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Testimony by
Robert P. Dugan, Jr., Director
Office of Public Affairs
National Association of Evangelicals
1430 K Street, NW
Washington, DC 20005

Confirmation Hearing re: ERNEST W. LEFEVER for
Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs

Senate Committee on Foreign Relations

May 19, 1981

The National Association of Evangelicals is a voluntary association of evangelical Christians numbering nearly four million among our 38,000 churches from seventy-four denominations. Through commissions and affiliates like the National Religious Broadcasters and World Relief, we actually serve a constituency of approximately fifteen million.

We are not politically motivated in asking to testify at these hearings, since the NAE is not a political organization, nor is it involved in advancing partisan legislation for any particular ideology. My primary purpose in testifying is to express evangelical concern for human rights and how these rights may be advanced by the appointment of Dr. Ernest Lefever to the position of Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs.

I sincerely believe that my views reflect those of most evangelicals in the United States, but I want to make it clear that I am not speaking officially for NAE. Had NAE desired to formulate a resolution on the nomination of Dr. Lefever, it would have been procedurally impossible within the time frame of his nomination and these hearings.

My secondary purpose in testifying is to express disappointment at the widespread distortion of the concept of human rights. Our national policy in the past has often been more critical of friendly nations than, for example, of totalitarian Soviet expansionist powers. To employ a phrase from columnist George Will, we have manifested "a selectivity of indignation." It has been difficult to understand why some human rights activists have appeared preoccupied with relatively minor abridgements of rights, at the same time overlooking massive denials of liberty to millions of human beings.

Furthermore, the media have communicated an impression that religious leaders are generally opposed to the appointment of Ernest Lefever. That this is not the case is demonstrated both by my presence here and by the large number of letters written by a diversity of religious leaders supporting his appointment.

At the outset, I wish to communicate my conviction about Dr. Lefever's character and integrity, which has been questioned by some who apparently misunderstand him or his principles. We flatly reject any suggestion that Dr. Lefever is opposed to human rights. He is not. Admittedly, his perception of the best tack to follow in preserving human rights differs from that of his opponents, but his commitment is no less sincere. As a matter of fact, he has written that "human rights are what politics is all about."

Our endorsement of Dr. Lefever does not imply that we concur with everything he has espoused in the past. Many evangelicals, to illustrate, would differ with him on his willingness to use missionaries for overseas intelligence gathering, although it should be stated that he appears only to advocate using such channels as a matter of extreme necessity. Looking to the future, we do not predict that every judgment he will make will please us or be characterized as infallible. By the same token, the United States Senate is not infallible either, and we freely acknowledge that we purchase pencils with erasers on them for use in our NAE office!

Our endorsement is based upon Ernest Lefever's philosophical and strategic approaches to human rights, which are compelling to us in their wisdom. Before discussing these, however, let me lay some groundwork from our evangelical perspective.

Human rights are not the invention of twentieth century politics, but are as old as the human race itself. They flow, in our belief, from the conviction that humanity was created in the image of God. Man's innate human rights were affirmed when God assigned him stewardship over the earth and were finally confirmed when God himself took on humanity in the person of Jesus Christ. It is not inconsequential that this whole conception of rights, of the oneness of humanity and of the dignity of man, has arisen within the Judaeo-Christian tradition.

Obviously these rights are also universal. Value and dignity are an integral part of every human being, no matter what gender, race, nationality, or religion. The dismissal of God as the source and sanction of human rights obscures the precise identification of those rights. It is our belief that neither a utopian evolutionary philosophy or a radical secular view of reality and life can persuasively maintain the permanent or universal dignity of mankind. Evangelicals, convinced of this and committed to the inspired, authoritative Scriptures know that the Word of God calls them to pray, speak and act on behalf of persons whose rights are violated by abusive regimes, whether on the right or left. We are bound by the Psalmist's word, "Lord, I know that You defend the cause of the poor and rights of the needy."

Evangelicals in past decades have been in the forefront of humanitarian reform. They strove for an end to the slave trade, for child labor laws, prison reform, improved factory labor conditions, the protection of children, and other causes in the sphere of social justice. In this day they are no less committed to human rights. This concern, unlike that of liberal Christianity, has not resulted in a political-economic perspective which has manifested itself in support of Marxist causes.

Evangelicals have not taken to the streets to demonstrate their concern for human rights. Rather, they have demonstrated their concern by identifying themselves not so much with social customs or discontents, but with persons in their survival needs: physical, moral and spiritual. Survival requirements include material help to the needy, social justice to the oppressed, and redemption to all who respond to the Gospel. Consequently, evangelicals are characterized by medical, literacy, educational and change-oriented ministries, in addition to their preaching. We believe that the voice of the Church has been conspicuously weakened whenever this approach has been forsaken. Sadly, many religious leaders appear to have substituted public pronouncements, promotion of legislation, organization of demonstrations, or violent revolution for the biblical task of the Church. I think that the above clarification is relevant to this hearing on human rights policy, since many evangelicals are distressed by the apparent politicization of the term human rights. The term must not become a slogan and rationalization for socio-political revolution in Third World countries.

