation 
was just too great. And I said, you're a Christian, you should know how to deal with 
temptation. When that temptation came, didn't you say, get thee behind me Satan. And, 
she said, well yes I did. And he said it looked real good from back there too. I'm just 
really concerned about with what's happening with her these days.

How many of you here have computers or have messed with them enough to get 
utterly frustrated? Let me see you hands. Cause if you've ever had one or dealt with one, 
you've been frustrated. All of us have experienced that learning curve with dealing with 
computers. A few years ago I had a little lap top with forty megabytes on the hard drive 
and that seems like a puny little hard drive now, but back then it was a real something. 
About two weeks before Christmas, thirty-three megabytes and that forty megabyte hard 
drive were destroyed because the hard drive completely crashed. Now, for those of you 
non-computer types, I know this is hard for you to understand, but it's sort of like a 
significant portion of your brain is suddenly unavailable for use ever again. My wife use to 
call my lab top computer, my brains in a bag. And I had so much information there. And 
like most computer users, didn't have the good sense to back it up because, crashing the 
hard drive is something that would happen to another person, not to me. Well it did. I 
found out that it was unrecoverable because what had happened, there was a sector on the 
hard, which was corrupted and because that one sector was sector was corrupted, the who 
hard drive was destroyed. You know, in many ways sometimes we forget that the 
leadership of a nation, if it's corrupted, can corrupt the whole nation. The leadership of a 
church, the leadership of a family, if corrupted, can corrupt all that is within it. That's 
why, on this father's day, it's so very important that everyone of us who call ourselves 
fathers, recognize that the single most important responsibility that any of us have is the 
responsibility that we have to be Godly men of character of decency before our families, 
so that whatever else happens to us, that on the home front, at least our children will know 
that we love God unapologetically. I can tell you that there are many times in my own life 
when the greatest concern I have that I will spend so much effort and time travelling all 
over the place, trying to do what I sometimes think is the saving of everyone else family 
through different kinds of public policies, the greatest horror is that I would do that to the 
expense of caring about my own family. And it is a constant concern, I pray daily that the 
Lord will give me the proper balance. I say that because I am convinced that we need to 
look at what has happened in Biblical history, because everything in the Bible is there for a 
specific purpose to teach us something. There's not a single word in all the scripture I
believe that is there accidentally or there superbly. Every bit of it is there because God wants to teach us something.

Folks, I believe the Bible is inspired from Genesis all the way through Revelation. I'd rather go to Heaven and find out I believed too much than get there and find out I believed too little. So I just believe it all. I even believe the maps are inspired, the index and the whole thing, just because I don't want to miss anything. I want to be on the right side of that. And as I look through the scripture, I never just look to say, what happened back then. I'm looking to say, what happened back then that tells me and helps me to understand what's happening now, because there's nothing in the Bible that is just for quote "back there". I just am amazed that people say, well you know, but that was back in those times, these are these times. God is a God who is alive, he is the same yesterday, today, and forever. He's not changing. His principles don't change. The application indeed may change. But the root principle, the root understanding and foundation of anything in the scripture is valid.

And, today, I want us to think about a very important lesson from an Old Testament Book, the Old Testament Book of the Judges, chapter 9. If you have a Bible and would like to read with me, even though it would be perhaps appropriate to read the whole chapter, time would probably not permit that, so I am just going to read a few of the verses from Judges, chapter 9. And I want to speak this morning, what I pray will be just the truth of God's word. Just sticking to the truth. Let's pray God will help me to do that. I want to be like the Judge who one time went to the dentist. The judge went to the dentist he says, dentist, won't you to pull the tooth, the whole tooth, and nothing but the tooth. Well I want to stick to the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

Judges, chapter 9, in verse 1, the Bible says; And A-bim'e-lech the son of Je-rub'ba-al went to his mother's brothers in She'chem and sent to them in all of his mother's clan, ask all the citizens of She'chem which is better for you, to have all seventy of Je-rub'ba-al's sons rule over you or just one man. Remember, I am your flesh and blood. When the brothers repeated all of the to the citizens of She'chem they were inclined to follow A-bim'e-lech for they said, he is our brother. They gave him seventy silver shekels from the temple of Ba'al-be'rith and A-bim'e-lech used them to hire reckless adventurers who became his followers. He went to his father's home in Oph'-rah and on one stone murdered his seventy brothers, the sons of Je-rub'ba-el, but Jo'tham, the youngest son of Je-rub'ba-el escaped by hiding. Then all the citizen of She'chem and Mi'lo gathered beside the great tree, at the pillar in She'chem to crown A-bim'e-lech the king.

Let me pause with those first six verses and set the stage for what happened in this passage or scripture. A-bim'e-lech was the son of Gideon and what had happened was is that he had an unusual quest to be the leader of his people. Unfortunately his desire to be the leader of his people was not so much for the gain of the people, but was for the glory of himself. He was like so many whose primary interest was not in serving others but was being served by others. There's nothing in all the world that's more dangerous in the heart of a persons ambition than that a person would desire first and foremost to be served rather than to serve. Fast forward if you will to the New Testament, when Jesus said in Mark, Chapter 10, verse 45; That the son of man came not to be served but to serve and to give his life for ransom for many. If there's any one thing that sums up, what was the greatness of God who became human flesh in the person of Jesus Christ, what was it that God so characterized himself as in revealing himself through the flesh of Jesus, it was that he came not as one to be served but to serve. I mean, completely obliterated what we typically would thing that our God would want us to be like. That God would actually love us so much that rather than only demanding from us and from us and from us, here is
a God who pours out to us, serves us even at the expense of his own life by going to the cross and dying and giving everything he had including his own blood so that we would not have to pay for our own sins. He would pick up the tab for what we had done. It's an incredible thing when you stop to think about it. Phenomenal, that God's love would be that intense for us.

