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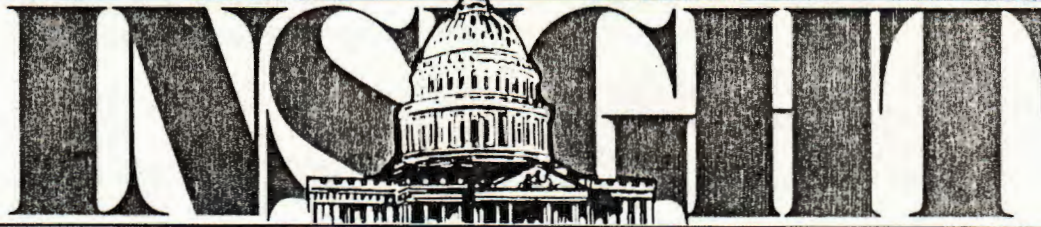
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Prepared by: NAE Office of Public Affairs, 1430 K Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20005. Phone 202-628-7911
Robert P. Dugan, Jr., Director/Forest D. Montgomery, Counsel/Richard Clizik, Researcher

Washington, DC / October, 1982
Volume IV, Number 10

Dear Evangelical Friend:

In case we need to underscore last month's emphasis on the importance of a single vote, it isn't difficult to do. The Senate's 47-46 vote nailed the door shut on abortion debate in this Congress. Any one of 47 Senators could have held that door open.

Abortion and school prayer aren't the only moral issues on Capitol Hill. Practically every issue has a moral dimension. Inflation certainly does. So does the way federal monies are divvied up, especially in the proverbial guns versus butter struggles. Evangelicals must get their "salt" out of the shaker and into the voting booths on November 2. Whatever the weather. Knowledgeably.

SOCIAL ISSUES STYMIED The blocking of many so-called social issues in this Congress may have political repercussions. Will the New Right coalition continue to support the President, or will it blame him for the setback to its agenda and become lethargic? Following the Senate's second failure to shut off the filibuster against prayer in schools, Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-NY) boastingly referred to the New Right, "We've beaten them." But he was quick to add, "They'll be back." We know the leaders of the New Religious Right. They see their losses as temporary and will use them to motivate even greater influence in the congressional elections.

On our deadline day, the Senate seemed ambivalent on school prayer, unable to close down the filibuster but unwilling to put the subject in the congressional dustbin. Some insiders feel that several prayer-supporting Senators saw constitutional problems with the proposal to deny jurisdiction to federal courts in prayer cases. Keep in mind that the President's constitutional Prayer Amendment, a different approach, has not been debated on the floor of either House.

case adjudicated thus far, a state court found no factual or legal basis for the suit and took the unusual action of making the unsuccessful plaintiff pay for the legal expenses of the church's defense, including its attorney's fees.

In our judgment, as long as a minister sticks to his profession, offering spiritual counsel, the same sort of outcome ought to be expected should anyone sue. Unfortunately, in our litigious society, people are suing at the drop of a hat. Nevertheless, there is no need for ministers to run scared.

The case to which we refer involved a large, highly respected evangelical church in California. Among 350,000 local churches in the nation, this may have been the only one to have on its full-time staff a seasoned trial lawyer with considerable experience in handling such malpractice cases. That attorney now heads the Christian Legal Society Washington office. What a "coincidence" that the first malpractice suit was brought against that particular church. Evidently God is sovereign, even in court.

SENATOR During debate over the school prayer issue, Sen. Mark
SPOTS PROBLEM Hatfield (R-OR) addressed a problem that has been crying
 out for a solution. That led to legislation which would
allow students in public secondary schools to meet during non-instructional periods for prayer or Bible study. In effect, Hatfield's bill, S 2928, would extend to secondary schools the free speech rationale of the Supreme Court's Widmar v. Vincent decision, which held that a public university may not discriminate against a student meeting because of its religious content. In his Senate speech, Hatfield outlined a number of court decisions barring student-initiated religious activity and criticized the Senate debate for failing to address these issues. Borrowing language suggested by NAE in its Prayer Amendment testimony, reported in September INSIGHT, S 2928 would prohibit the states or any political subdivision thereof from influencing the form or content of any prayer or other religious activity. We are enthused.

PERSONALIA President Reagan on August 27 named Dee Jepsen, wife of
 Sen. Roger Jepsen (R-IA), to be his Special Assistant
on Women's Issues. The Jepsens are well known in the capital for their evangelical commitment; so publicized by the Washington Post.

According to Capitol Hill newspaper Roll Call, Rep. Charles Whitley (D-NC) returns from Washington practically every weekend to his hometown to teach Sunday School at the Mt. Olive Baptist Church. Whitley has not allowed his 1976 election to Congress to interfere with nearly 30 years of regular Sunday School teaching.

for an investigation, but they were never informed of the basis of the federal agency's concerns. When the truth finally came out, some disgruntled person had alleged that church funds were being misused for private gain, and had submitted selected stolen papers to the IRS as evidence. Once the church was told what the charges were, it was able to respond and be declared clean as a whistle.

Prompted by this case, Rep. Mickey Edwards (R-OK) has introduced his Church Audit Procedures Act, aimed at preventing such future harassment of churches, conventions or associations of churches. The bill defines the rights and responsibilities of churches in cooperating with IRS investigations and then places several requirements upon the IRS. Edwards' bill will not likely be considered this year, but NAE will strongly support it in 1983.

WHAT YOUR TAX DOLLARS BUY Of every dollar spent by federal, state and local governments, 15.6 cents is claimed by Social Security. You might have guessed that. It surprised us, however, to discover that educational programs were in second place at 15 cents of every dollar, with national defense third at 14.2 cents. Social services like unemployment insurance and welfare take 13 cents, while interest on governmental debt is in fifth place at 7.9 cents per tax dollar. These data were released by the Tax Foundation, based upon distribution of government expenditures at every level in 1980, the latest year for which all such figures were available.

PRAY FOR SUPREME COURT While many evangelicals pray for their President and members of Congress, judges seldom make their prayer lists. For the last year or so, Senate Chaplain Richard Halverson has been admonishing Christians to pray for the members of the Supreme Court. A point well taken. For your praying, here are their names: Chief Justice Warren E. Burger, and Justices William J. Brennan, Jr., Byron R. White, Thurgood Marshall, Harry A. Blackmun, Lewis F. Powell, Jr., William H. Rehnquist, John Paul Stevens, and Sandra Day O'Connor.

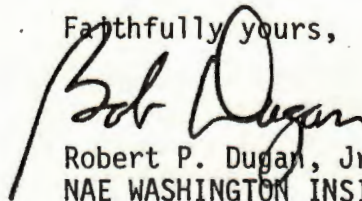
The Court commences its new term on October 4, having already agreed to hear 126 cases. The load constitutes a legal traffic jam which may allow only an additional 50 cases to be added this term. The Administration, through Solicitor General Rex Lee, has suggested that the Court adopt a new posture of judicial restraint on abortion and other issues, leaving them to Congress and state legislatures to resolve. In addition to the abortion cases reported in July INSIGHT, a crucial decision is awaited in the Bob Jones University case, set for hearing October 12, in which NAE has filed an amicus curiae brief. At issue are the competing demands of racial non-discrimination and religious freedom.

ABORTION
CLOSED OUT

Barring an unforeseen strategic move, possibly in a post-election lame-duck session of Congress, the Senate drew the curtain down on the abortion debate on September 15. We were in the gallery when a third attempt to shut off a filibuster against anti-abortion legislation failed by 50-44. Under Senate rules, 60 votes are needed to effect cloture, that is, to close debate. Immediately after the total was announced, a motion was introduced to lay the pro-life measure on the table. It passed 47-46. While pro-abortion forces rejoiced over their victory in defeating this most significant vote on the issue of protection for the unborn since the 1973 Roe v. Wade Supreme Court decision. pro-life groups called their success in getting a recorded vote on abortion a victory of sorts. At least, as of mid-September, nobody needs to guess how his or her Senators stand on the issue.

President Reagan kept his commitment to defend the sanctity of life by lobbying vigorously, making telephone calls and writing letters to reluctant Senators. He sought to persuade them to vote for cloture in order to allow a Yea and Nay vote on abortion. As a matter of interest, this editor was one of a half dozen leaders meeting with White House Chief of Staff James Baker in his office on September 14, to plan strategy on the Administration's pro-life effort. Unexpectedly, the President walked into the office, "apologizing" for interrupting a working meeting. He stayed for about ten minutes during which he reiterated his convictions and reported his activity among the Senators. In spite of his sincere eleventh hour efforts, some pro-life leaders expressed keen disappointment that the Administration did not act sooner. Hopefully, this issue will receive presidential support early in the 98th Congress, especially since the Hatch Human Life Amendment is scheduled for consideration next spring.