As I have just indicated, evangelicals have chosen to come to the aid of the suffering and oppressed through individual and corporate church efforts to meet the survival needs of people. How a national government can come to the aid of oppressed peoples is a more difficult question to resolve, involving complex issues of foreign policy. Most of us church leaders are willing to admit that we are not foreign policy experts. But I can testify to the reasons why many evangelicals support the nomination of Dr. Lefever to work in this crucial area of protecting human rights.

In the first place, we identify with the philosophical approach that Lefever brings to his understanding of how to deal with human rights violations. He writes:

One's understanding of international politics is not only drawn from the study of history, political science and current affairs, but is a reflection of what one believes about the nature of man and history.

Reflective of his biblical understanding of humanity, he points out:

Men are inclined to seek their own interests at the expense of the rights of others; hence there will always be a struggle of pride and power within and among nations.

Evangelicals agree with Lefever that:

Political conflict, domestic or international, is rooted in the nature of man...If the presuppositions of the Biblical understanding of human nature are correct, there will always be conflicts of power and interest among men and nations...The best we can expect is a rough justice, an unstable equilibrium and an uneasy truce.

Those who subscribe to a liberal theological view that man is innately good and will be able to produce the kingdom of God on earth will find much to disagree with in Dr. Lefever's philosophy, emphasizing as it does man's morally ambiguous nature, and the political realities involved in trying to impose our values on sovereign governments. Evangelical recognition of man's sinful nature and its consequences compels acceptance of the view that the world political arena is a tough arena where coercive power counts more than good intentions. Likewise, evangelicals reject as naive the notion that a vision of morality and goodness will prevail merely because it is moral and good. Nevertheless, we must contend for human rights in a marriage of realism and progressivism, a hard-nosed, no-nonsense view of the world and yet a belief that improvement is possible. It is with this kind of appreciation of the practical limits of foreign policy that Dr. Lefever approaches his job.

In the second place, we find refreshing the methodological approach of Lefever. He intends to labor for human rights in a different fashion than has been attempted in recent years. I applaud his intention of using quiet diplomatic channels at appropriate times and places, as opposed to human rights posturing when it becomes an end in itself. While Dr. Lefever recognizes that "public preaching to friend or foe has limited utility," he has advocated on numerous occasions that the Soviet Union and all other governments should be reminded of their pledge in the United Nations charter and the Helsinki Agreement.

Neither we nor Dr. Lefever reject the conviction that morality has a place in foreign policy. Nevertheless, it must be recognized in foreign affairs that many situations are morally ambiguous, marked by clashing moral principles. The foreign policy maker must sort out conflicting principles and determine which ought to take precedence and what sort of balance to strike. Often the highest morality necessitates political toleration of certain evils or a choice of the lesser of evils, a practical reality especially pertinent to human rights issues. In all humility, I think it needs to be said that this nation's own history of slavery and its treatment of the American Indian should caution us not to be too quick to condemn foreign governments when they fall short of our current perceptions of morality and justice.

In the third place, we support the functional approach of Lefever to the conduct of foreign affairs. He does not reject the Christian view of the proper function of government. Its purpose is to provide order, justice and freedom for its people, not to serve as a self-appointed worldwide judge. As Lefever correctly notes, "the means available to any nation for influencing the policies of other nations are highly limited." Indeed, neither God nor any international institution has appointed the United States to be policeman to the world. As much as we love our freedom and cherish our democratic republic, we do not have the right as a nation to force our manner of life upon other nations.

Dr. Lefever is right in asserting that "serving as an example, then, is our most effective way to nudge forward the cause of human dignity." This pragmatic approach should not be considered a retreat

from the espousal of human rights. Having said this, let me emphasize that we cannot so subordinate human rights considerations that they become irrelevant, lest we be not only politically inept but morally insensitive.

In the fourth place, we concur with Lefever's analytical approach in differentiating authoritarian and totalitarian regimes:

The human rights activists tend to underestimate totalitarian threats to the West and totalitarian temptation in the Third World. They neglect or trivialize the fundamental political and moral struggle of our time -- the protracted conflict between forces of total government based on coercion and the proponents of limited government based on popular consent and humane law. In their preoccupation with the minor abridgment of certain rights in authoritarian states, they often overlook the massive threat to the liberty of millions....

In our charter American political documents human rights have an inalienable status, as the Declaration of Independence indicates. Totalitarian powers that erode that status ought to be criticized above all others. We should not overlook massive violations of human rights by major totalitarian powers to focus solely on violations in authoritarian nations, or we would be straining out a gnat and swallowing a camel. To quote the noted evangelical scholar and current President of the American Theological Society, Carl F.H. Henry, "To exempt adversary nations from criticism while we belabor the compromises of allies, is cosmetic window-dressing."