Now put it in reverse gear. Back to Judges, Chapter 9, and A-bim'e-lech. He says to the people who have now a roughly seventy leaders over them. And that's a lot of leaders to have. But, A-bim'e-lech says, you know, you've got so many people who are ruling over you and I'll be willing to take the role of single, sole, leader of your lives and of the nation. If you will just elect me king, I'll get rid of all the other seventy leaders and I will become your only ruler. I want you to notice what he said, because I believe there is a real important lesson for us today. He says, let me be your king and I will simplify your life. I'll make life easier for you. I'll take on your problems. I will care for you in a way no one else has. Get rid of the other seventy. Get rid of all of this confusion of the government of our land being under seventy people, put it solely and singularly in my hands and I will make your life simpler and will make your life easier. I think we would do well to learn a warning from God's word and from history. Just as A-bim'e-lech sought to vest power in himself and the guides of making life simpler, the people didn't realize that they would actually make their lives more miserable than they had ever imagined. If there was a great sin in America today, it is not the sin so much that comes as a result of bad leadership. It's the sin which happens as the result of un-Godly followship. When we believe that leadership in our government is there to make our lives simpler and easier. When we believe that God has ordained civil government for purpose of shifting responsibility which should be ours on to someone else's shoulders. Let us learn something from history. It is a fatal mistake. As the people shifted their power from the seventy leaders who shared the responsibility of governing them and who had some balance because there were enough of them so that the power was not so fixed in the one person or one group of people. When it was shifted over to A-bim'e-lech, he brought a reign of terror upon the people the likes of which they had never seen or even imagined. Kruechev once said that politicians promised to build a bridge even when there's no water. Beware when people tell you they're going to make your life easier. That may not be God's will for any of us. You see, we need to understand that God's primary goal for even creating us is not so that we can find a new level of personal comfort, it is so we can find the highest level of personal character. And, sometimes character is not always at the expense or always in the vein of personal comfort. I would dare say that in most of our lives that the most important lessons of character we ever learn were the lessons that we learned from the tough times of our lives not from the easy times of our lives.

In 1975, when my wife was diagnosed with cancer of the spine, she and I had been married for less than a year. I was pastoring a small church. I was a student in college. We were struggling to make ends meet. It was the toughest time of our lives. The early prognosis was anything but very encouraging. In fact, it was dismal. We were told that if she lived, which she probably wouldn't, that at best we would have to accept the fact that most likely the surgery that would be done to spare her life would take away her ability to walk permanently. I want to tell you, that wasn't good news. You learn a lot of things in those moments. Faith does not become some abstract thought that someone preaches. It becomes something you better either have or die by. And I will so vividly remember during that period of time learning how to really pray, learning how to really walk with God and trust God in a way that I've never had to before, because I never had to before. I'm saying that it is out of the crucible that we learn character, out of the tough moments. When did the disciples really understand the power of Jesus. Was it when they were just leisurely crossing the lake in the boat. No, it was when the storm came. And it was so
rough of a storm that even the experienced sailors on board couldn't handle it and they
gave back to Jesus who back there on the pillows sound asleep. And they woke him up
and said, Master, don't you care that we're going to die. Every time I read that I just, just
burst out laughing. Now, now picture this. Only person on board the boat who wasn't
worried about it was Jesus. I mean, here he is King of Kings, Lord of Lords, the
Everything and the All of Eternity, this is, we're not talking about guy that's career here,
we're talking about eternity for all of us is at stake if he goes and drowns in the sea of
Galilee. You ever though about that. I mean, if this storm comes up and he drowns, there
is no cross, there is no empty grave, and we're all dead in our sins forever. In fact, I guess
if that happens, I've never thought about it in the most abstract sense, it's one of those
imponderables, but you know, what happens to God if Jesus dies in the river, I mean, you
know, who knows. My point is, did the deciples go back there and say Jesus wake up,
don't you realize that if something happens to you everything we're about is down the
 tubes. No, they didn't say that. What did they say? Jesus we're really concerned about
you and your future. No, they went back there and said, Lord don't you care that we are
going to die. Isn't that the way we react most of the time. Selfishly, impulsively
concerned about our future rather than his future. Concerned about our reputation rather
than the reputation of Christ. Concerned about what people think of us rather than what
people think of him. Concerned about what's going to happen to us in the next ten months
rather than what's going to happen to the Kingdom of God in the next millennium. And in
this same way, it was A-bim'e-lech who said, trust me, I'll make your life easier. Get rid of
these other seventy leaders and let me be your single sole leader. And they did. Because
the people wanted to be freed from making personal decisions because personal decisions
result in personal responsibility. I'm convinced that one of the great curses upon American
is the curse that we can not blame on anyone but ourselves and that is the curse of
believing that life would be better if we could escape that which is uniquely our own
responsibility which comes by our own decisions. We're living in a day where the great
peril is that of dictatorship. And the reason that is so much of a peril before us is because
under dictatorship, if the one person is wrong, then all under him will suffer dramatically
with very little means of remedy. You see, leadership like that ought to be shunned
because it makes the leader solely responsible for the outcome. The reason that happens is
because it usually is a revelation of cowardness in those who follow and it's usually a
indication of corruption in the leader. Beware my fellow Christian brothers and sisters,
when people tell you that they want to make your life easier and simpler and take
responsibility from you and consequences of your actions away from you and place it
upon themselves, because someone who can take away your responsibility can take away
your freedom to make the decision of responsibility. There is no such thing as freedom
without also the balance of our responsibility.

