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International Policy Forum

721 Second Street, N.E. • Washington, D.C. 20002 • 202/544-1166

Edwin J. Feulner, Jr. Chairman Peter B. Gemma, Jr. President

MEMO

TO: Morton Blackwell FROM: Peter Gemma

RE: attached

DATE: June 20, 1983

Since I sent the attached memo requesting a meeting with the President, the International Policy Forum delegation has visited Israel. Due to many last-minute complications -logistics, security, etc. -- our group did not get to visit Lebanon.

We have prepared a short report on our findings for the President, and would like to present it to him, Judge Clark, and Secretary of State Schultz. Please let me know if our group will be able to have such an opportunity.

A list of the diverse conservative delegation is attached.

Thanks, Morton.

milting took place with Judge Clark Huns. June 23 - asked for meeting with Pres.

International Policy Forum

721 Second Street, N.E. Washington, D.C. 20002 202/544-1166



Edwin J. Feulner, Jr. Chairman Peter B. Gemma, Jr. President

MEMO

TO: Morton Blackwell

FROM: Peter Gemma

RE: conservative delegation to Mid-East

DATE: May 26, 1983

As you know, the International Policy Forum is sponsoring a trip for eleven conservative leaders to Israel and Lebanon -- we will be travelling from May 28th to June 7th.

Most of this diverse group of conservative leaders have never been to the Mid-East. Attached is a list of participants.

We will be putting together a report on this fact-finding trip for the President that will give an independent, conservative view of the situation in Lebanon and Israel. We have meetings scheduled with the Prime Minister of Israel, the President of Lebanon, ofiicials of both governments, Arab and Palestinian leaders, and many other experts. An schedule outline is attached.

We would appreciate a meeting with Judge Clark, Secretary Schultz, and the President upon on return to brief them on our findings. The dates of June 10, 13, or 14 seem best for this meeting.

There will be much press coverage from our fact-finding trip, and a balanced, fresh, and interesting report on our activities. I believe there would be much political as well as policy-making benefit in such a meeting.

I've asked Phil Truluck, Vice President of the Heritage Foundation, to follow-up on this request as I will be part of the delegation to Israel and Lebanon.

Thanks, Morton, for your help on this.

International Policy Forum

ISRAEL/LEBANON TRIP PARTICIPANTS... Dr. Edwin Feulner President, the Heritage Foundation Chairman, International Policy Forum Peter B. Gemma, Jr. President, International Policy Forum Treasurer, National Pro-Life Political Action Committee William H. Billings President National Christian Action Coalition President New Century Foundation Dr. Marshall Breger Visiting Fellow in Legal Policy the Heritage Foundation Professor of Law New York Law School Pat Buchanan (and Mrs. Buchanan) syndicated columnist/commentator Midge Decter Executive Director Committee for a Free World Allan Ryskind Editor Human Events Robert McAdam Assistant Director Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress Executive Director Committee for Effective State Government Dr. Ernest Lefever President Ethics and Public Policy Center Ron Robertson, Esq. General Counsel Reagan/Bush Committee Richard Viguerie (and Mrs. Viguerie) President The Viguerie Company Publisher Conservative Digest

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM EAST AND WEST: The Human Rights Issue for the Eighties

This is a time for making worldwide freedom of religious expression a major item on the agenda of American religious life.

Our congregations are today involved in great debates about strategies for peace, justice, and economic development. But freedom of faith is one matter on which we share a common conviction. Many of us would contend that freedom of faith may also be the key to greater peace, justice in the life of the world.

Many educated Americans today seem to think that strong religious beliefs are a threat to liberty. But hasn't our own democratic experience been rooted in a stong religious life?

The Institute On Religion and Democracy and the National Association of Evangelicals invite you to participate in a conference on the obstacles and threats to free religious expression in the world today. Distinguished theologians, denominational leaders, and authorities on international affairs will discuss how the American religious bodies—Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish—can work responsibly and creatively to overcome these problems.

List of Speakers

- The Honorable Elliott Abrams, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights.
- **Bishop Basil**, Diocese of the West, The Orthodox Church in America, San Francisco, California
- Professor Bodhan Bociurkiw, Professor of Political Science, Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario
- Mr. Robert Dugan, Director, Public Affairs, National Association of Evangelicals, Washington, D.C.
- The Honorable Dante B. Fascell, U.S. House of Representatives, (Democrat-Florida), Washington, D.C.
- Father Ernest Fortin, Professor of Theology, Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts
- Sister Ann Gillen, Executive Director, National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry, Chicago
- Father J. Bryan Hehir, Office of International Justice & Peace, U.S. Catholic Conference, Washington, D.C.
- Dr. Carl F.H. Henry, Lecturer-at-large, World Vision International, Arlington, Virginia
- Ambassador Max M. Kampelman, Chairman, American Delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Madrid, Spain; Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver and Kampelman, Washington, D.C.
- Dr. Paul Kurtz, Professor of Philosophy, University of the State of New York at Buffalo; editor, Free Inquiry magazine, Buffalo, New York
- Professor Franklin H. Littell, founder and chairman, National Institute on the Holocaust, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
- Pastor Richard John Neuhaus, editor, Lutheran Forum Newsletter, New York
- Mr. Michael Novak, resident scholar, American Enterprise Institute, Washington, D.C.; past U.S. Representative to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights
- Professor Bruce Rigdon, McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, Illinois.
- Rev. Isaac Rottenberg, minister, Reformed Church in America; director, National Christian Leadership Conference for Israel
- Rev. Hans Stuckelberger, International President, Christian Solidarity International, Zurich, Switzerland. (U.S. affiliate, Christian Response International)

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Religious Freedom East & West: The Human Rights Issue for the Eighties

> July 10 & 11 1983 Mayflower Hotel Washington, D.C.

Sponsored by

THE INSTITUTE ON RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY

e) THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS

CONFERENCE CHAIRMAN Edmund W. Robb, Executive Committee, I.R.D.

Conference Program

Sunday, July 10

4:00 p.m. 7:00 p.m.