Authoritarian regimes permit a greater degree of freedom and diversity in political, cultural, economic and religious spheres than do the totalitarian ones. Moreover, there is evidence of the capacity of authoritarian rule to evolve into democratic rule, such as happened in Spain and Portugal. In contrast, communist dictatorships are not known for making peaceful transitions to representative government.

There are those who adamantly criticize Dr. Lefever who have been supporters of left-wing revolutionary causes. It is entirely possible that Lefever is resented by some clergy because he, a former ordained minister, has fought their growing tendency to identify the demands of God with the demand for political revolution. Our national policy ought to reflect Lefever's emphasis that the soundest traditions of civil government commend the path of reason and orderly change and resist terrorism and violence as preferred means of social reform.

Let me conclude by saying that I regard Dr. Lefever as eminently qualified for the post of Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs. He has a fine educational background in Christian ethics. He is well-read and has himself written a great deal in the field of ethics and public policy. He is committed to the causes of the oppressed. Let me briefly sketch his background.

He received a B.D. and Ph.D. in Christian ethics from Yale University and has had teaching or research assignments at American University, Georgetown University, the University of Maryland, Johns Hopkins University, the Brookings Institution, and the Library of Congress.

During his college and seminary years, Dr. Lefever spent six summers as a volunteer in work camps serving the needs of slum children in Philadelphia, unemployed persons in Kansas, and migratory laborers on the West Coast. During this period he was active in the American civil rights movement. In 1942, he helped relocate the first Japanese-Americans from a California internment center.

For three years (1945-48), he was a voluntary field secretary of the World's YMCA providing educational, recreational, and religious facilities for German prisoners of war in England and returning prisoners in West Germany.

From 1952 to 1954 he was the associate executive director of the National Council of Churches' Department of International Affairs. An ordained minister for forty years, he has been involved in many church and community activities.

Dr. Lefever is founder and president of the Ethics and Public Policy Center of Washington, D.C., an independent research organization.

Based upon the soundness of his philosophy and strategy of approach to the pressing problem of human rights, and supported by his superb qualifications, I strongly urge this committee's support of Dr. Lefever's nomination to the full Senate, for the post of Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs.

MATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COUNTY OF CO

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS/1430 K STREET NW/WASHINGTON DC 20005/[202] 628-7911

May 1, 1981

Dear Morton I really appreciated my time with you Community Here is a copy of my letter re: portal committee monters rates to the Home budget to Dave Stockman



NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF

EVANGELICALS

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS/1430 K STREET NW/WASHINGTON DC 20005/[202] 628-7911

May 1, 1981

Mr. Morton Blackwell The White House Washington, D.C. 20050

Dear Morton:

We are greatly concerned that the Postal Service's public appropriation for non-profit organizations may be eliminated from the Federal Budget. It is imperative that this matter be satisfactorily resolved before the final vote is taken on the budget resolution.

In the Postal Reorganization Act of 1970 Congress mandated that every class of mail should pay its own way. To insure the survival of non-profit mailers, Congress provided a sixteen year phase-in period for the postal increases.

The Senate budget resolution did not include any of the \$289 million public service appropriation required to continue to carry out this phase-in plan. If the Senate prevails, non-profits will have their rates immediately boosted to those proposed for 1987, a 94% increase for second class mail and a 55% increase in third class. The attached statement of concern and the NAE WASH-INGTON INSIGHT (page 2) contain further specifics of our problem.

We support President Reagan in his efforts to cut the federal budget, which is why we are not asking for full restoration of the \$289 million postal subsidy eliminated by the Senate. But simple justice demands that Congress not abrogate completely its commitment to a phase-in plan designed to foster the survival of non-profit mailers.

To appropriate Job 3:25, even if outside its context, "the thing that we fear has come upon us." We appeal to your sense of fair play and urge that there be included in the budget resolution at least \$150 million for non-profit mailers in order that religious publishers be given a chance to survive.

Faithfully yours,

RPDJr:FDM:alp Robert P. Dugan, Jr. Enclosures Director

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Prepared by: NAE Office of Public Affairs, 1430 K Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20005. Phone 202-628-7911 Robert P. Dugan, Jr., Director/Forest D. Montgomery, Counsel/Richard Cizik, Researcher

Washington, DC / May, 1981 Volume III, Number 5

Dear Evangelical Friend:

America exhaled more than a sigh of relief at the failed assassination attempt on President Reagan. It was a prayer of gratitude, and well it should have been. The operating surgeon felt the President would have died if taken to the White House or to a more distant hospital. A larger than .22 caliber bullet might have killed four.