It's like getting on an airplane. I understand Brother Larry was on a flight last
week and he was telling how relaxed he was. He got on the flight and he said they were
backing out of the gate, the next thing he remembered he was landing in St. Louis. He
flies a little differently than some of you. Some of you, you know, you say, I don't believe
God wants us to fly, and I can say how come, it's not in the Bible and Jesus say's don't fly,
I said, it doesn't say that, yes it does, Jesus said, low I am with you always. Many of the
times in our lives when we want to shift our responsibilities, responsibility and freedom is
like the wings in an airplane. Somebody might ask, which one is the most important, the
one on the left or the one on the right. Folks, I don't know about you, but every time I get
on an airplane I want both wings to be there. Without both of them, it won't fly. And the
freedom that we so embrace cannot be real freedom unless it is balanced with real
responsibility on our part. A-bim'e-lech said, oh you can have all of the freedom you
want, I'll take all of the responsibility. Well, it didn't work. He went out and hired
reckless adventurers, the scripture says to kill the other seventy leaders and that's exactly
what they did. He failed to understand that real leadership is helping others to do their very best, not simply the lord over others, cause good leaders are those who never ask of others what they themselves are unwilling to do. We're living in a very frightening kind of world in which people don't want to accept responsibility for anything. We hear, that's not my problem. A few years ago the nation was shocked when a New York City, Kittie Genevicie, a young lady was brutally murdered on the streets of New York City, as thirty-eight people watched it take place for nearly half an hour and not one single person called the police because when they later were interviewed, they said, I didn't think it was my responsibility. We've completely come to the point of being like Cain who says, who am I my brother's keeper and the blood of the ground said, you were, you just weren't a very good keeper.

A-bim'e-lech killed many people. He was a ruthless terrible leader. Yet, he promised that he would make life better and make life easier. But I would say to you something today that I hope you will remember very well, is that when A-bim'e-lech was finally dead, and if you read the rest of the chapter, which I hope you will do this afternoon, you'll discover that he finally died when he was getting ready to enter into a tower and a woman at the top of the tower dropped a mill stone over off the tower and cracked his skull. Now he was mortally wounded but not quite dead and this was the day long before the quality of the genders. He was so humiliated at the thought that he would be killed by a woman that he asked his assistant to run him through with a sword so that at least his death would be at the hand of a warrior rather than at the hand of a woman who hit him in the head with a stone. He died such a brutal and ugly and humiliating death. But it interesting that when he's gone so is is work. And so it is with corrupt leadership. I ask you something, have you ever seen a monument built to Adolf Hitler. Have you ever seen a statue erected in his honor. How many people do you know who name their kids Adolf, after him? I don't know of anybody. Oh, we hope our son will be little Hitler some day. How many, how many teenage rooms, you know, you see some pretty weird things on the rooms of a teenager, but I've never seen a poster of Adolf Hitler on anybody's wall. It would be a real loony tune. Now, if you've got one on your room today, please go home and take it down before your mother comes in there and burns it up or something. I mean, let's face it, we don't honor people like that. And, what's wrong with us when we honor the spirit of those who tell us that life would be better if we turned our responsibilities over to others? Let me tell you why it's Biblically wrong.

One of the great debates today in the shaping of the sorts of policies we will live by is this; whether the world view we base it on is one that's based on the idea that we are basically sinners or are we basically good, descent, wonderful, benevolent, and kind people. And everything really comes down to that one issue, the nature of man, if you really think about it. Because if we really are good, wholesome, loving, caring, and kind by nature, then all we really need is what some would tell us is all we really need and that's more education and economic justice. Economic parity for everybody. That the problems of crime, poverty and disease are really the results of ignorance and economic injustice. Change what's in a person's head and change what's in his pocket and you will change society and you will empty the prisons, and you will be able to solve social ills, and we can attack the teen pregnancy rate, and we can deal with sexually transmitted disease, and we will be able to calm the stemming, just overwhelming tide of gang violence in out streets. Now, if indeed it is true that we are basically good, kind, benevolent, wonderful, and cheerful and all we need is education and economic justice, that'll work. There's just one real problem with it, it's not true.