Faithfully yours,



Robert P. Dugan, Jr., Editor
NAE WASHINGTON INSIGHT

October, 1982

Please notify NAE of any change of address (each change returned by the post office costs NAE 25¢).



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March 4, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO ARAM BAKSHIAN
DIRECTOR, PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING
THE WHITE HOUSE

ATTENTION: TONY DOLAN

FROM : MARY FRANCES LOWE *ME*
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

SUBJECT: DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NATIONAL ASSOCIATION
OF EVANGELICALS

Attached are the draft Presidential remarks for the National Association of Evangelicals reflecting HHS suggested comments/edits.

cc: Craig L. Fuller

Received 9:55 am
3/4

CABINET AFFAIRS STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: March 3, 1983 NUMBER: 073172CA DUE BY: 2 pm, Friday
March 4
SUBJECT: DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: National Association of Evangelicals
(Tuesday, March 8, 1983)

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
ALL CABINET MEMBERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Baker	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vice President	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Deaver	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
State	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Clark	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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Defense	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Harper	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Attorney General	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Jenkins	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	CCNRE/Boggs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please forward comments/edits directly to Aram Bakshian (456-6266), by 2 pm, Friday, March 4, with a copy to my office following your comments to Bakshian.

a/t called & gave to Tony Dahn on phone

Thanks.

RETURN TO:

- Craig L. Fuller
Assistant to the President
for Cabinet Affairs
456-2823
- Becky Norton Dunlop
Director, Office of
Cabinet Affairs
456-2800

March 3, 1983
7:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS
ORLANDO, FLORIDA
TUESDAY, MARCH 8, 1983

Nancy and I are delighted to be here today. Those of you in the National Association of Evangelicals are known for your spiritual and humanitarian work -- and I would be especially remiss if I did not discharge right now one personal debt of gratitude.

Thank you for your prayers. Nancy and I have felt their presence many times in many ways. Believe me, for us they have made all the difference. The other day in the East Room someone asked me whether I was aware of all the people out there praying for the President. I was touched, of course, but I'll tell you what I told him: Thank you, but please keep it up. And when you're at it, if you get a busy signal sometimes, keep trying. It just means I'm in there ahead of you.

From the joy and good feeling of this conference we leave for the hurly burly of a political reception for the Florida GOP. You can see it's a day of contrasts; it reminds me of a story I may just tell the folks over at that reception. It seems this evangelical minister and politician both died and went to Heaven. St. Peter took them in hand to show them their new quarters. He took the minister to a small room with just a bed and table. So naturally when the politician saw the modest quarters of this holy man he was pretty worried about what was in store for him.

Much to his surprise, St. Peter took him to a great mansion, with beautiful grounds and many servants and told him all this would be his. So naturally, the politician said: "But how can

you give me this mansion and only a small place to that good minister?"

St. Peter replied, "Oh, don't worry, he's an evangelical, we've got plenty of them up here. But you're the first politician we've ever had."

I like that story. It reminds those of us in the political world that our fast-paced existence can sometimes be an obstacle to quiet reflection and deep commitment, that we can easily forget the ideas and principles that brought us into the public arena in the first place. The basis of those ideals and principles is a commitment to freedom and personal liberty, a commitment that itself is grounded in the much deeper realization: that freedom prospers only where the blessings of God are avidly sought and humbly acknowledged.

The American experiment in democracy rests on this insight, its discovery was the great triumph of our Founding Fathers. "Men who will not be ruled by God will be ruled by tyrants," William Penn said. Explaining the inalienable rights of men, Jefferson remarked, "The God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time." And it was George Washington who said that "of all the disposition and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports."

And finally, that shrewdest of all observers of American democracy, Alexis de Tocqueville, put it eloquently:

"I sought for the greatness and genius of America in fertile fields and boundless forests, it was not there. I sought for it in her free schools and her institutions of learning; it was not there. I sought for it in her matchless Constitution and democratic congress; it was not there. Not until I went to the churches of America and found them aflame with righteousness did I understand the greatness and genius

of America. America is great because America is good. When America ceases to be good, America will cease to be great."

That is why I am so pleased to be here today with the people who are in the business of keeping America great by keeping her good. Only through your work and prayers and those of millions of others can we hope to survive this perilous century and keep alive this experiment in liberty, this last best hope of man called America.

I want you to know this Administration is motivated by a political philosophy that sees the greatness of America in you, her people, and in your families, churches, neighborhoods, communities -- the institutions that foster and nourish values like concern for others and respect for the rule of law under God.

Now I don't have to tell you that our pursuit of this philosophy puts us in opposition to the prevailing attitude of many of those in government, educational foundations and institutions, and significant sectors of the media. The views of such groups, however well intentioned, are deeply secularist and decidedly liberal; their value system is radically different from that of most Americans. Because they view everyday Americans as wanton and unwise, they have taken upon themselves the job of regulating, overseeing and superintending the people from Washington.

Now recent polls have shown a dichotomy between their values and those of the American people. For example, recent surveys of elites in the media and entertainment industry showed they voted in far greater numbers than their fellow Americans for liberal

candidates, that most see nothing wrong with adultery and homosexuality, that they approve of abortion by overwhelming margins and that less than 10 percent give religion any important place in their lives.

I think one recent controversy in Washington, the one over the ~~[so-called "squeal rule,"]~~ ^{parental notification rules} is an illustration of this clash between the values of these elites and the rest of America. And don't get me wrong, I'm not attacking or attempting to silence anybody. I just think the difference between the elitist view of the world and ours ought to be fully aired.

Now, as most of you know, the controversy ^{came to a head} began when a judge struck down rules issued by our Administration requiring family planning clinics ^{that receive federal tax dollars} to notify parents that they have provided ^{prescription} birth control devices to ^{pills or} ^{minor} ^(under age 18) teenagers girls. Believe me, I wonder, ^{as many of you do} ~~too~~, what Government is doing in the birth control business at all -- but the Congress passed the legislation several years ago and we have no choice but to carry it out. Now this rule, which is nothing more than an affirmation of the traditional rights of parents, was met with attacks from the left portraying those of us in the Administration as a bunch of ~~[pinch-checked]~~ old prudes out to keep the kids from having a little fun.

It reminded me of a similar storm some years ago in California when I insisted that parents had a right to know if their 15-year-old daughter was going to have an abortion especially since the State was paying for the abortion with welfare funds. This caused quite a stir but who, I asked, are we in government to act in locus parentis? For heaven's sake, that

girl couldn't have her tonsils out without parental consent, let alone an abortion. It was during the controversy I began to realize that the real agenda of many who subscribe to this liberal, secularist philosophy is to actually impose their values -- to use the power of Government, the media and the schools -- to supercede the family, church and other inculcators of traditional values.

I believe the same mind-set is at work in the ~~squeal~~ ^{parental notification} rule controversy. Hoping to silence ~~the~~ ^{us} ~~opposition~~ with names like old-fashioned and puritanical, our critics seek to use the power of government to insure the preeminence of their own views, views that are clearly out of step with what most Americans believe and want.

So there you have it: the same liberal secularists, who did a marvelous job of giving us inflation, recession, ~~unemployment,~~ unmanageable bureaucracy, a trillion dollar debt and a host of foreign policy debacles now want us to let them preempt parental rights and run the sex lives of our ~~adolescent children~~ ^{adolescent children} ~~underage teenagers~~.

Well, I say we fight our battle in the courts, I say the rule ~~stays~~ ^{should}. And I say the rights of parents and the rights of family take precedence over those of Washington-based bureaucrats and social engineers.

But the ~~squeal~~ ^{parental notification} rule is really only one example of many attempts to water down traditional values and even abrogate the original terms of American democracy. As I mentioned before, nothing could be more deeply engrained into the American political consensus than the realization that freedom prospers when religion is vibrant and the rule of law under God

acknowledged. When our Founding Fathers passed the first amendment they sought to protect churches from Government interference. They never meant to construct a wall of hostility between Government and the concept of religious belief itself.

The evidence of this permeates our history and our government: The Declaration of Independence mentions the Supreme Being no less than four times; "In God We Trust" is engraved on our coinage; the Supreme Court opens its proceedings with a "religious" invocation; and the Members of Congress open their sessions with a prayer. I just happen to believe the school children of the United States are entitled to the same privileges as Supreme Court Justices and Congressmen -- it's time for Congress to act on the prayer amendment. Let our children pray.