Speaking of the location of the explosive bullet, so close to the heart, surgeon Benjamin Aaron suggested "there was some kind of Divine Providence or something riding with that bullet. Because it still had a lot of zing, and one can only conjecture how much worse things might have been." Long ago David said to Jonathan, "there is but a step between me and death." That is true for us all.

THE ASSAILANT Fortunately there was little flagellation of the nation in the press, attempting to blame society in general for the attempt. It was an irrational deed perpetrated by a tragically confused young man from a Christian family. Strictly an isolated event. Evangelicals surely will pray for the Hinckley family. There, but for the grace of God, goes anybody's son.

GUN CONTROL

The single most predictable result of the attempted assassination was a resurging effort to pass gun control legislation. Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-MA) and Rep. Peter Rodino (D-NJ) have introduced bills to ban cheap handguns known as "Saturday night specials," in order to inhibit a growing murder rate. Opponents of

gun control consistently contend that the right to keep and bear arms is necessary for personal freedom and protection, and that it is guaranteed by the Second Amendment. NAE has neither debated nor taken a position on this issue, but evangelicals with strong feelings one way or the other ought to make them known now, while the debate is hot.

A <u>Time</u> cartoon appears devastating. A Senator is stating that his position on gun control has not changed because "I get hundreds of letters a week opposing it." When asked about the 10,000 people killed each year by handguns he responds, "They seem to be much less vocal." On the other hand, <u>gun victim Ronald Reagan remains steadfastly opposed to any gun control legislation</u>. It's a tough subject.

POSTAL RATES

The religious press, along with other non-profits, could be in real trouble depending on the outcome of Postal Service appropriations. Many religious newspapers and magazines might be forced to cease publishing or at the least to cut back on frequency or on quality. Background to the current threat lies in the Postal Reorganization Act of 1970, mandating that every class of mail should pay its own way. That seemed fair.

However, non-profit organizations have historically been entitled to

preferred postage rates since Pony Express days.

In order not to break the backs of the non-profits, a phase-in period for the increases was extended in two steps to sixteen years. So far so good. But even with this consideration, non-profit organizations have experienced a 1500% rate increase in the last decade, the largest of any class of mailers. Now the Postal Service may not be able to live up to the remaining years of its sixteen year plan, because of budget cuts voted by Congress.

The Senate included none of the required \$289 million subsidy for non-profit mailers in its postal appropriations, but the House restored \$150 million in its version. If the Senate prevails, non-profits will have their rates immediately boosted to those proposed for 1987, a 94% increase in 2nd Class and a 55% increase in 3rd Class. Telephone calls may be better than letters, since action is needed immediately. Phone your Representative's district office and your Senators' state offices to urge adoption of the House provision of \$150 million, so that Congress will keep faith at least partially on the phasing-in. Our office will target conferees, once appointed.

TRUTH IN LABELING

If Rep. George Brown (D-CA) gets his way, there will be health warnings on alcoholic beverage labeling and advertising. His HR 2251 would require it. Brown placed in the Congressional Record a speech by the Director of the American Council on Alcohol Problems addressed to the British Parliament, in which he said "alcoholic beverages create severe problems. They cause more deaths, injury, illness and human misery than all other drugs combined." Most people would agree. Dollar costs for lost production, medical expenses and auto accidents run well into the billions, not to mention human anguish. Brown needs public support for his bill.

LINING UP

Did you think that Presidential politics would cease and desist for a couple of years after last November's election? We have news for you. Campaigning never stops.

There is no shortage of Democrats eager to challenge Ronald Reagan in 1984. The list begins with former Vice President Walter Mondale. At least four Democratic senators are interested: John Glenn (OH), Gary Hart (CO), Edward Kennedy (MA), and Paul Tsongas (MA). The last mentioned may actually be looking toward 1988 or beyond. Three Democratic Governors are testing the waters: Jerry Brown (CA), Robert Graham (FL),

and Jay Rockefeller (WV).

Here in Washington, political rumors are nearly as vital as the air we breathe. Clues to Presidential ambition are as thin as the report that Senator Glenn is accepting speaking engagements across the country, contrary to his Ohio-only policy since his first election in 1974. Clues are as straightforward as the knowledge that Mondale responded to an interviewer's inquiry as to whether he would like to be sworn in on January 20, 1985 by saying, "I'll try to give you a very clever answer. Yes." Some clues are as intriguing as figuring why Rockefeller would spend \$9.3 million of his own money on a successful gubernatorial re-election campaign in West Virginia. At the current salary, he would have to be Governor for 186 years to recoup that investment. He just may have something bigger in mind.