The Bible has a different picture about who we are as human beings. The Bible says we're not little gods, we are rebellious against God and our basic nature is one of self
centeredness. The Bible calls it sin. Someone was said is a little "s", it's a little "n", it's a great big "I" in the middle. It's a self centeredness where we are so concerned about I think, I believe, I want, and if you don't believe that we are by nature selfish, how many of you who have raised children on this father's day can honestly admit that you didn't have to teach your children to do bad things, but you did have to train them to do the right things. How many of you took your little infant crawling around on the floor child into the kitchen and said, come on son I want to show you how to pull things off the coffee table and make a mess in the kitchen. Come on now, you've never made a mess, let's show you how. No, you don't have to show them how to do that. They come by it naturally. A newborn coming home from the hospital exhibits these traits of self centeredness. It’s been a long ordeal waiting for this kid to show up, nine months you've waited. By the time he gets here, everyone is worn out. Get him home from the hospital, you'd think he'd have a little respect for the clock, and at 2:00 in the morning, he's up there bellowing his lungs out wanting to be changed and wanting to be fed. You know, you could just holler down the hall, hey kid it's 2:00 in the morning, why don't you wait til morning like the rest of us. Do you think that's going to satisfy him. Oh, excuse me I didn't realize what time it was, well sure I'll wait. It doesn't work that way does it. He wants his food now. He wants to be changed now. Now does that mean he's some little Jeffrey Dahmer type laying in the crib just because he's selfish. No, I didn't say that sin means brutal and brutish, I just simply said that he has a self centered nature. It's evident by the time he comes out of the womb. He's born that way. We all are, that is our nature. And when that nature is never brought under control, and that nature is not harnessed by the saving grace of Jesus Christ or it is not at least harnessed by the law which so consequences outrageous selfish behavior, that people don't feel it's worth it. One of the two things has to happen or else that kids going to grow up with a completely, totally, reckless abandon to anything that even resembles kindness and civility. He will be what we're turning out day after day in our streets today. A person who looks human, but who does not think human in the way in which you and I would define it. A person whose self centered nature is so un-checked, he is completely abandoned to anything of right and wrong.

And I tell you that, if we look at A-bim'e-lech and what he promised the people and what he did, we will look at ourselves in the twentieth century as we come to the end of the twentieth century in America, and we will shutter with fear because we have repeated the mistake. We have somehow believed that it was someone else's responsibility to take care of us. It was somebody else's fault if we didn't turn out well. And so a child who murders another, we will say, oh it's not really his fault, it's societies, it's his parent's, it's television. All which may have contributed, but none, let us never forget, God holds us responsible for our actions and part of the reason that our society is collapsing is because, like A-bim'e-lech, we were so willing and are so willing to shift all responsibility for our lives over to someone else, be it our pastors, our parents, or our government.

Our only God, and that our lives are not to be shifted in return of responsibility to any political leader or platform. We are to accept the responsibility upon ourselves and God is to be the one to whom we look beyond our selves. And all government can do is to help to sort of contain us within that boundary. That's all God ever intended it to be, nothing more than that. And that if we ever believe it is our hope, then we are destined for failure. I believe that's the great need of America today, the great need of our lives. I will tell you that the key is a understanding that in this wonderful world of our, God wants us to be real Christians living in the real world. Christians are just like boats. Folks, boats, boats were intended to be in the water. And I'll tell you what I've come to realize more and more that if a boat never gets in the water, it's not much of a boat. But if a boat gets full of water it's not much of a boat, cause it's going to sink. If a Christian never gets out in the world, he won't be much of a Christian. But if a Christian gets full of the world,
he won't be much of a Christian cause he'll sink in it. And far too many Christians say I just want to come to church and let that little part of my life be separate from all the rest of my life. Well, that won't work. We can't look to the A-bim'e-lech's of the world and say here, you take all my responsibility. Here A-bim'e-lech you make my life easier. You make my life simple. We can't turn those things over to the A-bim'e-lech's of this world, cause God wants us to share and shoulder that responsibility.

I'm hoping that in the not to distant future, to do something that I've been wanting to do for a long time. That's, get a boat. I use to have a boat when I lived in Pine Bluff. Our church got in a building program in Texarkana. I sold my boat. I love God, but I tell you what, I've wondered ever since then if I wanted to sacrifice that much. I guess I did. But the truth is, there's something wonderful about getting out on the lake and I'm determined I'm going to get another boat. So, one of the days, you're going to hear that I've gotten back into fishing and I've gotten a boat again and I'm out there on the water. And when you do, you'll know that the promise to myself has been fulfilled. One that I'm praying everyday the Lord will honor. You ever had one of those? Yes you have, you're just not admitting it, I know. Next Sunday the Pastor is going to preach on lying and all of you will have to repent.