Registration, State Room Session I: Convocation. Religious Freedom: Comerstone of Human Rights Introduction: Carl F.H. Henry Speakers: Paul Kurtz J. Bryan Hehir Bishop Basil

Monday, July 11

8:00 a.m. Registration, State Room 9:00 a.m. Session II: Religion e) Democracy: East, West, North and South Speakers: **Richard J. Neuhaus** Franklin H. Littell Father Ernest L. Fortin 11:00 a.m. Break 11:30 a.m. Luncheon 1:00 p.m. Session III: Religious Freedom in the Communist World Speakers: Max Kampelman **Bohdan Bociurkiw Bruce Rigdon** 3:00 p.m. Break 3:30 p.m. Session IV: Action for International **Religious** Freedom Introduction: **Michael Novak** Speakers: Sister Ann Gillen **Isaac Rottenberg** Hans Stuckelberger

6:30 p.m. Reception, East Room.

Recipions Freedom Award Recipient: Armando Valladares Presentor: Michael Novak



"Faith and communication with his God are capable of providing man with an indestructible strength which nothing can destroy.... In the most difficult situations I was always full of hope and faith; in the most obscure and isolated corner of my prison cell, I felt that God was beside me, that I had reason and therefore I had peace of conscience...."

ARMANDO VALLADARES

7:30 p.m. Dinner, East Room. Religious Freedom as an Element of U.S. Foreign Policy Moderator: Robert Dugan Speakers: Elliott Abrams Dante B. Fascell

Registration

Fee: \$50 before June 30, 1983; \$60 after June 30, 1983. (Fee includes conference, packet, reception and July 11th dinner); \$30—conference sessions only.

Hotel: The Mayflower Hotel, 1127 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Wash. D.C., is offering a special conference rate of \$60 for a single or double room. Please call the hotel (202/347-3000) directly for your reservations. To get the special rate, be sure to mention name of conference.

Contact: Mary Ellen Bork or Maria H. Thomas at the Institute on Religion and Democracy. (202) 822-8627.

Conference Registration

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM EAST AND WEST: THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE OF THE EIGHTIES

Sponsored by The Institute On Religion and Democracy

National Association of Evangelicals

July 10-11, 1983-Washington, D.C.

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The Institute on Religion and Democracy

1000 16th STREET N.W., SUITE LL 50 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

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June 2, 1983

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Mr. Morton Blackwell Special Assistant to the President for Public Liaison Old Executive Office Building Room 191 Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Blackwell:

On behalf of the Institute on Religion and Democracy and Robert Dugan, director of Public Affairs of the National Association of Evangelicals, I am inviting you to be our guest at a reception and dinner Monday, July 11 at the Mayflower Hotel honoring Armando Valladares, a Cuban poet and prisoner of conscience. Michael Novak will present our annual Religious Freedom Award to Mr. Valladares.

The reception will be followed by a dinner at which Deputy Secretary Elliott Abrams and Congressman Dante Fascell will speak on "Religious Freedom'as an Element in U.S. Foreign Policy."

We would appreciate any effort of yours to help us tell people about this event and even encourage them to buy tickets which we will sell at \$100 per person.

We think many Christian leaders are not concerned about the plight of persecuted believers and the denial of religious freedom by totalitarian governments. We would like this event to highlight this problem and to inspire more active concern especially on the part of religious leaders.

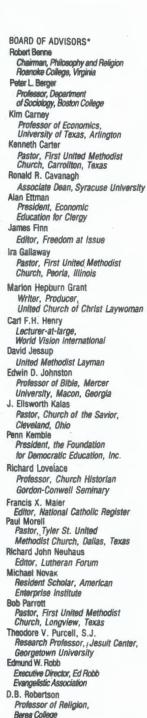
I am enclosing twenty copies of A Time for Candor, the documentation for the "60 Minutes" program on the National Council of Churches, and copies of the Time article on I.R.D.

We hope you will be able to join us.

Sincerely yours, Mary Ellen Bork Mary Ellen Bork Conference Coordinator

(202) 822-8627

*The members of this board serve as individuals active in their own denominations, not as representatives of the institutions with which they are identified.



James V. Schall, S.J.

Economic Education

LaKay Schmidt

Paul Seabury

Virginia Law Shell

Mary N. Temple

Professor of Government. Georgetown University

Executive Director, Colorado Council,

Author, Former Missionary In Zaire

Executive Director, the Land Council

Professor of Political Science. University of California at Berkeley

THE INSTITUTE ON RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY

AND

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS

cordially invite you to

a reception honoring **ARMANDO VALLADARES** Cuban poet and prisoner of conscience

Religious Freedom Award Presentation: MICHAEL NOVAK past U.S. Representative to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights

and dinner

"Religious Freedom as an Element of U.S. Foreign Policy"

ELLIOTT ABRAMS Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights

> **DANTE FASCELL** U.S. Congress, Democrat, Florida

> > JULY 11, 1983 MAYFLOWER HOTEL WASHINGTON, D.C.

> > > Reception: 6:30 p.m. Dinner: 7:30 p.m.

R.s.v.p.

June 1,1983

Tentative Conference Program "RELIGIOUS FREEDOM EAST AND WEST: THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE FOR THE EIGHTIES"

Sponsored by

THE INSTITUTE ON RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS

> July 10, 11 & 12, 1983 MAYFLOWER HOTEL WASHINGTON, D.C.

Conference Chairman: Edmund W. Robb, Chairman, Executive Committee of I.R.D.

Sunday, July 10	4:00 p.m. 7:00 p.m.	Registration Convocation Religious Freedom: Cornerstone of Human Rights. Speakers: Carl F. H. Henry, Lecturer-At-Large, World Vision International Paul Kurtz, ed. Free Inquiry J. Bryan Hehir, U.S. Catholic Conf. Bishop Basil, Orthodox Church in America
Monday, July 11	8:00 a.m. 9:00 a.m.	Registration <u>Session I</u> : Religion & Democracy: East, West, North & South. Speakers: Richard J. Neuhaus, ed, <u>Lutheran Forum</u> Franklin H. Littell, Temple University Father Ernest L. Fortin, Boston College
	10 : 30 a.m.	BREAK
	10:45 a.m.	DISCUSSION
1	2:00 - 2:00 p.m.	LUNCHEON BREAK
2:00 p.m.		Session II: Religious Freedom in the Communist World. Speakers: Max Kampelman, Chrm. American Delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe Bohdan Bociurkiw, Carleton College, Canada Bruce Rigdon, McCormick Theological Seminary
	3:30 p.m.	BREAK
	3:45 p.m.	DISCUSSION