WILL THE ZIP Senators David Durenberger (R-MN) and Roger Jepsen (R-IA) BE ZAPPED? are leading a fight to "ZAP the ZIP" before the new nine-digit zip code goes into effect on June 1. The Postal Service claims that the system would cut costs and aid efficiency, but these senators contend that the system would be inordinately difficult for individuals and excessively expensive for organizations. The 1900 page ZIP code directory would expand to 30,000 pages. Most churches and religious organizations without computers would probably have to change and maintain mailing lists by dialing a toll-free telephone number. Durenberger is looking for a public outcry to help him get his S 678 to the Senate floor, to "do a number" on the expanded ZIP.

PERSUADING
On occasion we've been asked to call off the dogs in terms of letter-writing. That is an acknowledgment that pressure has produced. Citizens tend to forget the importance of congressional contact when the tide seems to be going their way. Here is an illustration, without reference to the merits of the case. Everyone was aware that mail was once 100-1 in favor of the President's spending cuts, so many supporters did not write. That allowed the flow to shift so that favorable mail was only 3-2 by the end of March, thus emboldening opponents of Reagan's plan.

So that you'll always have the correct format at hand, why not save this INSIGHT. Address a senator as The Honorable (full name), United States Senate, Washington, DC 20510, Dear Senator (name). Address a representative as The Honorable (full name), House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515, Dear Mr. or Mrs. (name).

NAE has never expressed itself on the proposed Equal EQUAL RIGHTS Rights Amendment to the Constitution. Incidentally, FOR WOMEN hardly anyone predicts that it will be ratified by its second deadline, June 30, 1982. ERA opponents have often argued that equal rights for women should be achieved legislatively, rather than by a constitutional amendment with, to them, undesirable implications. Now those opponents have a chance to demonstrate their good faith, in supporting a bill to correct certain inequitable laws re: women.

Three majority party senators introduced that opportunity on April 7, as the "Economic Equity Act of 1981." S 888. They are Senators Mark Hatfield (R-OR), David Durenberger (R-MN), and Bob Packwood (R-OR). Their bill would not impose greater governmental control nor significantly increase costs to taxpayers, but rather would alter discriminatory laws which perpetuate economic disadvantage to women in society. The Act proposes reforms in public and private pension laws, tax policy, insurance, and government regulation. On first reading the bill looks excellent. We believe that evangelicals will find it a vehicle for supporting justice for women.

HUMOR DEPARTMENT

We chuckled at columnist Dick West's clever juxtaposition of names recently, in the Capitol Hill weekly Roll Call. He suggested certain appropriate legislation, originated by current members of Congress. How about a wishing well deregulation bill submitted by two Coynes and a Fountain? You need not necessarily look for these: an Early-Frost weather control bill; a Pickle-Pepper bill, or Long-Rhodes highway construction legislation. The target at which a Quayle-Hunter bill aims should be evi-In the Senate, any gun control legislation should be a Cannon-Lugar bill. Concerned about a breakdown of discipline in the military? Nunn-Obey speaks to the question.

thfully yours,

Robert P. Dugan, Jr., Editor

NAE WASHINGTON INSIGHT

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF **2VANGELICALS**

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS/1430 K STREET NW/WASHINGTON DC 20005/[202] 628-7911

STATEMENT OF CONCERN OF NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATIONS

Since enactment of the Pony Express statutes, authorized non-profit organizations have been entitled to "preferred" postage rates under the law. Until passage of the Postal Reorganization Act of 1970, these rates were generally half those charged profit-making publications and businesses for second and third-class mailings. The 1970 law, although mandating that non-profit mail pay the actual attributable costs of delivering that mail, continued the "preferred" status of non-profit organizations and provided an 8-year period to phase-in the higher rates with Congress appropriating the difference as "revenue foregone". In 1974, when experience proved the new postage rates were far in excess of previous estimates, Congress extended that phasing period to 16 years.

Postage rates are the fastest-rising item in the budgets of non-profit organizations. The postage rates for churches, veterans and farm groups, educational and charitable institutions, community and labor organizations have increased approximately 1500 percent in ten years. Under current rate stuctures, these rates will double again by 1987.

Coping with these higher postage rates has forced non-profit organizations to curtail the frequency of publications, reduce the size and weight of paper, and decrease staff and operating budgets. While these economies have affected the quality and frequency of communications between non-profit groups and their members, the passing of the new rates has mitigated more serious disruptions and dislocations.

Therefore, non-profit organizations are gravely concerned by the proposed elimination of the federal funds required to continue and phasing of non-profit rates. If funds are not appropriated by October 1, 1981, the Postal Service would be forced to institute 1987 rates on that date. Overnight, postage costs for non-profit organizations would jump 94% for second class mail and 55% for third class, totally disrupting budgets and planning and jeopardizing the financial structure of non-profit organizations and their publications.