But in the controversy over the prayer amendment, we see once again that will to power that has characterized so much of the liberal social philosophy that dominated American intellectual life in the fifties and sixties. Many advocates of liberal and so-called progressive education hoped that the schools would become social science laboratories where school children could be removed from traditional influences and taught instead the wonders of value-free science and moral relativism.

Now we know that what happened to American education as it increasingly fell under the influence of this social science mentality. The influence of parents and teachers declined, so did excellence and discipline -- and America's school children learned less and less.

page 1
As you all know, there has been a rebellion among parents and teachers against these lax educational standards and once again basic learning is being ^{increasingly} stressed in our schools.

Similarly, the attempt to prohibit the acknowledgement of God in the classroom has come under heavy fire. By overwhelming margins, the American people want prayer returned to the classroom and have been voting for candidates who support that amendment.

Unfortunately, however, this hasn't discouraged the small ^{group of} ~~elite~~ ^{elitists} on the left who still want to impose their value system on the vast majority of Americans. Perhaps some of you read recently about the Lubbock school case where a judge actually ruled that it was unconstitutional for a group of students to meet on their own time on school property for religious purposes. You can see, can't you, how the first amendment has been stood on its head? How a constitutional provision designed to promote religious expression has been used to stifle that expression? And you can see, can't you, the irony of those who call themselves "liberals" using their position of power to deny to millions the time-honored right of religious expression in public places?

And let me add here that, like you, I have been deeply concerned about recent controversies in several States between religious schools and State educational authorities. No one questions the right of the individual States to have a voice in establishing certain minimum standards for the education of our children. But, on the other hand, religious schools are entitled

to make basic decisions about their curriculum and not be forced to march in lockstep to the directives of State bureaucrats.

I think you should know that both Senators Denton and Hatfield have proposed legislation in the Congress on the whole question of prohibiting discrimination against religious forms of student speech. I strongly support that legislation, and, with your help, I think it's possible we could get the amendment through the Congress this year.

Now in discussing these instances of the arbitrary imposition of liberal views, we would be remiss not to mention a Supreme Court decision more than a decade ago that, quite literally, wiped off the books the statutes of 50 States protecting the rights of unborn children. Abortion on demand is a great moral evil that takes the lives of ^{1.3 million *} ~~4~~ fetuses a year. Human life legislation ending this tragedy will someday pass the Congress -- and you and I must never rest until it does.

You may remember that when abortion on demand began many religious leaders warned that the practice would lead to a decline in respect for human life, that the philosophical premises used to justify abortion on demand would ultimately be used to justify other attacks on the sacredness of human life, even infanticide or mercy killing~~s~~. When these warnings were first spoken, many of those in the intelligensia and the glitter set scoffed at them. But, tragically enough, they proved all too true: only last year a court in Indiana issued an order permitting the death by starvation of a handicapped infant.

insert new page here

~~Recent legislation introduced in the Congress by Representative Henry Hyde not only increases restrictions on~~

edit

* latest full year data (1980) : 1,297,606 abortions

SUGGESTED SPEECH INSERT

Last year millions of Americans were appalled at that baby's death. It brought to public attention the tragedy of cases where nutrition or medical care is deliberately denied to handicapped infants.

When that baby's death came to light, I directed the Health and Human Services Department to make clear to every health care facility in the United States of America that ~~Section 504~~ of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 protects all handicapped persons against discrimination based on handicaps, including infants. A written notice was sent to hospitals nationwide.

Now this administration has taken a further step to protect the lives of helpless handicapped infants: the Health and Human Services Department has issued regulations requiring that each and every recipient of federal funds who provides health care services must post and keep posted in a conspicuous place -- in delivery, pediatric and maternity wards, along with nurseries, including intensive care nurseries -- a notice stating that "discriminatory failure to feed and care for handicapped infants in this facility is prohibited by federal law."

The notice we have ordered will put ^{put para from Uhlmann} the public and the medical profession on notice that anyone who has knowledge that a handicapped infant is being discriminatorily denied nutrition or medical care can and should immediately contact a toll-free, 24-hour Health and Human Services Hotline, or alternatively, the state child protective agency, to report the alleged violation.

Our action is intended to see to it that the God-given lives of handicapped infants will be protected under the law. By accepting our moral duty to protect defenseless handicapped infants from being denied food or medical care, we reaffirm the right to life of all Americans.

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~~publicly-financed abortions, it also addresses this whole problem
of infanticide. I urge the Congress to begin hearings soon on
this legislation, to address the problems of infanticide,
adopt legislation that will protect the right of all children,
including the disabled or handicapped, to the right to life.~~

is necessary to

Now in surveying the effect of several decades of liberal, secularist philosophy -- the wreckage, for example, left by the decisions like those on abortion and school prayer -- it is easy to grow discouraged. But we must never forget that we now stand at a turning point, a time when the old liberalism -- decadent and dying -- is being replaced by a new political consensus, a consensus that wants Government to perform its legitimate duties, such as maintaining domestic peace and our national security, but otherwise to leave the people alone.

Along with this return to limited Government, there is a great spiritual awakening in America and a renewal of the traditional values that have been the bedrock of America's goodness and greatness.

One recent survey of thousands of Americans by a Washington based research council concluded that Americans were far more religious than the people of other nations; 95 percent of those surveyed expressed a belief in God and a huge majority believed the Ten Commandments had real meaning for their lives.

Another study of 2,000 Americans by Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance found that -- in contrast to the views of the elites I mentioned earlier -- the following practices were found wrong by large majorities of average Americans: adultery, 85 percent; hard drugs, 84 percent; homosexuality, 71 percent; sex before 16,

71 percent; abortion, 65 percent; and pornography, 68 percent.

And this same study showed a deep reverence for the importance of family ties and religious belief.

So I think the items we have discussed today are the political agenda of the future. Remember for the first time the Congress is openly and seriously debating and dealing with the prayer and abortion issues -- that's enormous progress right there. I repeat: America is in the midst of a spiritual awakening and a moral renewal. With your biblical keynote, I say today let "justice roll on like a river, righteousness like a never failing stream."

Now obviously, much of this new political and social consensus I have talked about is based on a positive view of American history, one that takes pride in our country's accomplishments and record. But we must never forget an important distinction between our moral philosophy and that of the liberal secularists. Unlike them, we know that no Government schemes are going to perfect man ^{in this world} ~~[we know that living in this-~~
~~world means dealing with what philosophers would call the~~
~~phenomenology of evil or, as the theologians would put it, the~~
~~doctrine of sin.]~~

There is sin, there is evil in this world and we are enjoined by scripture and the ^{teachings of} ~~Lord~~ Jesus to oppose it with all our might. And that is why in talking about America we must never forget that, like any other human entity, our Nation, too, has a legacy of evil with which it must deal.

Now, the glory of this land has been its capacity for transcending the moral evils of our past. For example, the long

struggle of minority citizens for equal rights, once a source of disunity and civil war, is now a point of pride for all Americans. We must never go back. There is no room for racism, anti-semitism or other forms of ethnic and racial hatred in this country. I know you have been horrified as have I by the resurgence of some hate groups preaching bigotry and prejudice. Today I urge you: Use the mighty voice of your pulpits and the powerful standing of your churches to denounce ~~and isolate~~ ^{the principles of} these hate groups in our midst.

[And I want to mention today another dark legacy of our past -- one that we are also now attempting to address in Washington. For many years in America we tolerated the existence of powerful syndicates of organized crime. As the years went by, these national syndicates increased in power, influence and sophistication. Recently, in the enormous growth of the illegal drug trade, we have seen the tragic results of this permissiveness and the climate of professional lawlessness it fostered. This trade was only a short time ago spreading murder and mayhem throughout South Florida. Today, through the South Florida Task Force headed by Vice President Bush, we have a handle on it. We've cracked down on this drug trade in Florida, and now we're bringing on 200 new prosecutors and 1,000 new investigators to extend that task force model to 12 other regions throughout the United States.

Yes, we are going after the drug cartels. But we're not going to stop there. Through a new presidential commission and several other initiatives, we intend to expose and prosecute the infrastructure of organized crime itself. We mean to cripple

their enterprises, dry up their profits and put their leaders behind bars where they belong.]

But whatever sad episodes exist in our past, any objective observer must hold a positive view of American history, a history that has been the story of hopes fulfilled and dreams made into reality. Especially in this century, America has kept alight the torch of freedom -- not just for ourselves but for millions of others around the world. And this brings me to my final point today, and, by the way, it's another illustration of the gulf between the views of ^{the} ~~our~~ professional elites^{ists} and those of everyday Americans.