June 1,1983

Monday July 11

6:30 p.m. RECEPTION

7:30 p.m. DINNER

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AWARD: Armando Valladares Presentor: MICHAEL NOVAK

"Religious Freedom as an Element of U.S. Foreign Policy". Speakers:

--Elliott Abrams, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights

--U.S. Congressman Dante B. Fascell, Democrat, Florida

Tuesday, July 12

9:00 a.m. <u>Session III</u>: Religious Freedom as An Issue in America's Religious Organizations: Accomplishments and Failures. Speakers: --Robert Dugan, National Association

of Evangelicals

--George Weigel, World Without War Council, Seattle, Washington

--David Sidorsky, Columbia University

--Isaac Rottenberg, Nat'l Christian Leadership Conference for Israel

- 10:30 a.m. BREAK
- 10:45 a.m. DISCUSSION
- 12:00 p.m. LUNCHEON BREAK
 - 2:00 p.m. <u>Session IV</u>: Religious Action for International Religious Freedom. Speakers:
 - --Michael Novak, Resident Scholar, American Enterprise Institute.
 - --- Josef Ton, Pres., Romanian Missionary Society
 - --Sister Ann Gillen, Inter-Rel. Task Force on Soviet Jewry
 - --Hans Stuckelberger, Christian Response International, Zurich

4:00 p.m. CLOSING PRAYER

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"RELIGIOUS FREEDOM EAST AND WEST: THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE FOR THE EIGHTIES"

Sponsored by THE INSTITUTE ON RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS

July 10, 11, 1983 MAYFLOWER HOTEL WASHINGTON, D.C.

This is a time for making worldwide freedom of religious expression a major item on the agenda of American religious life.

Our congregations are today involved in great debates about strategies for peace, justice, and economic development. But freedom of faith is one matter on which we share a common conviction. Many of us would contend that freedom of faith may also be the key to greater peace and justice in the life of the world.

Many educated Americans today seem to think that strong religious beliefs are a threat to liberty. But hasn't our own democratic experience been rooted in a strong religious life?

The Institute on Religion and Democracy and the National Association of Evangelicals invite you to participate in a conference on the obstacles and threats to free religious expression in the world today. Distinguished theologians, denominational leaders, and authorities on international affairs will discuss how the American religious bodies -- Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish -- can work responsibly and creatively to overcome these problems.

// CONFERENCE TOPICS //

I. RELIGIOUS FREEDOM: CORNERSTONE OF HUMAN RIGHTS (7 p.m. July 10) Speakers: Carl F.H. Henry, Lecturer-At-Large, World Vision International Paul Kurtz, N.Y. State University at Buffalo, ed. Free Inquiry J. Bryan Hehir, International Justice & Peace, U.S.C.C. Bishop Basil, Orthodox Church in America

II. RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY: EXAMINING THE LINKS (9 a.m. July 11) Speakers: Richard J. Neuhaus, ed. Lutheran Forum Letter Ernest L. Fortin, Theology Dept. Boston College Franklin H. Littell, Nat'l Inst. on the Holocaust, Temple University

//LUNCHEON//

- III. RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN THE COMMUNIST WORLD (1 p.m. July 11) Speakers: Max M. Kampelman, Chmn., American Delegation, Madrid Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Bohdan Bociurkiw, Carleton College, Canada Bruce Rigdon, McCormick Theological Seminary
- IV. ACTION FOR INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM (3:30 p.m. July 11) Speakers: Michael Novak, Resident Scholar, American Enterprise Institute Sr. Ann Gillen, Ex. Dir. Nat'l Inter-Rel. Task Force on Soviet Jewry Hans Stuckelberger, Christian Solidarity, Internat'l, Zurich Isaac Rottenberg, Nat'l Christian Leadership Conf. for Israel
- V. RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AS AN ELEMENT OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY (7:30 p.m. July 11) Speakers: Elliott Abrams, Deputy Asst. Secretary for Human Rights Cong. Dante B. Fascell (D-Fla) RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AWARD -- Armando Valladares

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July 21, 1983

Mr. Morton Blackwell Special Assistant to the President Room 191 Old Executive Office Building Washington, DC 20501

Dear Morton:

I would like to thank you for taking the time to speak to Kevin Richardson yesterday concerning my friend Dick Freytag, who is being considered for the position of Assistant Secretary of the Army in charge of Installations, Logistics, and Financial Management.

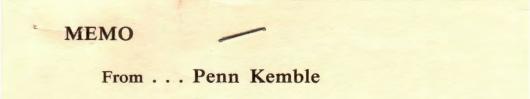
Your support of me in the past has been greatly appreciated and I value your insights and suggestions. I would appreciate it if we could meet for lunch or a short time in your office to further discuss Mr. Freytag and how I can best help him. I would certainly welcome your guidance and advice in this matter!

Most sincerely,

Pamilo Buga

Pamela Burge President

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To Morton Blackwell Date June 29, 1983

I enclose some testimony I gave recently before the House Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations. When one considers the problem of religious freedom, the distinction between "authoritarian" and "totalitarian" regimes remains essential.

The Institute on Religion and Democracy

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TESTIMONY FOR THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON

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HUMAN RIGHTS AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

June 28, 1983

by Penn Kemble Consultant and Member of the Board of Directors The Institute on Religion and Democracy

The Institute on Religion and Democracy believes that there are important links between the Christian faith and democratic values, and that those links should be strengthened. As the French Catholic theologian Jacques Mauritain once observed:

> "...democracy is linked to Christianity...and the democratic impulse has arisen in human history as a temporal manifestation of the Gospel."1/

We were organized two years ago by persons holding diverse theological views, denominational affiliations, and social philosophies, who, despite many differences, share the desire to strengthen the role of our churches in the democratic way of life.

Members of our organization welcome the unprecedented attention this year's <u>Report on Human Rights Practices</u> gives to freedom of religious expression.

There are many sophisticated people today who are inclined to believe that deeply held religious conviction is a threat to liberty and tolerance. It is often imagined that the religious impulse is authentically personified in such figures as the Iranian mullah, the Marxist priest, the evangelical general, or

. . .

the Jewish Defense League militant -- and their occasional admirers here in the United States. It is therefore good to be reminded, as we are by the introduction to this report, that the fathers of the American Republic rooted their democratic faith in the belief that all men "are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights." That belief has had a more powerful impact on the world than all the evils of misguided religious zealotry.