In appealing to the Administration and the Congress to restore the funding for the stretch-out in postage rate

increases for non-profit organizations, we wish to make the following points:

- 1) Many non-profit organizations cannot raise dues without a convention or membership vote; thus publications would be threatened. Charitable institutions would be forced to divert a higher percentage of contributions to administrative expenses and curtail planned charitable activities. Non-profit organizations have planned their budgets based on the scheduled increases in postage rates, in accordance with Congress' commitment to phase in rates.
- 2) Non-profit organizations have already absorbed the largest percentage increases of any class of mailers, and face annual increases between now and July 6, 1987 even with phasing restored. Their rates would not be reduced or "subsidized".
- 3) Until recently, non-profit mailers were denied "labor sharing" incentives that provide for more efficient mailings at less cost to the Postal Service. Those incentives, which were finally approved over the objection of the Postal Service, require a capital expenditure that non-profit organizations are financially unable to undertake without careful planning.
- 4) No permanent federal payments are required since all non-profit mailers will be paying full rates on July 6, 1987.
- 5) The rate increases were unanticipated and the result of government action in reorganizing the Post Office Department. Non-profit mailers did not cause the rate increases, and cannot be accused of poor planning or bad business judgment.
- 6) The circulation of the printed word in the mails has been historically treated as a public service to be promoted by the government. The freedom of speech of non-profit organizations would be seriously jeopardized by the high cost of postage.
- 7) A sudden doubling of non-profit postage rates would lead to a serious decline in the volume of non-profit mail, thus endangering the economic projections underlying the entire postal rate structure.



Robert P. Dugan, Jr.

Director Office of Public Affairs

EVANGELICAL 1430 K Street NW Washington, D.C. 20005 [202] 628-7911



OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS/1430 K STREET NW/WASHINGTON DC 20005/[202] 628-7911

This was sent to 122 Members of Congress.

The Honorable

July 9, 1981

U. S. House of Representatives Washington, D.C. 20515
Dear Mr:
The National Association of Evangelicals enthusiastically supports the appointment of Dr. C. Everett Koop to be Surgeon General of the United
States.

Right now the appointment of this eminently qualified pediatric surgeon is being held up in the House Subcommittee on Health and Environment for reasons related to his moral and religious convictions on the sanctity of human life. The NAE Office of Public Affairs, for forty years a watchdog for religious liberty, is concerned about this development.

We strongly believe that no individual, who is otherwise qualified for the post to which he or she is appointed, should be withheld for reasons related to legitimate religious conviction. Further, he has reassured the nation that he will uphold the laws of the land:

"My position on abortion is that of the President, the Secretary of Health, the assistant secretary and the Republican platform. But I am a law-abiding citizen. As a government official I can do nothing that is not the law of the land, and it is not my intent to disrupt anything that is considered legal and proper." (Wall Street Journal, June 19, 1981)

To release this appointment for Congressional approval, Representative Hyde has sponsored Discharge Petition No. 5. On behalf of our 38,000 NAE churches with a membership of four million, and a service constituency of ten to fifteen million, let me urge you to sign Discharge Petition No. 5. If your name is already among the approximately 160 who have signed the petition, we would welcome and appreciate your assistance in securing the signatures of your colleagues.

Cordially yours,

Robert P. Dugan, Jr. Director



OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS/1430 K STREET NW/WASHINGTON DC 20005/[202] 628-7911

November 11, 1981

Mr. Morton Blackwell Special Assistant to the President for Public Liaison The White House Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Morton:

We wanted you to have a copy of our invitation to President Reagan to address the 1982 convention of the National Association of Evangelicals.

It goes without saying that we would love to have you encourage the President to respond favorably to our request. I cannot imagine a better forum in which he could speak to the religious community in the United States. While evangelicals are not unanimously conservative in their politics, research demonstrates that a substantially higher percentage of evangelicals is conservative than is the case in the general population. At the same time, NAE is not identified with the New Christian Right, for it is entirely a religious organization, celebrating the 40th anniversary of its founding next spring. I conjecture that it might not be politically feasible for the President to address a New Christian Right organization, even if he might like to.

Perhaps it would be helpful for me to clarify ecclesiastical terminology. All fundamentalists would be included under the umbrella of evangelicalism. In turn, a great number of evangelicals would not consider themselves to be fundamentalists. The two groups hold similar theological views, but evangelicals are more broadly cooperative and manifest a larger social concern.

Our assurance of prayer support to the President is not limited to him. You also play a major role in our nation as you serve the President, and we include you in our prayers as well.

Faithfully yours,

Robert P. Dugan, Jr.

RPDJr:pas1 Enclosure

Copy to:

Edwin Meese III James A. Baker III Michael K. Deaver Elizabeth Hanford Dole Franklyn C. Nofziger Herbert E. Ellingwood Morton Blackwell



OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS/1430 K STREET NW/WASHINGTON DC 20005/[202] 628-7911 November 11, 1981

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Evangelical Christians thank God for the great gifts of leadership and communication that you have brought to the office of the Presidency, and for the manner in which you are using them for the good of all the people. More specifically, we are grateful for your political commitment to biblical moral values.