Though, imagine what would happen if you heard that I had gotten a boat, by the way, I don't want just any boat, I mean I want a nice boat. I've often said I'd like to get a 19 foot Ranger Bass boat with a 150 mercury motor on it, a motor guide trolling on the front, the whole works. I'm kind of specific about it. The Bible says, you have not, because you hint not. I mean, you know, I might as well. I'm kidding. But the truth is, if you ever that I've gotten a boat, imagine how silly it would be if you say, how's it running and I gave you this answer. I said, oh I hadn't turned the motor on. Do what? Oh, I haven't turned the motor on because if I turn the motor on it might burn up. I mean, something could happen to it, it could wear out. Motors, they do that. I'd run gas and oil through it and get it all messy. Oh, I wouldn't do that. Not to my new motor. Well, how do you power it through the water? Water! Heaven sakes man, I'm not going to put it out in the water. Have you looked at the river lately? You see what kind of stuff float down through there. Well there's all kinds of dirty things. I don't want all that over my boat. I've got a beautiful boat. I keep it waxed and washed and polished up. I don't want to put it out in the water where I could hit a stump and knock a hole in it. I'm not going to do that. Well tell me, what do you do with your boat? Oh man, I keep it in a warehouse. There's a bunch of us boat owners. We all have our boats down in this warehouse. And, every weekend when we get off work, man we all rush down to the warehouse. We set up there in the warehouse sitting up in our boats. We wave at each other and we talk boats. We read boat books. We study boats. We bring in films and videos on boats and boating. And we get together and pool our money and we'll get together and collect enough that we can actually bring in someone to speak to us whose actually been out there on the water. And man, we feel so good about that. We give him more money so he can go back out on the water and then come back and tell us what it's like. And we get together, we talk boats, we study better boating safety and boating laws, we really get intense about it. We even sing boating songs. I mean, it's the most wonderful thing, down at our warehouse. We have such a warm fellowship among us boat owners. When the end of the weekend comes, we polish up our boats for the last time. We turn off the lights, close the doors, wave goodbye and promise that we'll see each other next weekend when we get together down at the warehouse. Sit up in our boats again.
Can you imagine anything so crazy in all your life as to spend the thousands of dollars it takes to get a nice boat these days and to do nothing more with it than to put it in a warehouse and to think that we are really interested in boating. Yet, my dear friends, I look at my country and I ask myself; how really interested are we, who call our selves Christians in changing this world of ours when we still view our faith as something like a boat in a warehouse. And on weekends we go down and we get all interested in it, but we sure don't want to take our boats and put them in the water. Cause, after all it's dangerous out there sometimes. Sometimes it hot. Sometimes it storms. Sometimes there's stumps that knock holes in our boats. And I tell you, if America has a sin before God, it's that we're looking at the A-bim'e-lechs to lead us and in the mean time we are keeping our boats in the warehouse. God wants us to change that and it has to start with you and with me. He wants us to be the people. He's not waiting on the Gay and Lesbian Task Force to change their mind. He's not waiting on the ACLU to support prayer in schools. God is not waiting on people for the un-American way under Norman Leer. Norman Sleer probably be better appropriately title. He's not waiting on them to come out and champion morality. He's waiting on his people. People who know him. People who, for whom Christ died and who Christ is living in their hearts, to be what he wants us to be. He wants us to be responsible and redeemed.

Would you pray with me please.

Political/Religious Speech

Speaker: Rev. Larry Pyle

Topic: Introduction of Mike Huckabee

There is another man from Hope, Arkansas who burst on to the national scene a year after the election of Bill Clinton. Mike Huckabee became Lt. Governor of Arkansas in a special election in 1993 and was re-elected last November by the largest margin ever won by a Republican candidate in Arkansas. In fact, to give you an idea of just how significant this was, the historical political machine of Arkansas, the Democratic machine, Mike was the first candidate, Republican candidate that's been elected since 1980, statewide. And, he's only the fourth that's been elected since reconstruction. The national media took notice and began to say what's happening down there. Although Mike Huckabee and Bill Clinton were born in the same small town, they differ on some very important issues. Not the least of which Phyllis would be glad to know is pro-life. Mike's not ashamed to be pro-life. But also, when he ran in 1992 against Democratic Senator Dale Bumpers, he supported the Balanced Budget Amendment, Term Limits, things like this. And, his election to Lt. Governor brought him to the national spotlight as someone to watch in 1996. Mike Huckabee pastored churches and founded community television stations in Pine Bluff and in Texarkana. And with both a ministerial and a broadcasting background, in 1989, Mike became the youngest ever president of the Arkansas Baptist Convention. So, get ready for an alter call. An alter call to pro-family, grass roots, political involvement, which you are already doing, please join me in welcoming a man who has unplugged the political machine in Arkansas and is helping many of you to do the same thing in your states. A rising star of the Republican party, inspiring true hope in the land of opportunity, ladies and gentlemen, Lt. Governor Mike Huckabee.
I want to tell you something. Getting on this program with all of these distinguished speakers is a little bit intimidating. I feel a whole lot like a jackass at the Kentucky Derby. I know I don't belong on the same track, but it sure does feel good just to be among them.

I was on the plane coming out here. I was flying and the guy punched me, next to me, he says, I got a joke I want to tell you. It's a joke about an Arkansas politician. Well, these are kind of tough days for Arkansas politicians and I said, excuse me, but before you say that sir, you need to understand, I am an Arkansas politician. He said, oh, that's O.K., I'll tell it real slowly.

We're living in a time where most people just don't trust politicians and you can understand why when you come to Washington and try to do any real lobbying up here. A friend of mine had come up a few weeks ago and he went to lobby some of the members of Congress from his state. And he went from office to office and did his best to try and get a particular project looked at. And, he had the typical Washington experience. When he came back to Arkansas he took a nice young lady out for dinner who he had been dating for a while. At dinner in just the overwhelming mood of the moment he reached over to the table and he was gonna just give her a nice kiss, but, when he reached over to kiss her, she just rared back and busted him right in the face. He told me about this, I said, boy, I bet that made you mad. He says, no, it was the first definite answer I had all week. So I understand.

I have a great respect for all of us in the Christian Coalition and particularly Ralph Reed who is absolutely one of the most brilliant and articulate spokespersons that we could ever hope to have. Ralph Reed is the only guy I know who is so persuasive. He could sell an NRA membership to Bill Clinton, that's how good he is. But, by the way Ralph, I hope you're listening and that that's good enough to get an invitation back next year, if not I'll continue.