During my first press conference as President, I pointed out that as good Marxists-Leninists the Soviet leaders have "openly and publicly declared that the only morality they recognize is what will further their cause, meaning they reserve unto themselves the right to commit any crime, to lie, to cheat . . . and that is moral, not immoral." I said that we would do well to keep this in mind during our negotiations with the Soviets.

Well, once again this caused a stir. I saw several accounts that truncated my remarks and suggested they were nothing more than name calling. Other accounts suggested that it was a breach of diplomacy to be that candid about the Soviets.

Now -- putting aside for the moment the fact that the pundits and opinion makers are rarely upset when the Soviets say much worse about us everyday in their press -- I think I should point out I was only quoting Lenin, a saint, a guiding spirit to the Soviet leadership, who wrcte in 1920: "We repudiate all

morality that proceeds from supernatural ideas or ideas that are outside class conceptions. Morality is entirely subordinate to the interests of class war. Everything is moral that is necessary for the annihilation of the old exploiting social order and for uniting the proleteriat."

I think the refusal of many influential people to accept this elementary insight into Soviet behavior illustrates ^dthe historical reluctance of ~~much of the elite~~ to see totalitarian powers for what they are. We saw this phenomenon in the 1930's; we see it today in the nuclear freeze movement.

But surely, just as we look back in wonder at the self-deception of the 1930's, future historians, looking back at our time, will be shocked by the naivete and moral blindness of the unilateral disarmers. Surely, they will note the real proportions of the threat to peace, that it was the West that refused to use its nuclear monopoly in the forties and fifties for territorial gain -- and that it was not the West that intervened by proxy in Angola, in Ethiopia, in South Yem^en or Central America; that it was not the West that invaded Afghanistan, or suppressed Polish Solidarity or used chemical and biological warfare in Afghanistan and Southeast Asia.

Surely, those historians will find in the councils of those who preached the supremacy of the state, who declared its omnipotence over individual man, who predicted its eventual domination of all peoples of the Earth, surely historians will see there . . . the focus of evil in the modern world. It was C.S. Lewis who in his unforgettable Screwtape Letters wrote:

"The greatest evil is not now done in those sordid 'dens of crime' that Dickens loved to paint. It is not

done even in concentration camps and labor camps -- in these we see its final result. But it is conceived and ordered (moved, seconded, carried and minuted) in clear, carpeted, warmed and well-lighted offices by quiet men with white collars and cut fingernails and smooth-shaven cheeks who do not need to raise their voices."

Because these "quiet men" do not "raise their voices," because they sometimes speak in soothing tones of brotherhood and peace, because, like other dictators before them, they are always making "their final territorial demand," some would have us accept them at their word and accommodate ourselves to their aggressive impulses. But, if history teaches anything, it teaches: simple-minded appeasement or self-delusion about our adversaries is folly -- it means the betrayal of our past, the squandering of our freedom.

So I urge you to speak out against those who would place the United States in a position of military inferiority to the Soviet Union. You know, I have always believed that ~~old Screwtape~~ reserves his best efforts for those of ^{*us who profess our belief in God's supremacy.*} ~~[you in the Church.]~~ So in your discussions of the nuclear freeze movement, I urge you to beware the temptation of pride -- the temptation to blithely declare yourselves above it all and label both sides equally at fault, to ignore the facts of history and the aggressive impulses of an evil empire, to simply call the arms race a giant misunderstanding and thereby remove yourself from the struggle between right and wrong, good and evil.

I ask you to resist the attempts of those who would have you bargain away, for the sake of a few glowing minutes on the nightly news and a little cooing from the glitter set, your vital

support for ^{our} ~~[this Administration's]~~ efforts to keep America strong and free.

But, while America's military strength is important, let me add here that I have always maintained that the struggle now going on for the world will never be decided by bombs or rockets, by armies or military might. For the real crisis we face today is a spiritual one, at root it is a test of moral will and ~~religious~~ faith.

Whittaker Chambers, the man whose own religious conversion made him a "witness" to one of the terrible traumas of our age, the Hiss Chambers case, wrote that the crisis of the Western world exists to the degree in which the West is indifferent to God, the degree to which it collaborates in Communism's attempt to make man stand alone without God. For Marxism-Leninism is actually the second oldest faith, he said, first proclaimed in the Garden of Eden with the words of temptation: "Ye shall be as gods."

The Western world can answer this challenge, he wrote, "but only provided that its faith in God and the freedom he enjoins is as great as Communism's faith in man."

I believe we shall rise to this challenge; I believe that Communism is another sad, bizarre chapter in human history whose last pages even now are being written. I believe this because the strength of our cause, the quest for human freedom, is not of this world; and because this strength is spiritual and knows no limitation, it must terrify and ultimately triumph over those who would enslave their fellow man. For, in the words of Isaiah:

"He giveth power to the faint, and to them that have no
might, He increased their strength . . . but they that wait upon
the Lord shall renew their strength . . . they shall mount up
with wings as eagles. They shall run and not be weary . . ."

Thank you and God bless you.

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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



NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
EVANGELICALS

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.

Faithfully yours,

Robert P. Dugan, Jr.
Director

RPDJr:jdk

3/8/83



NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
EVANGELICALS

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

December 3, 1982

The Hon. James A. Baker, III
Chief of Staff & Assistant
to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Baker:

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.

Faithfully yours,

Bob
Robert P. Dugan, Jr.
Director

P.S. Thank you again for that fine meeting on September 14. Reported

RPDJr:jdk
Enclosures

it in October newsletter

■ NAE COMMISSIONS □ Commission on Chaplains □ Evangelical Churchmen Commission □ Evangelical Social Action Commission □ Evangelism and Home Missions Association □ Higher Education Commission □ Stewardship Commission □ Women's Fellowship Association □ World Relief Commission ■ AFFILIATES □ American Association of Evangelical Students □ Evangelical Foreign Missions Association □ National Association of Christian Schools □ National Religious Broadcasters □ National Sunday School Association ■ SERVICE AGENCIES □ Evangelical Family Service, Syracuse □ Evangelical Child and Family Agency, Chicago □ Family Ministries, San Jose, Calif. □ Evangelical Purchasing Service

■ National Office: 2505 Main Place, Box 28, Eaton, Ohio 45320 (312) 665-0500

Select Date

LRSW

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DECEMBER 9, 1982

MEMORANDUM

15

TO: RED CAVANEY
FROM: WILLIAM K. SADLEIR, DIRECTOR
PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS AND SCHEDULING
SUBJ: REQUEST FOR SCHEDULING RECOMMENDATION

T 3/10/82
1:00
Thursday
D.Y. to
LRSW

PLEASE PROVIDE YOUR RECOMMENDATION ON THE FOLLOWING
SCHEDULING REQUEST UNDER CONSIDERATION:

EVENT: Address - Board of Administration of the
National Association of Evangelicals
national convention.
DATE: March 8-10, 1983
LOCATION: Orlando, Florida (T)
BACKGROUND: See attached

JMD
Date. March 8, 1983
Time. TDD
Length. TDD
Date 12/22/82 WKS

YOUR RECOMMENDATION:

Accept Regret Surrogate Message Other
Priority
Routine

IF RECOMMENDATION IS TO ACCEPT, PLEASE CITE REASONS:

Very, very supportive group of churches
who have been very helpful to us in
working on the President's legislative initiatives.

Red
JFR

RESPONSE DUE 12-17-82 TO Frederick J. Ryan, Jr.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Misty

MEMORANDUM

1/21/83

TO: WILLIAM HENKEL (Coordinate with E. Dole)
FROM: ^{*for*} WILLIAM K. SADLEIR
SUBJ: APPROVED PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY

PLEASE IMPLEMENT THE FOLLOWING AND NOTIFY AND CLEAR ALL PARTICIPANTS. THE BRIEFING PAPER AND REMARKS SHOULD BE SUBMITTED TO RICHARD DARMAN BY 3:00 P.M. OF THE PRECEDING DAY.

NOTE: AS PROJECT OFFICER FOR THIS ACTIVITY, IT IS YOUR RESPONSIBILITY TO SUBMIT A COMPLETE, CONFIRMED LIST OF STAFF AND ATTENDEES, IDENTIFIED BY TITLE, TO THE OFFICE OF PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS AND SCHEDULING WITHIN FIVE (5) DAYS AFTER THE EVENT.