We also welcome the stress this <u>Report</u> gives to the relationship between democracy -- the free participation by citizens in public affairs -- and human rights. Human rights are not granted by governments, nor established by the United Nations, nor can they be extinguished by tyrants or revolutions. They are, according to America's principal religious and political traditions, God-given and inalienable. Human rights may, however, be violated and abused. The only effective means for securing the rights of the individual, as our Declaration of Independence contends, is for governments to be "instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

In societies where force and violence are the necessary means for deciding conflicts, there will inevitably be violations of human rights. All this argues that those who are committed to securing international human rights must also be committed to strengthening democratic values and institutions throughout the world. This is surely no simple proposition. But the initiative of this Administration -- which has been joined by leaders of

- 2 -

business, labor, both political parties, and members of Congress -- toward developing a pro-democracy component to our foreign policy must surely be seen as a deepening of the American commitment to human rights which the Congress acknowledged in its legislation requiring this Report.

Just as religious conviction inspired the framers of the Bill of Rights, so the experience of free, voluntary, active religious life in America became the model of our democratic political life. (This is a point which bears remembering both by secular civil libertarians and those narrowly pious religious persons who insist that politics is evil.) Students of American Democracy, from Tocqueville on, have generally agreed with his proposition that:

> ...Religion in America takes no direct part in the government of society, but it must nevertheless be regarded as the foremost of the political institutions of that country; for if it does not impart a taste for freedom, it facilitates the use of free institutions."2/

It follows, therefore, that an American foreign policy which seeks to foster democracy should encourage worldwide freedom of religious expression. It should do so with patience and tolerance -- but nevertheless with vigor.

In order to accomplish this purpose, it will be necessary to study and compare the practices of different countries more fully than we -- our government and private organizations -- yet have done.

Our organization, for example, has at times been critical of the manner in which some religious leaders -- even our own --

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. . . .

speak and act on matters which might be called "political." But we would energetically defend their right, even their obligation, to offer moral testimony on the great issues of state and society, as they see them. Freedom of religious expression involves much more than the right to worship quietly within the walls of the church or synagogue. The murder of a nun who is engaged in Christian work among refugees is a violation of religious freedom, just as is banning Bibles or closing Yeshivas.

But the problem of religious freedom is not simple. The societies where the most visible and therefore sensational assaults on religious persons and practices occur are often societies in which the churches already have the will and means to challenge secular powers. The conflict between church and state is often quite apparent in Central and South America, in the Philippines, and in South Korea -- because the churches there are strong. It is usually less evident -- with obvious exceptions, such as that of Poland -- in the modern totalitarian states, where the churches must struggle for the barest existence.

When considering religious freedom, there is no escaping the distinction between authoritarian and totalitarian regimes. That distinction is sometimes shouted down in public discourse, just as its most eloquent proponent, Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, has been denied a hearing at some prestigious Universities. But the distinction is a fact. Totalitarianism is something different from traditional despotism, and, when it has at its disposal Twentieth Century technology and the energy to use it, something

- 4 -

formidable indeed. It means, as Mussolini expressed it in his classic formulation,

Nothing outside or above the state, nothing against the state, everything within the state, everything for the state.3/

The classic pattern of religious repression today in authoritarian societies -- perhaps excepting Islamic states -is to concede religion its niche as a place for private worship and the observance of sacraments, while resisting any application of religious teaching or witness to issues of society and economics.

The harsher pattern of totalitarian religious repression is best exemplified by the practices of the Soviet Union. In this, efforts are made to extinguish the religious spirit in all forms among the subject population, while at the same time seeking to capture the most visible institutions of religious life in order to use them for the purposes of the state. This is an especially vicious and destructive form of religious repression, and deserves the most energetic opposition from the religious movements of the world and from our own government.

The character of Soviet practice has been explicitly described in a secret report on the Russian Orthodox Church prepared in 1975 by the deputy chairman of the Soviet Council on Religious Affairs for the Communist Party Central Committee. This remarkable document was smuggled to the West and published in Russian in Paris in 1980. It was published in English in October, 1981, by the New York journal <u>Religion in Communist</u> Dominated Areas.

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The author of this report, V. Furov, lucidly describes how the Soviet State Council controls the governing body of the Russian Orthodox Church:

> ...exercising its constant and unrelenting control over the activities of the Synod, appropriate officials of the Council conduct systematic work to educate and enlighten the members of the Synod, maintain confidential contacts with them, shape their patriotic views and attitudes, and exert necessary influence on the entire episcopate through the members of the Synod and with their help.

There is no consecration of a bishop, no transfer, without thorough investigation of the candidate by appropriate officials of the (State) Council in close cooperation with the commissioner, local organs and corresponding interested organizations.4/

(It should be understood that such "interested organizations" include the KGB.)

. . .

No doubt there is some self-serving bureaucratic exaggeration in the picture of church governance which Furov presents. But the purpose of the Soviet government cannot be mistaken: it is to turn the church into yet another organ of the state security system.

In a press briefing on February 9, Assistant Secretary Abrams explained that the authors of this year's <u>Human Rights</u> <u>Report</u>, in considering the right to free speech, not only asked whether citizens are free to utilize their government in public. They also asked whether a country has "such a degree of terror or such a network of informers that people do not even feel free to discuss politics privately, in their own home, or in the home of friends."

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This is an important point -- it provides another distinction between the totalitarian and the authoritarian regime. We submit that there is growing evidence that, just as the totalitarian regime invades the home and family, so it also invades the institutions of religious life.

From "liberated" Vietnam Associated Press Correspondent Dennis P. Gray reports that:

> Refugees say the authorities try to co-opt existing, respected religious leaders or replace them with their own, more pliant, candidates who in turn laud the government's religious policies to church delegations from abroad. The new leaders are variously described by foreign Protestant clergymen who knew them before 1975 as "lightweights," and "toady opportunists."5/

According to a letter circulated last year by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, an American peace organization, the Au Quang Pagoda Buddhist Church of Vietnam had an "outstanding record" of opposition to the Vietnam war, and after the war ended worked "tirelessly for reconstruction, social justice and reconciliation." Nevertheless, the Fellowship reports:

The Vietnamese Government has stepped up efforts to dissolve the existing Buddhist Church and replace it with a completely controlled organization...6/

The situation in Vietnam is accurately described in this year's <u>Human Rights Report</u>. So is the situation in China, where, the report explains:

The stated aim of the eight patriotic officially sanctioned religious organizations is to ensure that all religious organizations accept the leadership of the party and the state.7/

There has been some relaxation of the limits on religious

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and grades

life in China in the last four years. But it remains to be seen whether this represents anything more than a hollow gesture designed to win religious support for China in the democratic world.