The thing that people ask me sometimes is, are you really from Hope, Arkansas. I say, yes, I really am from Hope, Arkansas. They say, what is it, is it something in the water down there. Out of a town of 8,000 people and it seems like every time we turn around, somebody is from Hope, Arkansas. And I really don't know that I can tell you that. But, I will say this to you, that every now and then I do think there is something about that wonderful community from which I hale that does bare some influence on many of us who get into politics. Now, it's true that we sometimes turn out differently, but there are a few things that seem to be common. I'll give you an example.

The political instincts one gets from Hope, Arkansas, must be from the community. Because, I was in Taiwan this past January and when I was there I was introduced to a custom that they have in Taiwan where at dinner for special guest they first will offer the guest a toast. The toast is done with a very stiff wine made out of rice
called Soche'. They offer the toast to you and you are to receive it and then you are to reciprocate the toast. There are twelve people at the dinner and through the course of the dinner, which may last two and half or three hours, everyone toast everyone else at least once. Now, if you do the math on that, you can figure some of these folks are getting pretty happy by the end of the meal. But you got to understand, for me this presents an extremely delicate dilemma. Here I am, a Baptist minister, elected official, I'm over here in this very delicate situation. I do not want to create an international incident, refuse the hospitality of my host, and insult him. But on the other hand, I sure don't want to go back to Arkansas and face those questions which every politician hates. Those, have you ever questions, among all my Baptist friends. So, I'm thinking, now what do I do. My Hope instincts apparently took over. I knew exactly how to handle the situation. instinctively, I reached over, I picked up the glass, I nodded and thanked my host, and accepted his hospitality. I took the glass and I put it to my lips, but I didn't swallow. So, it worked for me.

When I was here two years ago, I had just won the election in Arkansas, the special election of 1993. I found out that the battle is not over when you win. I got to the capitol, my office door was nailed shut, literally, from the inside. That's no joke. It remained nailed shut for fifty-nine days. I worked out of a make shift office which had been created from a vault. My chief of staff and I shared a desk and a phone. All the furniture had been stripped so we got a furniture company to donate some furniture to the office. That's no joke. The computer hard drives had all been taken out. So, we had to get a computer company to help us get some computers. The process of state purchasing slowed up when I got to office and it took over eight weeks just to get letterhead. So, it was an unusual situation. It was sort of like, welcome to the capitol Huckabee, we're sure glad you're here. I can tell you, things are changing. Not just in my state, but across the nation.

I remember when I was out there on a campaign trail, and this is no joke and no exaggeration. I would watch as the candidates from the other party would be placed all in the front of the parade when we would go the some fair paraded. They'd all be marched there in front. Everybody would cheer. They would hold my car and any other Republican candidate to the very end of the parade and we would be held and then finally after all of the float, the scout troops, the bands, the fire trucks, and the horses had all gone, ya'll come on in now. I cannot tell you how many times I have ridden through parades with a car driving around behind the horses. It was not exactly a wonderful experience, but things are different. Last Saturday, at this very hours, I was actually a Grand Marshall of a parade. So, it does make a difference. I'd never seen one from the front, it was kind of nice.

But I've been asked to talk of a Grass Roots Success story. How is it that we go from obscurity, where no one takes us seriously, to actually holding public office. And then, what do we do with it. Well, first of all, I want to talk about how we win and then why we win. How we win is fairly simple. First of all, we maintain our message. We do not lose focus on it. Why in the world should we be ashamed of what it is we believe? I don't think we ever have to apologize for being who we are or what we are. I grew up in the deep South in the 1950's and 1960's. I remember very vividly that there were racist in those days who treated black people with the attitude of, black people are O.K. and long as they stay in their place. I remember hearing that as a child. But, thank God he raised up some people, some leaders out of the churches. Whatever you want to believe, let us never forget that Dr. Martin Luther King and others came right out of their spiritual convictions, out of their Biblical roots and they changed this country. I have to ask, much to our shame, where were the white churches speaking out for what was right in those
days? But, thank God there were people who were willing to take the heat, bare the brunt and let us never forget that the Civil Rights movement was largely a movement that rose right out of the pews and pulpits of churches across the south as people with conviction and conscience understood that what was happening was wrong and this idea of, put people in their place was missing the mark. Because, the place for any American was not the back of the bus or the balcony of the theater. The place for any American was not in some under funded school or the place for any American was in some menial job. It was to have, not so much a special bridge, but on the other hand, no barriers. It was to be a place where everyone truly understood there would be equality because that's what this country was all about. Thank God that there were spiritual people who are willing to bring that message to bare. Some of the things that have happened from the time of the 50's and 60's when I was a kid growing up in the deep south have changed and they have changed for the good. But some things aren't better.