MEETING: Address Convention of National Association of Evangelicals

DATE: March 8, 1983

TIME: To be determined

DURATION: To be determined

LOCATION: Orlando, Florida

REMARKS REQUIRED: Yes

MEDIA COVERAGE: Coordinate with Press Office

FIRST LADY
PARTICIPATION: No

cc: A. Bakshian M. McManus E. Dole
M. Brandon J. Rosebush
R. Darman B. Shaddix
R. DeProspero W. Sittmann
D. Fischer L. Speakes
C. Fuller WHCA Audio/Visual
W. Henkel WHCA Operations
E. Hickey A. Wrobleski

(Dolan/AB)
March 3, 1983
7:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS
ORLANDO, FLORIDA
TUESDAY, MARCH 8, 1983

Nancy and I are delighted to be here today. Those of you in the National Association of Evangelicals are known for your spiritual and humanitarian work -- and I would be especially remiss if I did not discharge right now one personal debt of gratitude.

Thank you for your prayers. Nancy and I have felt their presence many times in many ways. Believe me, for us they have made all the difference. The other day in the East Room someone asked me whether I was aware of all the people out there praying for the President. I was touched, of course, but I'll tell you what I told him: Thank you, but please keep it up. And when you're at it, if you get a busy signal sometimes, keep trying. It just means I'm in there ahead of you.

From the joy and good feeling of this conference we leave for the hurly burly of a political reception for the Florida GOP. You can see it's a day of contrasts; it reminds me of a story I may just tell the folks over at that reception. It seems this evangelical minister and politician both died and went to Heaven. St. Peter took them in hand to show them their new quarters. He took the minister to a small room with just a bed and table. So naturally when the politician saw the modest quarters of this holy man he was pretty worried about what was in store for him.

Much to his surprise, St. Peter took him to a great mansion, with beautiful grounds and many servants and told him all this would be his. So naturally, the politician said: "But how can

you give me this mansion and only a small place to that good minister?"

St. Peter replied, "Oh, don't worry, he's an evangelical, we've got plenty of them up here. But you're the first politician we've ever had."

I like that story. It reminds those of us in the political world that our fast-paced existence can sometimes be an obstacle to quiet reflection and deep commitment, that we can easily forget the ideas and principles that brought us into the public arena in the first place. The basis of those ideals and principles is a commitment to freedom and personal liberty, a commitment that itself is grounded in the much deeper realization: that freedom prospers only where the blessings of God are avidly sought and humbly acknowledged.

The American experiment in democracy rests on this insight, its discovery was the great triumph of our Founding Fathers. "Men who will not be ruled by God will be ruled by tyrants," William Penn said. Explaining the inalienable rights of men, Jefferson remarked, "The God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time." And it was George Washington who said that "of all the disposition and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports."

And finally, that shrewdest of all observers of American democracy, Alexis de Tocqueville, put it eloquently:

"I sought for the greatness and genius of America in fertile fields and boundless forests, it was not there. I sought for it in her free schools and her institutions of learning; it was not there. I sought for it in her matchless Constitution and democratic congress; it was not there. Not until I went to the churches of America and found them aflame with righteousness did I understand the greatness and genius

of America. America is great because America is good. When America ceases to be good, America will cease to be great."

That is why I am so pleased to be here today with the people who are in the business of keeping America great by keeping her good. Only through your work and prayers and those of millions of others can we hope to survive this perilous century and keep alive this experiment in liberty, this last best hope of man called America.

I want you to know this Administration is motivated by a political philosophy that sees the greatness of America in you, her people, and in your families, churches, neighborhoods, communities -- the institutions that foster and nourish values like concern for others and respect for the rule of law under God.

Now I don't have to tell you that our pursuit of this philosophy puts us in opposition to the prevailing attitude of many of those in government, educational foundations and institutions, and significant sectors of the media. The views of such groups, however well intentioned, are deeply secularist and decidedly liberal; their value system is radically different from that of most Americans. Because they view everyday Americans as wanton and unwise, they have taken upon themselves the job of regulating, overseeing and superintending the people from Washington.

Now recent polls have shown a dichotomy between their values and those of the American people. For example, recent surveys of elites in the media and entertainment industry showed they voted in far greater numbers than their fellow Americans for liberal

candidates, that most see nothing wrong with adultery and homosexuality, that they approve of abortion by overwhelming margins and that less than 10 percent give religion any important place in their lives.

I think one recent controversy in Washington, the one over the so-called "squeal rule," is an illustration of this clash between the values of these elites and the rest of America. And don't get me wrong, I'm not attacking or attempting to silence anybody. I just think the difference between the elitist view of the world and ours ought to be fully aired.

Now, as most of you know, the controversy began when a judge struck down rules issued by our Administration requiring family planning clinics to notify parents that they have provided birth control devices to underage teenager girls. Believe me, I wonder, too, what Government is doing in the birth control business at all -- but the Congress passed the legislation several years ago and we have no choice but to carry it out. Now this rule, which is nothing more than an affirmation of the traditional rights of parents, was met with attacks from the left portraying those of us in the Administration as a bunch of pinch-cheeked old prudes out to keep the kids from having a little fun.

It reminded me of a similar storm some years ago in California when I insisted that parents had a right to know if their 15-year-old daughter was going to have an abortion especially since the State was paying for the abortion with welfare funds. This caused quite a stir but who, I asked, are we in government to act in locus parentis? For heaven's sake, that

girl couldn't have her tonsils out without parental consent, let alone an abortion. It was during the controversy I began to realize that the real agenda of many who subscribe to this liberal, secularist philosophy is to actually impose their values -- to use the power of Government, the media and the schools -- to supercede the family, church and other inculcators of traditional values.

I believe the same mind set is at work in the squeal rule controversy. Hoping to silence the opposition with names like old-fashioned and puritanical, our critics seek to use the power of government to insure the preeminence of their own views, views that are clearly out of step with what most Americans believe and want.

So there you have it: the same liberal secularists who did a marvelous job of giving us inflation, recession, unemployment, unmanageable bureaucracy, a trillion dollar debt and a host of foreign policy debacles now want us to let them preempt parental rights and run the sex lives of our underage teenagers.

Well, I say we fight our battle in the courts, I say the rule stays. And I say the rights of parents and the rights of family take precedence over those of Washington-based bureaucrats and social engineers.

But the squeal rule is really only one example of many attempts to water down traditional values and even abrogate the original terms of American democracy. As I mentioned before, nothing could be more deeply engrained into the American political consensus than the realization that freedom prospers when religion is vibrant and the rule of law under God

acknowledged. When our Founding Fathers passed the first amendment they sought to protect churches from Government interference. They never meant to construct a wall of hostility between Government and the concept of religious belief itself.

The evidence of this permeates our history and our government: The Declaration of Independence mentions the Supreme Being no less than four times; "In God We Trust" is engraved on our coinage; the Supreme Court opens its proceedings with a "religious" invocation; and the Members of Congress open their sessions with a prayer. I just happen to believe the school children of the United States are entitled to the same privileges as Supreme Court Justices and Congressmen -- it's time for Congress to act on the prayer amendment. Let our children pray.

But in the controversy over the prayer amendment, we see once again that will to power that has characterized so much of the liberal social philosophy that dominated American intellectual life in the fifties and sixties. Many advocates of liberal and so-called progressive education hoped that the schools would become social science laboratories where school children could be removed from traditional influences and taught instead the wonders of value-free science and moral relativism.

Now we know that what happened to American education as it increasingly fell under the influence of this social science mentality. The influence of parents and teachers declined, so did excellence and discipline -- and America's school children learned less and less.

As you all know, there has been a rebellion among parents and teachers against these lax educational standards and once again basic learning is being stressed in our schools.

Similarly, the attempt to prohibit the acknowledgement of God in the classroom has come under heavy fire. By overwhelming margins, the American people want prayer returned to the classroom and have been voting for candidates who support that amendment.

Unfortunately, however, this hasn't discouraged the small elite on the left who still want to impose their value system on the vast majority of Americans. Perhaps some of you read recently about the Lubbock school case where a judge actually ruled that it was unconstitutional for a group of students to meet on their own time on school property for religious purposes. You can see, can't you, how the first amendment has been stood on its head? How a constitutional provision designed to promote religious expression has been used to stifle that expression? And you can see, can't you, the irony of those who call themselves "liberals" using their position of power to deny to millions the time-honored right of religious expression in public places?