The <u>1983 Human Rights Report</u> unfortunately does not convey an adequate sense of the influence of the state in the religious life of Cuba. Cuba's official churches are effective agencies for the promotion of Marxism-Leninism throughout the Americas -and even in our own country.

This effort began in the early 1970's, with a number of meetings between Cuban leaders, revolutionary political leaders from Latin America, and left-leaning church figures. The theme Castro pressed was described this way by Father James Conway, Chaplain of the University of California, who attended one such meeting in Chile in late 1971:

> ...What he (Castro) saw now was that Christians could be strategic and not simply tactical allies with the Marxists. He was reflecting the famous quote by Che Guevera, which was the theme of the conference. When Christians dared to give integral revolutionary witness, then the Latin American revolution will be invincible.8/

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In keeping with this strategy, Cuba's official church agencies have promoted the "Cuban model" throughout the hemisphere -- even as the Castro government persecutes authentic Christians at home. The Cuban Council of Evangelical Churches -ostensibly a Protestant body -- was described by its leader, Dr. Raul Fernandez Ceballos, as having this purpose:

...to help Christians understand the ongoing social process and examine similarities between Christian

- 8 -

and Revolutionary commitment. We feel that Marxism offers an effective methodology to carry out Christ's mandate to feed the hungry and clothe the naked.9/

The Cuban Council of Churches is active on many international fronts, and is often honored with a prominent place in the programs of our own mainline Protestant Church agencies. But a revealing assessment of the true size and importance of this socalled "progressive" Cuban Christian group was provided by James Wallace, a writer for a pro-Castro organizaton called the Cuba Resource Center:

> ...there are probably no more than 200 active, progressive Christians among some 50,000 Protestants and several million Catholics. Throughout the 1960's and even today, a major criticism leveled against the progressive Christians and institutions (such as the seminary and MEC) by the majority of Christians has been that they relate to or represent no base: They are portrayed as a person with a big head and large mouth but no body.10/

The Soviet model -- the subversion of religious life rather than mere religious repression -- seems to be the preferred system in the Communist world. It is the model for the governments of Cuba and Vietnam, and has apparent appeal for the Sandinista government of Nicaragua, where a government-inspired "peoples church" is being promoted as an alternative to the independent Roman Catholic episcopacy.

Nicaragua's leaders are disarmingly candid in identifying Havana as their new Rome. An article recently in the <u>New York</u> <u>Times Magazine</u> quotes the Sandinista Minister of Culture, Ernesto Cardenal, declaring that his visit to Cuba in 1970 was "like a

- 9 -

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second conversion":

...then I saw that Cuba was the Gospel put into practice. $\underline{11}/$

Pope John Paul II's recent mission to Nicaragua was clearly intended to counter this attempt at political subversion of the authentic religious traditions and institutions of that country.

Even in Eastern Europe, where ruling Communist Parties long gave the impression of wanting "co-existence" with well-established religious institutions, there are signs of increasing State intrusion into church affairs, and heightened conflict with churches which do not collaborate with Communist purposes. Although there are many distinctive qualities to the circumstances of the churches in Czechoslovakia, Poland, East Germany and Lithuania -- the situation of each in its own way bears out this general point.

The churches of the Soviet bloc have most recently been exploited by the ruling political powers on behalf of the Soviet peace offensive. This is accomplished in large measure through the Christian Peace Conference, based in Prague -- an organization with which, surprisingly, our own National Council of Churches maintains warm official relations. The Christian Peace Conference calls for disarmament and Christian pacifism -- but only on the part of the West. It acquiesces completely in Communist repression of peace sentiments within the Soviet empire. It has even forthrightly endorsed the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

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The purpose of this quite sketchy survey is only to propose that the problem of religious repression, a central issue on the human rights agenda, merits further study by this Committee and by the Department of State. There are many reasons to suspect that the attitude of many Communist rulers toward religion is changing. Once they despised religion as "the opium of the people." Today they still regard religion as a dangerous drug -but many Communist governments now seem interested in the possibilities of becoming dealers in this supposed "drug."

The subversion of religion by the totalitarian state is by far the most cruel and damaging form of religious repression. It poisons the one vessel of conscience and spirit that often remains to the subjects of police society. It violates history's traditional place of consolation and sanctuary. It turns the refuge of the oppressed into another of the torments of the oppressor.

There will surely be some comment here about the deficiencies of this year's <u>Human Rights Report</u> in treating the human rights violations of nations with which the United States has some common interest or alliance. While it surely has some imperfections, I consider this year's <u>Report</u> to be a serious and careful survey of the condition of human rights in the world, and I believe most of those associated with our Institute will share that opinion. Nevertheless, as excellent as this document is in its assessment of the freedoms of conscience, association, and religious expression, it may if anything be too gentle in its description of the abuses of religion in the Communist world.

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The government of the United States has many ways in which it can attempt to influence the practices of even these adversary systems. One hopes that these will soon receive at least as much attention as the means we have for punishing our allies -attention that has long been neglected by the Executive Branch, the Congress, and, not least, by many of our own churches.

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Footnotes

- 1/ Jacques Mauritain, Christianity and Democracy, trans. Doris C. Anson (New York: Scribners, 1944) p.37.
- 2/ Alexis de Toqueville, Democracy in America, trans. Henry Reeve (New York: Schocken Books, 1974.) p. 362.