And, we need to remind the people of America why it is that organizations like this are capturing the attention because we are tired of seeing the liberal agenda capture the culture. People have seen the difference. Let me tell you that from the time that I was a child in the 1950's and 1960's and the time that now my three teenage children that are growing up in the 80's and 90's are living. The culture contrast couldn't be more stark. I grew up with "Leave It To Beaver", they're growing up with "Beavis and Butthead". I grew up when we watched television "Father Knew Best". Today, on television sitcom father know's nothing, he's some bumbling idiot who has to have help to get out of the house. I remember when art was Norman Rockwell. My kids today are confronted with Robert Mabelthorpe. I remember when there was prayer in schools. Now, we've got policeman in our schools. I remember when we had cracker jacks. Now, kids today are confronted with crack cocaine. I remembered once when, as kids, we could play in the streets, even ride our bikes after dark at night in the neighborhoods, cause criminals were locked up. Today, it's our kids who are locked up behind burglar bars and electronic security because gangs and criminals are running free in the streets. I remember once, we had drive-in movies. Today, we read about drive-by shootings. Once, the Gideons would give out New Testament to fifth graders. But, now we live in a society where school nurses are passing out condoms to the seventh graders. Teenagers once held hands to demonstrate romance, no we've got teenage mothers holding babies the rest of us are going to have to pay for because of the message of irresponsibility which we've promoted through tax dollars. There was once a time in this country when a parent believed, as my parents did, that the most fundamental responsibility of a mother or father was to be willing to lay ones life down for a child. My parents never had a lot of money, I didn't grow up as a silk stocking country club republican. I grew up as a cotton sock kind of just, boy's club republican. Not the wine and cheese crowd but the crackers and cheese crowd. But, I'll tell you one thing, I never doubted my parents love for me and it never ever was a concern. I knew my parents would literally have laid their lives down for me and my behalf. And, I want you to contract that attitude of parents when I grew up with the attitude today that has prevailed because of the culture of abortion. I want you to understand that I believe that the abortion issue is not just about solely on abortion. It's a bigger issue of the whole culture shift that we've seen. For the first time in human history, rather than parent believing it to be their fundamental responsibility to lay down their lives for their children. Now, we have people who believe it is a parents fundamental right to lay down the lives of their children for their own selfishness, and that is wrong. We must now motivate our volunteers to understand that we can maintain that message and see America once again, the kind of nation that we love and cherish.

The things that I would say to you in terms of the grass roots strategy are very simple. Number 1: we've go to think in terms of processes not of event. Politics and
government is not about one candidate, one election, one issue, or one single. It is a long process. Let us never forget that in Deuteronomy, Chapter 7, Verse 22, when God told the Israelites how they would take the promise land. He said, you're not going to get it all at one time. You couldn't handle it if I gave it to you. You will take it little by little. And, while you're taking it, we're going to let the Devil's people take care of tilling the ground and making sure it doesn't rot and that way when you move into it, it's all in good shape. So, read that sometime. Folks, we got to keep the organization simple and understand that our process is to take back America. Not to some Sectarian agenda, that's not our goal. It's simply to give all people, whether they agree or disagree with us, a rightful place to hear and be heard. And, if we're going to do that, we have to keep the organization simple. Don't let our critics kill the spirit. Don't focus on the favored who have always had the focus. Focus on recruiting the forgotten, the folks out there who don't have a lot of money. If I had depended on the traditional people to win my election, I would not be standing before you today as a person who has gained public office. I understood early on that people think today not so much in terms of geography, but in interest. We ask people to identify folks that they knew from their kid's soccer teams or from church, or from business or where ever the relationships were and build on the basis of interest and relationship rather than on the basis of geography and neighborhood. And very rapidly, you'll find that people can put together a network of friends. I believed early on that I would never get the thousand dollars checks from the traditional political givers. And I was right. But, I found that it was better to have a hundred ten dollar checks from ordinary people than it was to have just one thousand dollar check from somebody who wanted something more than I could deliver to them. When I paid my filing fee it was five thousand dollars. I didn't pay for it with a five thousand dollar check. I paid for it with five thousand one dollar bills given by five thousand different Arkansans. You should have seen it. When I went in there and opened up a brief case, it looked like a Colombian drug deal going down. I mean, all these bills. My average contribution when I won in 1993 was nine dollars. Nine dollars average contribution. Don't tell me that the ordinary hard working citizens of American cannot make a difference. Don't tell me that we can't effect politics cause we don't have a much money as some of the special interest. Don't tell me that it's impossible for us to make a dent in the armor that has been so carefully constructed with our tax dollars to beat the ever loving day lights out of our views and our values. That's just not so, because the truth is, we can make a difference.

But, now let me close with this warning. How we win is important, but why we win is perhaps even more important. As Christians, let us understand that we can disagree without being disagreeable. That Jesus, who lived on the planet, who is our standard .........., is not one who came to encourage us to cynicism, but to citizenship. I do not believe he is one that would encourage us to heckle, to boo, to hiss, to be difficult and dissident, but rather to be people who are known by our love not by our animosity. Let us be the people who win not because we bust the kneecaps of our opponents and disable them in the contest, but because we offer better ideas. Ideas that work and ideas that reflect and resonate with people all over this land who deep down know that the agenda for the past generation has failed us miserably. Let us be careful that we don't get caught up in the political rhetoric that just says get tough, get tough. We hear a lot of that and I understand it. Get tough on crime, get tough on taxes, I believe that. But, all at the same time, let us never forget or accept our responsibility in that one of the reason we're having to talk about getting tough, is because as Christian believers, we were the ones who failed to get tender when it really counted in the lives of people. Let us be the ones who understand that part of the reason that government has gotten too big and is trying to do things it was never intended to do such as operate charities and take care of the homeless, the hungry, and the helpless, is because some of us in church, let's be honest, who now complain about fifty cents of every one of our dollars going to support a bloated Federal
Government, are the same people who refused to give God one dime out of a dollar which should have been going to take care of the homeless, the hurting, and the helpless.