And let me add here that, like you, I have been deeply concerned about recent controversies in several States between religious schools and State educational authorities. No one questions the right of the individual States to have a voice in establishing certain minimum standards for the education of our children. But, on the other hand, religious schools are entitled

to make basic decisions about their curriculum and not be forced to march in lockstep to the directives of State bureaucrats.

I think you should know that both Senators Denton and Hatfield have proposed legislation in the Congress on the whole question of prohibiting discrimination against religious forms of student speech. I strongly support that legislation, and, with your help, I think it's possible we could get the amendment through the Congress this year.

Now in discussing these instances of the arbitrary imposition of liberal views, we would be remiss not to mention a Supreme Court decision more than a decade ago that, quite literally, wiped off the books the statutes of 50 States protecting the rights of unborn children. Abortion on demand is a great moral evil that takes the lives of ___ fetuses a year. Human life legislation ending this tragedy will someday pass the Congress -- and you and I must never rest until it does.

You may remember that when abortion on demand began many religious leaders warned that the practice would lead to a decline in respect for human life, that the philosophical premises used to justify abortion on demand would ultimately be used to justify other attacks on the sacredness of human life, even infanticide or mercy killings. When these warnings were first spoken, many of those in the intelligensia and the glitter set scoffed at them. But, tragically enough, they proved all too true: only last year a court in Indiana issued an order permitting the death by starvation of a handicapped infant.

Recent legislation introduced in the Congress by Representative Henry Hyde not only increases restrictions on

publicly-financed abortions, it also addresses this whole problem of infanticide. I urge the Congress to begin hearings soon on this legislation, to address the problems of infanticide, to adopt legislation that will protect the right of all children, including the disabled or handicapped, to the right to life.

Now in surveying the effect of several decades of liberal, secularist philosophy -- the wreckage, for example, left by the decisions like those on abortion and school prayer -- it is easy to grow discouraged. But we must never forget that we now stand at a turning point, a time when the old liberalism -- decadent and dying -- is being replaced by a new political consensus, a consensus that wants Government to perform its legitimate duties such as maintaining domestic peace and our national security but otherwise to leave the people alone.

Along with this return to limited Government, there is a great spiritual awakening in America and a renewal of the traditional values that have been the bedrocks of America's goodness and greatness.

One recent survey of thousands of Americans by a Washington based research council concluded that Americans were far more religious than the people of other nations; 95 percent of those surveyed expressed a belief in God and a huge majority believed the Ten Commandments had real meaning for their lives.

Another study of 2,000 Americans by Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance found that -- in contrast to the views of the elites I mentioned earlier -- the following practices were found wrong by large majorities of average Americans: adultery, 85 percent; hard drugs, 84 percent; homosexuality, 71 percent; sex before 16,

71 percent; abortion, 65 percent; and pornography, 68 percent. And this same study showed a deep reverence for the importance of family ties and religious belief.

So I think the items we have discussed today are the political agenda of the future. Remember for the first time the Congress is openly and seriously debating and dealing with the prayer and abortion issues -- that's enormous progress right there. I repeat: America is in the midst of a spiritual awakening and a moral renewal. With your biblical keynote, I say today let "justice roll on like a river, righteousness like a never failing stream."

Now obviously, much of this new political and social consensus I have talked about is based on a positive view of American history, one that takes pride in our country's accomplishments and record. But we must never forget an important distinction between our moral philosophy and that of the liberal secularists. Unlike them, we know that no Government schemes are going to perfect man; we know that living in this world means dealing with what philosophers would call the phenomenology of evil or, as the theologians would put it, the doctrine of sin.

There is sin, there is evil in this world and we are enjoined by scripture and the Lord Jesus to oppose it with all our might. And that is why in talking about America we must never forget that, like any other human entity, our Nation, too, has a legacy of evil with which it must deal.

Now, the glory of this land has been its capacity for transcending the moral evils of our past. For example, the long

struggle of minority citizens for equal rights, once a source of disunity and civil war, is now a point of pride for all Americans. We must never go back. There is no room for racism, anti-semitism or other forms of ethnic and racial hatred in this country. I know you have been horrified as have I by the resurgence of some hate groups preaching bigotry and prejudice. Today I urge you: Use the mighty voice of your pulpits and the powerful standing of your churches to denounce and isolate these hate groups in our midst.

[And I want to mention today another dark legacy of our past -- one that we are also now attempting to address in Washington. For many years in America we tolerated the existence of powerful syndicates of organized crime. As the years went by, these national syndicates increased in power, influence and sophistication. Recently, in the enormous growth of the illegal drug trade, we have seen the tragic results of this permissiveness and the climate of professional lawlessness it fostered. This trade was only a short time ago spreading murder and mayhem throughout South Florida. Today, through the South Florida Task Force headed by Vice President Bush, we have a handle on it. We've cracked down on this drug trade in Florida, and now we're bringing on 200 new prosecutors and 1,000 new investigators to extend that task force model to 12 other regions throughout the United States.

Yes, we are going after the drug cartels. But we're not going to stop there. Through a new presidential commission and several other initiatives, we intend to expose and prosecute the infrastructure of organized crime itself. We mean to cripple

their enterprises, dry up their profits and put their leaders behind bars where they belong.]

But whatever sad episodes exist in our past, any objective observer must hold a positive view of American history, a history that has been the story of hopes fulfilled and dreams made into reality. Especially in this century, America has kept alight the torch of freedom -- not just for ourselves but for millions of others around the world. And this brings me to my final point today, and, by the way, it's another illustration of the gulf between the views of our professional elites and those of everyday Americans.

During my first press conference as President, I pointed out that as good Marxists-Leninists the Soviet leaders have "openly and publicly declared that the only morality they recognize is what will further their cause, meaning they reserve unto themselves the right to commit any crime, to lie, to cheat . . . and that is moral, not immoral." I said that we would do well to keep this in mind during our negotiations with the Soviets.

Well, once again this caused a stir. I saw several accounts that truncated my remarks and suggested they were nothing more than name calling. Other accounts suggested that it was a breach of diplomacy to be that candid about the Soviets.

Now -- putting aside for the moment the fact that the pundits and opinion makers are rarely upset when the Soviets say much worse about us everyday in their press -- I think I should point out I was only quoting Lenin, a saint, a guiding spirit to the Soviet leadership, who wrote in 1920: "We repudiate all

morality that proceeds from supernatural ideas or ideas that are outside class conceptions. Morality is entirely subordinate to the interests of class war. Everything is moral that is necessary for the annihilation of the old exploiting social order and for uniting the proleteriat."

I think the refusal of many influential people to accept this elementary insight into Soviet behavior illustrates the historical reluctance of much of the elite to see totalitarian powers for what they are. We saw this phenomenon in the 1930's; we see it today in the nuclear freeze movement.

But surely, just as we look back in wonder at the self-deception of the 1930's, future historians, looking back at our time, will be shocked by the naivete and moral blindness of the unilateral disarmers. Surely, they will note the real proportions of the threat to peace, that it was the West that refused to use its nuclear monopoly in the forties and fifties for territorial gain -- and that it was not the West that intervened by proxy in Angola, in Ethiopia, in South Yeman or Central America; that it was not the West that invaded Afghanistan, or suppressed Polish Solidarity or used chemical and biological warfare in Afghanistan and Southeast Asia.

Surely, those historians will find in the councils of those who preached the supremacy of the state, who declared its omnipotence over individual man, who predicted its eventual domination of all peoples of the Earth, surely historians will see there . . . the focus of evil in the modern world. It was C.S. Lewis who in his unforgettable Screwtape Letters wrote:

"The greatest evil is not now done in those sordid 'dens of crime' that Dickens loved to paint. It is not

done even in concentration camps and labor camps -- in those we see its final result. But it is conceived and ordered (moved, seconded, carried and minuted) in clear, carpeted, warmed and well-lighted offices by quiet men with white collars and cut fingernails and smooth-shaven cheeks who do not need to raise their voices."

Because these "quiet men" do not "raise their voices," because they sometimes speak in soothing tones of brotherhood and peace, because, like other dictators before them, they are always making "their final territorial demand," some would have us accept them at their word and accommodate ourselves to their aggressive impulses. But, if history teaches anything, it teaches: simple-minded appeasement or self-delusion about our adversaries is folly -- it means the betrayal of our past, the squandering of our freedom.

So I urge you to speak out against those who would place the United States in a position of military inferiority to the Soviet Union. You know, I have always believed that old Screwtape reserves his best efforts for those of you in the Church. So in your discussions of the nuclear freeze movement, I urge you to beware the temptation of pride -- the temptation to blithely declare yourselves above it all and label both sides equally at fault, to ignore the facts of history and the aggressive impulses of an evil empire, to simply call the arms race a giant misunderstanding and thereby remove yourself from the struggle between right and wrong, good and evil.