The National Association of Evangelicals warmly invites you to address its annual convention in March, 1982, at the Arlington Park Hilton Hotel in the Chicago suburb of Arlington Heights. It would be a high honor to have you challenge the 1200 evangelical leaders who will participate in that convention.

Obviously you would be welcome to speak on any subject that you consider important. The convention's theme "Save the Family" would allow you to share your concerns for the family as the essential unit in society. On the other hand, your admonition to "let the church be the church" would be timely and appropriate, in the light of the great needs of our society. The evening of March 2 or 3 would be available to you, or we could adjust the convention schedule if a daytime appearance would be more convenient.

The National Association of Evangelicals is to evangelical Christians what the National Council of Churches is to ecumenical Christians. As you know, Gallup research indicates that there are approximately 45 million evangelicals in the nation. NAE membership is found in 38,000 churches from 74 denominations, and the Association serves a constituency of 10-15 million through its commissions and affiliates.

Mr. President, whether you can address us or not, please be assured of our prayers for you as you fill the most demanding and responsible office in the world.

Robert P. Dgan, Jr. Director

NATIONAL OFFICE: 450 E. Gundersen Driva/P.O. Box 28/Wheaton, Ilinois 60187/ (312) 685-0500

Mr. Morton Blackwell Advisor to President White House Washington, D.C. 20500

Subject: Interest

I understand from watching the 700 Club that both you and President Reagan are really doing a fine job by being interested in what the Christians think about certain issues.

I also appreciate President Reagan's initiative about the prayer amendment and that we cut down on funding abortions.

As I believe you are aware many Christians support President Reagan and appreciate the fine job that he is doing along with your help.

I would like to let you know that I think you are doing a fine job and although there is a lot of opposition that the Lord has and will continue blessing you in your position.

Sincerely yours,

Jack A. Gigl 9726 Kempwood

Houston, Tx. 77080



OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS/1430 K STREET NW/WASHINGTON DC 20005/[202] 628-7911

December 3, 1982

The Hon. Elizabeth H. Dole Assistant to the President The White House Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Elizabeth:

We have invited President Reagan to address the 1983 Convention of the National Association of Evangelicals, March 8-10, in Orlando, Florida. A copy of our letter is enclosed.

We believe that an address to NAE could be strategic politically, were the President to articulate his position on national defense. The National Council of Churches has already positionalized itself on the left. The National Conference of Catholic Bishops, which at present is drifting in the same direction, will finalize its stance next May. On the other hand, the third major segment of the religious community is comprised of evangelicals, who are not yet firmly positionalized on the nuclear freeze issue. They are thus, potentially, a major bloc of support for the Administration. However, evangelicals are being wooed by influential voices. The outcome is far from certain.

Our NAE Washington office is working behind the scenes to counteract some of the drift toward the nuclear freeze position. We are influencing some of our leading evangelical journals and are one of the conveners of the first major national conference for evangelicals on the subject of peacemaking in this nuclear age. That event will take place in Pasadena, California next May. We are attempting to assure that strong conservative voices will be heard in that forum.

Incidentally, the other day I participated in the Phil Donahue show when it was taped in Chicago. It was my privilege to defend the President's making public service announcements urging Americans to read the Bible during National Bible Week. The program of course triggered larger questions about the separation of church and state. The enclosed press release gives details about the show, to be aired in Washington on December 9.

Faithfally yours,

Robert P. Dugan, Jr.

Director

RPDJr:jdk Enclosures



NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS/1430 K STREET NW/WASHINGTON DC 20005/[202] 628-7911

December 3, 1982

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

On behalf of the Board of Administration of the National Association of Evangelicals, I cordially invite you to address our national convention to be held March 8-10, 1983 in Orlando, Florida.

We would be delighted to have you address us on whatever subject you wish. If it is not overly presumptuous, however, let us suggest the possibility of articulating your position on national defense. Some well-known evangelical voices are attempting to draw evangelicals into support of a nuclear freeze. Your persuasive voice would have a marked impact upon the evangelical community.

The National Association of Evangelicals is increasingly being perceived for what it is — the major alternative to the National Council of Churches. Approximately 38,000 churches from over 75 denominations are found in our membership, and through commissions and affiliates we serve a constituency in the range of ten to fifteen million.

Our preference would be for you to speak to us at the climactic event of the convention, the March 10 banquet. Of course we would be honored to have you on either of the other evenings, if March 10 is impossible, or for that matter we would be pleased to adjust our daytime schedule. You would seldom have a more friendly and appreciative audience.

Mr. President, we are most hopeful that you can address us in 1983. Evangelicals respect and admire you, not only for your general leadership, but also for the moral and spiritual leadership you provide the nation.