The fact is, many of the human horrors of today are nothing more than the unmet needs of yesterday. Nothing is worse than to look at a culture where we see a child whose tears have been dried only by the obligatory touch of an employee in a care center rather than by a mother or father because we have helped to create the kind of policies where we forgot that the real capacity to love is not something that comes from government, it comes from the hearts of people who know that God who created and loved every single, breathing, human soul. Let us also understand that when we talk about lean government, let us not ask for mean government. But rather real compassion understanding that compassion is not the function of government, it is the function of individual citizens who do care. It is not compassion let us remind the liberal when one person takes money from another and redistributes it to another. If I take money out of your pocket and give it to you, that’s not passion, it’s not charity, nor compassion. In fact, if I take money out of your pocket and give it to somebody else, we call that theft. Charity is when I take money out of my pocket and give it to you to meet your need. Jesus told us that we are to be the salt and the light, let us be just that.

And let us be reminded that as believers we are really like boats. If a boat never gets in the water, it’s not much of a boat. But if a boat gets filled with water, it won’t be much of a boat. If Christians do not get in the world, become active participants in the process of citizenship, we won’t be much in the way of being Christians. But if we get out there and we use these same tactics and we use the same mean rhetoric and we use the same harshness of spirit, then we won’t be much Christians either. Let us be what we are. Let us be the salt that preserves, the light that leads and let us stand for what we believe is right and wholesome and descent, not just for now, but for our children’s future. May God bless you and keep you. Thank you very much.

Political Speech

Speaker: Mike Huckabee
Date: 30 March 1996
Topic: Transition
Location: Arkansas State Capitol
Little Rock, AR

Like you, I was genuinely stunned by the events of this week. We are unexpectedly confronted with a constitutional crisis. As a result, I will become our State’s 44th Governor in our 160 year history.

Ordinarily, the privilege and honor of serving as our State’s Governor would be a cause for celebration. Unfortunately that day will for me not be one of celebration, but accepting, with sobering reality, the solemn duty entrusted to me by our citizens.

It is an awesome task too great for an human standing alone. But I do not intend to stand alone.
It is my hope and belief that I will be surrounded by my faithful and devoted wife, Janet, my partner of 22 years, my children, family, friends, and by good citizens of our State—Republicans, Democrats, and Independents—who join in putting aside the weapons of partisanship to pick up the tools of partnership. This is no time for political division. It is a time for putting our children and our families' future ahead of all other concerns.

We must rebuild faith in government. We must restore confidence in those who hold positions of honor and trust. In doing so, I believe that the prayers of our people will surround me with the invisible, yet incomparable, presence of God. Only in Him can we place our total and perfect trust.

I enter upon my new responsibilities as one who puts his faith in God's perfect character, not mine or anyone else's imperfect character. I hope that the people of our State can patiently accept me as I am, giving me their support when deserved, and their strong voices of dissent when equally deserved. Given my life long identity with Arkansas, I have no doubt I'll receive plenty of both.

I join our State's gracious citizens in extending to Governor Jim Guy Tucker, his wife, and his children, our heartfelt compassion as they walk through a valley which few others have journeyed. Governor Tucker was judged by a wise, experienced, highly respected Judge from his own political party and by a jury of fellow Arkansans.

Anyone who might express some kind of sick pleasure in his tragedy is surely make of different stuff than me. We must never take joy in seeing one of our brothers or sisters in the human family stumble or fall. There is power and truth as we remind ourselves that "but for the Grace of God, there go I."

Since last October, I have stood as a candidate for the United States Senate. My dream was to provide Arkansas with a clear voice for our children's future in the world's greatest deliberative body. No one can replace David Pryor, one of the most gracious and good persons to have served our State. The spirit of trust he engendered offered America a worthy portrait of Arkansas—a place of civility, respect for others, and compassion for all persons—black or white, rich or poor, Democrat or Republican.

I had hoped to succeed him and to provide a strong voice that presented an equally worthy picture and vision for our State in the Senate.

But duty comes ahead of personal desire. My responsibility is to lead this state as its Governor, and to devote my full energy and attention to discharging the awesome responsibilities of this great position of public trust. With a storm raging and cannons firing at our hull, this is no time for the Captain to jump ship for another boat.

Accordingly, I am withdrawing as a candidate for the United States Senate.

As Governor, I intend to present a clear and positive direction for our state, one defined by progress, guided by fairness and justice for all our citizens.

My Father, who died just a few months ago, and my Mother, taught me important values as I grew up in my home town of Hope. These hard working, honest, devoted parents
instilled in me the belief that one is never wrong to do with is right—and one is never right to do what is wrong.

The right thing, indeed the only thing, for me to do is to forego my campaign for the Senate and focus solely on fully and properly discharging the duties to which I have been unexpectedly called. I would like to humbly thank the thousands of Arkansans who have given their hearts and made so many sacrifices to support my campaign.

I realize my decision may disappoint some of them. But one who seeks to please all, will lead none. To be unwilling to take the difficult path is to be unfit to lead others on any path. This decision is the right one for the people of Arkansas. I sincerely thank you and trust and pray that you will understand this decision and will agree that it is for the best.

I covet your prayers. I assure you, no one has ever stood in more need of them.

May God bless you and our great State of Arkansas.
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