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- 3/ Don Luigi Sturzo, Nationalism and Internationalism, (New York: Roy Publishers, 1946) p. 40.
- 4/ Press release, October 17, 1981; Religion in Communist Dominated Areas, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027.
- 5/ Denis D. Gray, "Religion Under Fire in Communist Vietnam", Newport News Daily Press, Nov. 22, 1981.
- 6/ As reported in <u>New World Outlook</u>, January, 1982; published by the United Methodist Board of Global Ministries, New York, New York.
- 7/ Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1982, U.S. Department of State, p. 684.
- 8/ From a transcript of the NBC "Today Show", June 6, 1972; as published in the <u>Cuba Resource Center Newsletter</u>, July, 1972, p.4.
- 9/ As quoted in The United Methodist Reporter, Dallas, Texas, September 9, 1977.
- 10/ James Wallace, "Christians in Cuba", The Cuba Resource Center Newsletter, April, 1973.
- 11/ As quoted in "Revolution and the Intellectual in Latin America", by Alan Riding, <u>The New York Times Magazine</u>, March 13, 1983.

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for inte



George C. Roche III, President

A division of Hillsdale College 33 East College Street Hillsdale, MI 49242 (517) 437-7341

center for constructive alternatives

July 15, 1983

Mr. Morton Blackwell 3128 North 17th Street Arlington, VA 22201

Dear Morton:

I want to thank you very much for all the help and assistance you have been giving to one of our recent graduates, Lee Bellinger, and want to congratulate you on the fine work that you are doing there at the White House.

I want to take this opportunity to bring you up to date on the activities of Hillsdale College's Center for Constructive Alternatives for the 1983-84 academic year.

September 18-22, 1983

"Imago dei: What is Man?"

This seminar will be a joint project of the Hillsdale College Christian Studies Program and the Center for Constructive Alternatives. It will bring leading theologians, scientists, historians, writers and evangelists to focus on the role of man in our society as expressed in the fundamental ideas and values of the Bible. Confirmed speakers include: Carl F. H. Henry, Paul Vitz, Gerhart Neimeyer, Rabbi Seymour Siegel, Reverend Stanley Jaki, and Tom Burke among others.

November 6-10, 1983

"American Foreign Policy and the Individual Citizen: Central America as a Case Study" This seminar will bring representatives from Central America, the United States Congress, the State Department, universities, public policy centers and the press to address how the economic, cultural, historical, and military relationships between the United States and Central American countries shape our foreign policy with them. Confirmed speakers thus far include: Enrique Baloyra, Richard Pipes, Manual Ayau, Humberto Belli, Henry Hyde, Agustin Navarro and Jesse Helms.

Visiting lecturers have included: Ralph Abernathy Tom Bethell Robert Bleiberg Rhodes Boyson James Buckley William F. Buckley, Jr. George Bush John Chamberlain Lindley H. Clark, Jr. Philip M. Crane Midge Decter James Dickey Edith Efron M. Stanton Evans Edwin J. Feulner, Jr. George Gilder Nathan Glazer Alexander Haig Jeffrey Hart F. A. Hayek Henry Hazlitt Carl F. H. Henry Sidney Hook Jesse Jackson Harry Jaffa Herman Kahn Jack Kemp James J. Kilpatrick Russell Kirk Irving Kristol Arthur Laffer Reed Larson Ernest Lefever Fritz Machlup Malcolm Muggeridge Ralph Nader Gerhart Niemeyer Lyn Nofziger Michael Novak Norman Podhoretz J. Enoch Powell Leonard E. Read Ronald Reagan Paul Craig Roberts William A. Rusher Phyllis Schlafly Frank Shakespeare Arthur Shenfield William E. Simon Joseph Sobran Thomas Sowell David A. Stockman Edward Teller Strom Thurmond R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr. Eric Voegelin Jude Wanniski Ben J. Wattenberg Walter Williams Tom Wolfe ...and more with each quarterly CCA Seminar February 5-9, 1984

"The Role of the Entrepreneur in a Free Society" Speakers will include leading American entrepreneurs, public policy experts, an economist, and representatives of the media that examine the entrepreneur in America.

March 11-15, 1984

"Language Under Siege"

This seminar will be an examination of the state of our scholarly, creative and journalistic writing. Journalists, academics, novelists, poets and leading scholars of language will present papers.

For the 1983-84 Ludwig von Mises Lecture Series and <u>Champions of Freedom #11</u>, we have chosen a theme. The lecturers will address a major aspect of the international economic order. The Hillsdale College Chairman of the Economics Department and selected professors will provide a brief introductory statement of Ludwig von Mises's thoughts on each position paper topic.

We have selected this lecture format to demonstrate the application of Ludwig von Mises's economic principles and moral vision to current economic questions.

Speakers confirmed at this time include: Robert Weintraub, February 21, 1984; Henry Hazlitt, March 6, 1984; and Tony Harrigan, April 18, 1984.

The von Mises lecturers have been asked to present recommendations, based on their professional and scholarly area of expertise, for businessmen, citizens, elected officials, and bureaucrats and diplomats to use in their development of the United States' role in the international economic order.

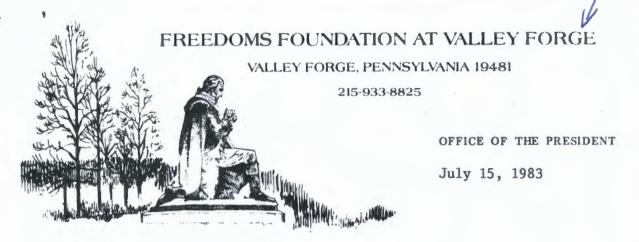
These seminars and lectures are continuing to be presented as the result in part to your support. As you know, Hillsdale College relies solely on the contributions of individuals and private organizations for its resources.

I look forward to seeing you soon.

Sincerely,

Director of the Center for Constructive Alternatives

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The Hon. Morton C. Blackwell Special Asst. to the Pres. The White House Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Blackwell:

In 1981, Justin Dart and former Treasury Secretary William Simon created an organization known as Enterprise America. This was the seccessor to the Center for the Study of Private Enterprise at the University of Southern California founded in 1975. Its purpose was to educate the American public about our private enterprise system and to promote an understanding of the benefits derived from it and support for those governmental policies necessary to sustain it.

Enterprise America has recently been merged with Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, a non-political, non-sectarian, nonprofit organization working since 1949 to foster responsible citizenship through an understanding and appreciation of America's political, social and economic institutions. It is our belief that this merger will enhance our ability to educate the American public about the private enterprise system and their stake in preserving it. Both Mr. Dart and Mr. Simon have joined our Board of Directors.