I ask you to resist the attempts of those who would have you bargain away, for the sake of a few glowing minutes on the nightly news and a little cooing from the glitter set, your vital

support for this Administration's efforts to keep America strong and free.

But, while America's military strength is important, let me add here that I have always maintained that the struggle now going on for the world will never be decided by bombs or rockets, by armies or military might. For the real crisis we face today is a spiritual one, at root it is a test of moral will and religious faith.

Whittaker Chambers, the man whose own religious conversion made him a "witness" to one of the terrible traumas of our age, the Hiss Chambers case, wrote that the crisis of the Western world exists to the degree in which the West is indifferent to God, the degree to which it collaborates in Communism's attempt to make man stand alone without God. For Marxism-Leninism is actually the second oldest faith, he said, first proclaimed in the Garden of Eden with the words of temptation: "Ye shall be as gods."

The Western world can answer this challenge, he wrote, "but only provided that its faith in God and the freedom he enjoins is as great as Communism's faith in man."

I believe we shall rise to this challenge; I believe that Communism is another sad, bizarre chapter in human history whose last pages even now are being written. I believe this because the strength of our cause, the quest for human freedom, is not of this world; and because this strength is spiritual and knows no limitation, it must terrify and ultimately triumph over those who would enslave their fellow man. For, in the words of Isaiah:

"He giveth power to the faint, and to them that have no might, He increased their strength . . . but they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength . . . they shall mount up with wings as eagles. They shall run and not be weary . . ."

Thank you and God bless you.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

PLANNED PARENTHOOD FEDERATION)
OF AMERICA, INC., et al.,)

Plaintiffs,)

v.)

RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER, Secretary,)
United States Department of)
Health and Human Services,)

Defendant.)

Civil Action No. 83-0037

NATIONAL FAMILY PLANNING AND)
REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH ASSOCIATION,)
INC., et al.,)

Plaintiffs,)

v.)

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND)
HUMAN SERVICES, et al.,)

Defendants.)

Civil Action No. 83-0180

MEMORANDUM OF POINTS AND AUTHORITIES IN
OPPOSITION TO PLAINTIFFS' MOTIONS FOR A
PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION AND IN SUPPORT OF
DEFENDANT'S MOTION TO DISMISS OR, IN THE
ALTERNATIVE, FOR SUMMARY JUDGMENT

Introduction

These consolidated actions challenge final regulations issued by the United States Department of Health and Human Services ("HHS") on January 26, 1983, which require grantees of family planning services funded by HHS pursuant to Title X of the Public Health Service Act, 42 U.S.C. § 300 et seq, inter alia, to notify a parent or guardian of unemancipated minors that prescription

drugs or prescription devices have been provided to the minor by such grantees. This regulation was promulgated to implement a 1981 amendment to the Act which requires that "[t]o the extent practical," all Title X grantees "shall encourage family participation" in Title X projects. Pub.L. No. 97-35, § 931, amending 42 U.S.C. § 300a. Plaintiffs seek declaratory and injunctive relief against enforcement of these regulations and, on January 24, 1983, moved for issuance of a preliminary injunction.*/

*/ Named as parties plaintiff in the January 24, 1983 amended complaint in C.A. No. 83-0037 are the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, Inc., a national organization interested in family planning, birth control and abortion, and three of its affiliates -- Planned Parenthood of Metropolitan Washington, D.C., Inc., Planned Parenthood of New York City, Inc., and Planned Parenthood Association of Maryland, Inc., all alleged to be Title X grantees (Complaint, ¶¶4-9). Also named as party plaintiff is Doctor Laurel A. Cappa, the Medical Director of the Washington, D.C. affiliate (*Id.*, ¶10). Finally, four individuals: "Nancy Noe," a mother of a daughter aged 16, "Larry Loe," the father of a daughter aged 16 1/2, "Jane Doe," a 16 year old who has "an active social life and has thought seriously about contraceptives," and "Mary Roe," a 16 year old who is "sexually active" and wishes to obtain contraceptives (*Id.*, ¶¶13-17) are plaintiffs who have been allowed by this Court to initiate this action under pseudonyms. Plaintiffs in this action generally will be referred to as "Planned Parenthood" or "PPFA".

On January 24, 1983, the National Family Planning and Reproductive Health Association, Inc. ("NFPRHA"), the Family Planning Council of Western Massachusetts, the United States Conference of Local Health Officers, the South Carolina Department of Health and Environment Control and Doctor Steven Sondheimer, Director of the Family Planning Program of the University of Pennsylvania Hospital, filed a companion action (C.A. No. 83-0180) against the regulations. By order dated January 27, 1983, the NFPRHA case was consolidated with C.A. No. 83-0037.

HHS^{*}/ hereby opposes plaintiffs' attempt to enjoin the implementation of these regulations, which have been promulgated to implement Congress' direction, contained in section 931(b)(1) of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981 ("OBRA"), Pub.L. No. 97-35, 95 Stat. 357, 570, that, "[t]o the extent practical," grantees "shall encourage family participation in projects" assisted under Title X. Congress intended that "families participate in [Title X] activities as much as possible." These activities include the receipt of contraceptive services by their minor daughters. H.R. Rep. No. 97-208, 97th Cong. 1st Sess. 799 (1981). As demonstrated below, the challenged regulations are entirely consistent with section 931, represent a reasonable exercise of HHS' rulemaking authority, and are constitutional. Plaintiffs' requests for preliminary injunctive relief therefore should be denied and HHS' motion to dismiss or, in the alternative, for summary judgment should be granted.

STATEMENT OF THE CASE

A. Applicable Statutes and Regulations

In 1970, Congress enacted the Family Planning Services and Population Research Act of 1970, Pub. L. No. 91-572, 84 Stat. 1504, which added a new title, Title X, to the existing Public Health Service Act. The purpose of this new legislation was, inter alia, to improve and expand the availability of family planning services and population research activities of the

^{*}/ Named as party defendant in C.A. No. 83-0037 and in C.A. No. 83-0180 is Secretary of HHS Schweiker. HHS is named as party defendant in C.A. No. 83-0180. Defendants will be referred to as HHS. This memorandum also is submitted in support of HHS' motion to dismiss or, in the alternative, for summary judgment.

Federal government. Under Title X, HHS has been authorized to make grants and enter into contracts with public or nonprofit private entities "to assist in the establishment and operation of voluntary family planning projects which shall offer a broad range of acceptable and effective family planning methods and services (including natural family planning methods, infertility services, and services for adolescents). . . ." 42 U.S.C. § 300a (as amended). All grants and contracts made pursuant to Title X "shall be made in accordance with such regulations as the Secretary [of HHS] may promulgate." 42 U.S.C. § 300a-4(a). A principal focus of Title X consistently has been the targeting of family planning resources to persons from low or "poverty level" income families. 42 U.S.C. § 300a-4(c).

In 1981, Congress amended Title X to require Title X grantees to take steps to encourage the families of adolescents utilizing family planning services to participate in such activities. Pub. L. No. 97-35, § 931(b)(1), 95 Stat. 570. Section 300a of the statute thus was amended to state as follows:

The Secretary is authorized to make grants to and enter into contracts with public or nonprofit private entities to assist in the establishment and operation of voluntary family planning projects which shall offer a broad range of acceptable and effective family planning methods and services (including natural family planning methods, infertility services, and services for adolescents). To the extent practical, entities which receive grants or contracts under this subsection shall encourage family participation in projects assisted under this subsection.

(amendment emphasized). The legislative history underlying the enactment of this provision evidences Congress' intent that Title X grantees further the participation of families in adolescent decisionmaking concerning family planning as much as possible.

The Conference Report on Pub.L. No. 97-35 thus states:

The conferees believe that, while family involvement is not mandated, it is important that families participate in the activities authorized by this title as much as possible. It is the intent of the Conferees that grantees will encourage participants in Title X programs to include their families in counseling and involve them in decisions about services.

H.R. Rep. No. 97-208, 97th Cong. 1st Sess. 799 (1981), reprinted in 7A U.S. Code Cong. & Admin. News 1161' (1981) (emphasis added).