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Robert P. Dugan, J

Director

RPDJr:jdk



NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS/1430 K STREET NW/WASHINGTON DC 20005/[202] 628-7911

PRESS RELEASE

December 2, 1982

Robert P. Dugan, Jr., Director of the NAE Office of Public Affairs, will appear as a guest on the nationally syndicated "Phil Donahue" program. The question discussed is whether President Reagan violated the constitution when he urged Americans to read the Bible in Public Service Announcements aired during National Bible Week (Nov. 21-28, 1982). Those announcements, sponsored by the Laymen's National Bible Committee, will be shown several times during the program.

Also appearing on the program are Dr. Martin Marty, Church Historian at the University of Chicago Divinity School, Dominic Florio, President of the New York Chapter of American Atheists, and the Rev. William Finlater, Southern Baptist pastor and a Vice President of the American Civil Liberties Union. Dugan and Marty defended the President; Florio and Finlater contended the President acted unconstitutionally.

On the day the show was video-taped, a producer said that this was "one of the best programs we've ever done." The date, time and station for viewing in your area are listed below.

12/9/82

WDVM ch. 9 (CBS) Washington, D.C. 9:00-10:00 am

12/10/82

WDVM ch. 9 (CBS) Washington, D.C. 11:30 pm-12:30 am

Patricia Strunk Bandrum

Maiselle or Kath ~

Neither Mr. Dugan nor

Rich have spoken to Morton

about this yet. Mr. Dugan

does plan to speak w Mrs.

Dole about it, as well. We're

not trying to be presump
tuous, hat thought you'd

protesting and signed of the power of the second of the se

Want something in writing for Morton's consideration. And, I always try to bend over backwards to let you know that although we've become good friends i help one another, we don't assume each request will receive a green light. Having been in your shoes before, I try to be sensitive to you + the myriad requests you get. Since the myriad requests you get.

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

	Date
то:	
From: M	orton C. Blackwell
	Please respond on behalf of the President
	Please prepare draft for Elizabeth Dole's signature
	Please prepare draft for my signature
	FYI
Late of	Let's discuss

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

10 June 1982

FM: Doug Martin

TO: Morton Blackwell

1. On 24 May 1982 the President appointed 26 members to a Presidential Commission on Drunk Driving. The President is allowed to appoint only 26 members at one time.

2. John Volpe is the Chairman of the Committee.

Doug.

THE WHITE HOUSE

June 10, 1982

Dear Mr. Cizik:

Thank you for suggesting Robert P. Dugan, Jr. be named as Director of the Presidential Commission on Drunk Driving.

On the 24th of May the President named 26 members to this commission and John Volpe as its Chairman. Mr. Dugan would have made an excellent Chairman considering his past contributions to educate the nation in the area of alcohol and its problems.

At this time, the President would not be able to make further nominations to the commission. I appreciate your positive suggestion, and always look forward to hearing from you.

sincerely,

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

Mr. Richard C. Cizik
National Association of Evangelicals
Office of Public Affairs
1430 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005



OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS/1430 K STREET NW/WASHINGTON DC 20005/[202] 628-7911

March 11, 1982

Mr. Morton Blackwell Special Assistant to the President for Public Liaison The White House Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Morton:

Our information is that the President intends to create a Presidential Commission On Drunken Driving, an idea that the NAE Office of Public Affairs has previously endorsed and worked to see established. I would like to suggest that our Director, Robert P. Dugan, Jr., would make an excellent chairman of the commission. I'm sure that you would agree to the value in having an individual of Bob's caliber in such a leadership position.

Let me point out a few reasons for supporting Bob, in addition to his personal qualifications. Bob's expressed concern about the problem of alcohol-related traffic deaths is no recent phenomenon. NAE Washington Insight first began editorializing on the need for action in early 1981, when important bills were drafted in Congress to address the problem. During the past year our OPA endorsed the idea of a commission and generated public support for it.

As part of this effort Bob and I met with Dr. Carlton Turner, Senior Policy Advisor, Office of Policy Development at the White House. Dr. Turner has told us that our visit with him was very helpful in having him reevaluate his opposition to the idea of a commission. He was especially receptive to the suggestion that the private sector fund the commission, namely through the insurance industry which has so much at stake in seeing something done about the problem.

One additional reason for Bob's nomination is that it would be important to have a representative from the religious community on the commission. George Gallup, the noted pollster, has stated that no organization in this country is better suited to deal with alcoholism and alcohol-related problems than the church community.

Thank you, Morton, for your consideration of this suggestion.

Richard C. Cizik Researcher

RCC:jdk

SERVICE AGENCIES Evangelical Child and Family Agency, Chicago D Evangelical Family Service, Syracuse, NY D Evangelical Purchasing Service D Family Ministries, Cerritos, CA D Lhiversel Travel Service NATIONAL OFFICE: 450 E. Gundersen Drive/P.O. Box 28/Wheaton, Ilinois 60187/[312] 665-0500