A major program of this new division will be the Freedoms Foundation News Service. The news service will offer daily newspapers across the country, with circulation under 100,000, a bi-weekly package of news features, op-ed pieces, editorials and graphics for use at no charge. With its emphasis on private enterprise issues, the Freedoms Foundation News Service will provide the nation's editors with information and perspectives not available to the general media coverage of major public policy issues.

You can assist this effort by placing us on your mailing list to receive corporate publications, news releases, newsletters, etc. A flow of information from the private sector The Hon. Morton C. Blackwell July 15, 1983 Page two

will help us tell its story to the American public. In addition, we will, in the future, be soliciting signed editorials from business and civic leaders to include in the news service package.

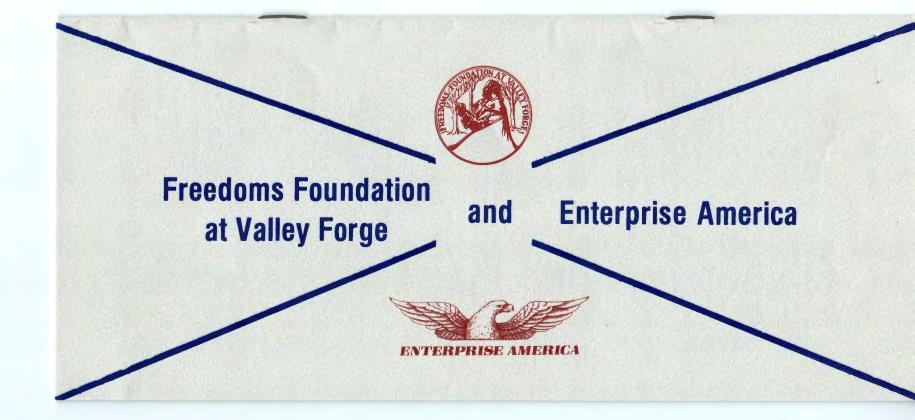
This program will be managed from our new Washington Office under the direction of John Barth. The address is Suite 1010, 1010 Vermont Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20005. The Phone number is (202) 783-3350.

With best personal regards,

cordially, Most hally

RWM/dmh

enclosure



Freedoms Foundation and Enterprise America Merge

The friends and supporters of Enterprise America and Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge will be pleased to know that on June 15, 1983, Enterprise America became an operating program of Freedoms Foundation.

The merger of these two institutions, with their combined leadership, resources and membership, is significant to every advocate of private enterprise and the basic values upon which this nation was founded. A comprehensive network will now be developed to communicate both the vital function of profit incentive in attaining individual opportunity and prosperity and the major role private enterprise must play as the linchpin of a revitalized economy.

Specifically, the goals of this new network will be:

* to foster an understanding of and an appreciation for our constitutional form of government;

to motivate responsible citizenship among all citizens;

* to promote an understanding of our heritage;

* to develop a full understanding of the role of private enterprise and profit incentives in securing the freedoms and material comforts we enjoy as citizens;

* to foster a balanced and objective treatment of private enterprise in the media and mass communications;

* to unite educators and businessmen on behalf of private enterprise.

These goals have been shared by the two organizations independently; they will continue to be the central focus of our consolidated efforts. The merger signifies a union worthy of the support of every American interested in a vigorous national economy and in preserving the political, social and human freedoms underlying our constitutional form of government.

Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge

A non-profit, non-sectarian, non-political organization founded in 1949, Freedoms Foundation promotes the concepts of free government and the responsibilities of citizenship through extensive programs of information and education. Its national headquarters and campus overlook a portion of the historic grounds where General Washington and the Continental Army camped during the winter of 1777-78. Approximately 25 miles west of Philadelphia, the campus includes an administration building, multi-purpose classroom building, residence halls, chapel and an outdoor amphitheater for public events.

The Foundation's major efforts center on an annual National Awards program and an Education program designed for young people, educators and other professionals. The programs are supported by members of 43 Volunteer Chapters located throughout the United States.

Awards

National Awards The National Awards program was established nearly 35 years ago to honor individuals, groups and organizations whose voluntary efforts demonstrate their faith in this country. Selected by an independent jury, awards are presented in several specific categories within the general areas of journalism, advertising, electronic communications, public addresses, economic education, individual achievement, youth and community projects. Awards are also conferred for outstanding individual efforts at the national and international level.

Private Enterprise Awards Permanently endowed by the trustees of the Thomas and Dorothy Leavey Foundation, this special cash awards program is specifically for fulltime high school teachers and faculty members of accredited colleges, in recognition of their outstanding innovative classroom techniques and projects which promote the positive role of the private enterprise system in improving the standard of living for all citizens. Up to twenty awards, ranging from \$7,500 to \$15,000 for an unusually significant entry, may be conferred each year.

Education

In recent years the Foundation has become an important educational institution offering fully accredited graduate seminars, American history workshops, a variety of specialized programs and a rapidly expanding youth program.

Youth Leadership Conferences Over 9,000 elementary, junior and senior high school students from all 50 states and several foreign countries have attended these sessions held both on and off the Valley Forge campus. The conferences offer young people a unique opportunity to participate in a discussion-exchange with representatives from government, industry and the academic community through lectures, debates and group discussions. The sessions expose students to the wide choices and opportunities available in a free society, stress the responsibilities of citizenship, and encourage them to explore personal goals and values.

Graduate Programs and American History Workshops Since 1965 the Foundation has conducted a comprehensive and diversified continuing education program for high school teachers, college faculty and other professionals. National and international experts lecture in subject areas related to seminar topics such as "Freedom and Totalitarianism," "Freedom and National Security," "Freedom and Mass Communications," and "Freedom and Economics." Each program is fully accredited by leading universities including Penn State, St. Joseph's, and the University of Dallas.

The American History workshops provide teachers with new insights into past events which helped shape the country's development. The workshops focus on both the Revolutionary War and the Civil War, featuring visits to significant historical sites and classroom lectures.

Altogether over 7,000 professionals from all 50 states have attended these sessions.

Enterprise America

Enterprise America was formed to educate people across the nation about the positive influence of private enterprise on every American's way of life and its importance as the basis of our national economy.

Founded in 1981 as a non-profit educational organization, Enterprise America is the successor to the Center for the Study of Private Enterprise at the University of Southern California. It was created and co-chaired by former secretary of the U.S. Treasury William E. Simon and Justin Dart, Executive Committee Chairman of Dart & Kraft, Inc.; they will continue to provide their guidance and expertise to the project.

Enterprise America's programs have reached millions of people nationwide. Its audience includes the general public, students, teachers, shareholders, employees, consumers, executives and political leaders. Its nonpartisan message, disseminated through public-service advertising on radio and billboards, in business magazines, books, posters, payroll inserts and monthly publications, provides information on using private enterprise and the political process to rebuild a vigorous national economy. The news media is reached through the Enterprise NewService which distributes a packet of timely information outlining the impact of federal government policies on private enterprise to 1,600 daily newspapers.

Enterprise America maintains Hubs of organizations and individuals who support its nationwide efforts in major metropolitan areas across the country. The Hubs form a cohesive center to energize local and regional grassroots support on behalf of private enterprise.

Summary

Freedoms Foundation has primarily dedicated its efforts to helping Americans, particularly young Americans, become informed about the nature of their government, its relationship to their lives and their responsibility for its future. Enterprise America has concentrated on promoting an understanding of our economic system and its positive role in shaping our society. The merger now makes it possible for Freedoms Foundation to bring to all Americans – manager and laborer, owner and employee, student and educator – the knowledge that all our freedoms, our comforts, our strengths as a nation are rooted in the American private enterprise system.

The combined organization is tax exempt and receives no financial assistance from government. However, the merger will enhance Freedoms Foundation's already prestigious stature as a national institution, and help it attract the substantial funding required to implement its programs from individuals, foundations and organizations.

Leadership

President Ronald Reagan, the honorary chairman of both organizations, will continue to serve as honorary chairman of Freedoms Foundation. Msgrs. Simon and Dart have joined the Foundation's Board of Directors. The members of Enterprise America's Advisory Board have been invited to join the Council of Trustees.

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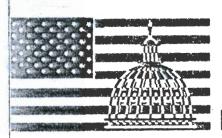
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INTERCESSORS FOR AMERICA

June 13, 1983

File:

Mr. Penn Kemble The Institute on Religion and Democracy 1000 16th Street N.W. Suite LL50 Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Mr. Kemble:

I received a copy of your report, <u>A Time For Candor</u> from Morton Blackwell at the White House. I want to commend you on the thoroughness, the relevance, and timeliness of this report.

I wonder if you have considered any kind of similar effort on positions of the mainline churches toward the abortion issue? I cannot help but feel that the stance of the mainline churches on this issue is one of the major reasons that we have had difficulty enacting pro-life legislation.

Again, thank you for your fine work.

Yours sincerely,

m D'Account

John D. Beckett President

gm

cc: Morton C. Blackwell ✓
Special Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison

The Institute on Religion and Democracy

1000 16th STREET N.W., SUITE LL 50 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

May 23, 1983

Mr. Morton Blackwell Old Executive Bldg. Rm. 191 Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Blackwell:

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United Church of Christ Laywoman

Pastor, First United Methodist Church, Carrollton, Texas Ronald R. Cavanagh

Associate Dean, Syracuse University

It was good of you to ask Mabel Shortley to call me regarding my note on the card after last Thursday's El Salvador group meeting. I think you and I cleared up my concern in our conversation at the CDM meeting that night.

I am enclosing a tentative program for our conference on "Religious Freedom East and West: The Human Rights Issue for the Eighties," which will be held on July 10-12. We would be most grateful for your assistance in recruiting concerned religious persons for participation in this. I have asked Mary Ellen Bork (Judge Bork's wife) to call your office to find out if you might be able to spare a few minutes to go over your suggestions on whom we might invite.

We have learned that Armando Valladares, released last year from Cuba's prisons, will accept our annual religious liberty award during the conference. He is a very moving figure, and should prove interesting to many of your friends.

Sincerely,

Penn Kemble

(202) 822-8627

Encl.

File:

Tentative Conference Program "RELIGIOUS FREEDOM EAST AND WEST: THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE FOR THE EIGHTIES"

Sponsored by THE INSTITUTE ON RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS

July 10, 11 & 12, 1983 MAYFLOWER HOTEL WASHINGTON, D.C.

Conference Chairman: Edmund W. Robb, Chairman, Executive Committee of L.R.D.

Sunday, July 10 4:00 p.m. 7:00 p.m.	Registration Convocation Religious Freedom: Cornerstone of Human Rights. Speakers: Carl Henry,* Lecturer-At-Large, World Vision International Paul Kurtz,* ed. Free Inquiry J. Bryan Hehir*, U.S. Catholic Conf.
Monday, July 11 8:00 a.m. 9:00 a.m.	Registration <u>Session I</u> : Religion & Democracy: Examining the Links. Speakers: Richard J. Neuhaus,* ed, <u>Lutheran Forum</u> Franklin Littell*, Temple University Father Ernest L. Fortin*, Boston College
10:30 a.m.	BREAK
10:45 a.m.	DISCUSSION
12:00 - 2:00 p.m.	LUNCHEON BREAK
2:00 p.m.	Session II: Religious Freedom in the Communist World. Speakers: Max Kampelman*, Chrm. American Delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe Bohdan Bociurkiw*, Carleton College, Canada
3:30 p.m.	BREAK
3:45 p.m.	DISCUSSION

* Confirmed speakers

Monday July 11

6:30 p.m. RECEPTION

7:30 p.m. DINNER

9:00 a.m.

- "Religious Freedom as an Element of U.S. Foreign Policy". Speakers:
- --Elliott Abrams*, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights --Comment: Congressman James C. Wright

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AWARD

Tuesday, July 12

Session III: Religious Freedom as An Issue in America's Religious Organizations: Accomplishments and Failures. Speakers:

- --Robert Dugan*, National Association of Evangelicals
- --Bishop Basil*, Orthodox Church
- --Haviland Houston, General Board of Church & Society
- 10:30 a.m. BREAK
- 10:45 a.m. DISCUSSION

12:00 p.m. LUNCHEON BREAK

2:00 p.m.

 Session IV: Religious Action for International Religious Freedom. Speakers:

- -Josef Ton*, Pres. Romanian Missionary Society;
- --Sister Ann Gillen*, Inter-Rel. Task Force on Soviet Jewry

4:00 p.m. CLOSING PRAYER