B. The Promulgation Of Regulations To Implement Congress' 1981 Amendment To Title X

HHS proposed regulations on February 22, 1982 to implement Congress' 1981 amendment of section 300a. 47 Fed. Reg. 7699-7701 (Feb. 22, 1982). The proposed amendments to 42 C.F.R. § 59.5

Interim Final Rule

45 C.F.R. Section 84.61 is amended by designating the existing provision as paragraph (a) and by adding the following paragraphs:

(b) Pursuant to 45 C.F.R. Section 80.6(d), each recipient that provides covered health care services to infants shall post and keep posted in a conspicuous place in each delivery ward, each maternity ward, each pediatric ward, and each nursery, including each intensive care nursery, the following notice:

DISCRIMINATORY FAILURE TO FEED AND CARE FOR HANDICAPPED INFANTS IN THIS FACILITY IS PROHIBITED BY FEDERAL LAW.

lock + indent
Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 states that no otherwise qualified handicapped individual shall, solely by reason of handicap, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance.

Any person having knowledge that a handicapped infant is being discriminatorily denied food or customary medical care should immediately contact:

Handicapped Infant Hotline
U.S. Department of Health and Human Services
Washington, D.C. 20201
Phone 800-____-____ (Available 24 hours a day)

or

Your State Child Protective Agency

[leave space]

Federal law prohibits retaliation or intimidation against any person who provides information about possible violations of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973.

Identity of callers will be held confidential.

Failure to feed and care for infants may also violate the criminal and civil laws of your State.

- lock
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ndent
- (1) Recipients may add to the notice, in type face or handwriting, under the words "Your State Child Protective Agency," the identification of an appropriate State agency, with address and telephone number. No other alterations shall be made to such notice.
 - (2) Copies of such notice may be obtained on request from the Department of Health and Human Services.
 - (3) The required notice shall be posted within five days after the recipient is informed by the Department of the applicable toll-free national telephone number.
- (c) Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph (a), the requirement of 45 C.F.R. Section 80.8(d)(3) shall not apply when, in the judgment of the responsible Department official, immediate remedial action is necessary to protect the life or health of a handicapped individual.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

July 4, 1776

the thirteen united States of America.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the moderation of large districts of people, and people would relinquish the right of Election in the Legislature, a right inestimable and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies in places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their Public Records, for the purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses frequently, for opposing with manly firmness invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after repeated petitions, to cause others to be elected, who have returned to the People at large for the exercise; the State remaining in the mean time to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to encourage their migration, and raising the conditions of new Appropriated Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will for the tenure of their offices, and the amount of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing Armies without the Consent of our Legislature.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and not acknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to Acts of pretended Legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed Soldiers among us;

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these Colonies;

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent;

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury;

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences;

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies;

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments;

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to complete the works of destruction, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & Perfidy scarcely parallelled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unprovoked by the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have

Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is, and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do.—And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

John Hancock

New Hampshire

John Bartlett
John Whipple
Matthew Thornton

Rhode Island

Samuel Hopkins
William Ellery

Connecticut

Samuel Sherman
John Huntington
John Williams
Oliver Wolcott

New York

John Jay
John Livingston
James Lewis
Lewis Morris

New Jersey

Richard Stockton
John Witherspoon
John Dickinson
John Hart
John Cadwalader

Pennsylvania

Robt. Morris
Benjamin Rush
Benj. Franklin
John Morton
Geo. Clymer
Jas. Smith
Geo. Taylor
James Wilson
Geo. Ross

Massachusetts-Bay

Saml. Adams
John Adams
Robt. Treat Paine
Elbridge Gerry

Delaware

Caesar Rodney
Geo. Read
Tho. M'Kean

Maryland

Samuel Chase
Wm. Paca
Thos. Stone
Charles Carroll of Carrollton

Virginia

George Wythe
Richard Henry Lee
Th. Jefferson
Benj. Harrison
Ths. Nelson, Jr.
Francis Lightfoot Lee
Carter Braxton

North Carolina

Wm. Hooper
Joseph Hewes
John Penn

South Carolina

Edward Rutledge
Thos. Heyward, Junr.
Thomas Lynch, Junr.
Arthur Middleton

Georgia

Button Gwinnett
Lyman Hall
Geo. Walton

na authorized its delegates to the Continental Congress, the first colony to instruct its delegates to seek independence. Virginia offered a resolution to the Congress for independence. . . . A committee of five, including John Jay, Roger Sherman and John Adams, was organized to draft a declaration of independence. The Declaration of Independence was adopted on July 4, 1776. George Wythe (Va.) signed August 27; Richard Henry Lee (Va.) signed August 27; John Adams (Mass.) signed August 27; Matthew Thornton (N. H.), not a delegate until 1776, signed not until 1781 by special permission, being

History of the Flag

Source: *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

The first official American flag, the Continental or Grand Union flag, was displayed on Prospect Hill, Jan. 1, 1776, in the American lines besieging Boston. It had 13 alternate red and white stripes, with the British Union Jack in the upper left corner.

On June 14, 1777, the Continental Congress adopted the design for a new flag, which actually was the Continental flag with the red cross of St. George and the white cross of St. Andrew replaced on the blue field by 13 stars, one for each state. No rule was made as to the arrangement of the stars, and while they were usually shown in a circle, there were various other designs. It is uncertain when the new flag was first flown, but its first official announcement is believed to have been on Sept. 3, 1777.

The first public assertion that Betsy Ross made the first Stars and Stripes appeared in a paper read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania on March 14, 1870, by William J. Canby, a grandson. However, Mr. Canby on later investigation found no official documents of any action by Congress on the flag before June 14, 1777. Betsy Ross's own story, according to her daughter, was that Washington, Robert Morris, and George Ross, as representatives of Congress, visited her in Philadelphia in June 1776, showing her a rough draft of the flag and asking her if she could make one. However, the only actual record of the manufacture of flags by Betsy Ross is a voucher in Harrisburg, Pa., for 14 pounds and some shillings for flags for the Pennsylv-

ania navy.

On Jan. 13, 1794, Congress voted to add two stars and two stripes to the flag in recognition of the admission of Vermont and Kentucky to the Union. By 1818, there were 20 states in the Union, and as it was obvious that the flag would soon become unwieldy, Congress voted April 18 to return to the original 13 stripes and to indicate the admission of a new state simply by the addition of a star the following July 4. The 49th star, for Alaska, was added July 4, 1959; and the 50th star, for Hawaii, was added July 4, 1960.

The first Confederate flag, adopted in 1861 by the Confederate convention in Montgomery, Ala., was called the Stars and Bars; but because of its similarity in colors to the American flag, there was much confusion in the Battle of Bull Run. To remedy this situation, Gen. G. T. Beauregard suggested a battle flag, which was used by the Southern armies throughout the war. The flag consisted of a red field on which was placed a blue cross of St. Andrew separated from the field by a white fillet and adorned with 13 white stars for the Confederate states. In May 1863, at Richmond, an official flag was adopted by the Confederate Congress. This flag was white and twice as long as wide; the union, two-thirds the width of the flag, contained the battle flag designed for Gen. Beauregard. A broad transverse stripe of red was added Feb. 4, 1865, so that the flag might not be mistaken for a signal of truce.

11 states formally seceded, and unofficial groups in Kentucky and Missouri adopted ordinances of secession. On this basis, these two states were admitted to the Confederacy, although the official state governments remained in the Union.

The Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag

"I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one Nation under God,¹ indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

1. The original pledge was published in the Sept. 8, 1892.

issue of *The Youth's Companion* in Boston. For years, the authorship was in dispute between James B. Upham and Francis Bellamy of the magazine's staff. In 1939, after a study of the controversy, the United States Flag Association decided that authorship be credited to Bellamy. 2. The phrase "under God" was added to the pledge on June 14, 1954.

The Statue of Liberty

The Statue of Liberty ("Liberty Enlightening the World") is a 225-ton, steel-reinforced copper female figure, 152 ft in height, facing the ocean from Liberty Island in New York Harbor. The right hand holds aloft a torch, and the left hand carries a tablet upon which is inscribed: "July IV MDCCLXXVI."

The statue was designed by Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi of Alsace as a gift to the United States from the people of France to memorialize the alliance of the two countries in the American Revolution and their abiding friendship. The French people contributed the \$250,000 cost.

The 130-foot pedestal was designed by Richard M. Hunt and built by Gen. Charles P. Stone, both Americans. It contains steel underpinnings designed by Alexander Eiffel of France to support the statue. The \$270,000 cost was borne by popular subscription in this country. President Grover Cleveland accepted the statue for the United States on Oct. 28, 1886.

On Sept. 26, 1972, President Richard M. Nixon

1. Statue located on Liberty Island prior to 1956.

dedicated the American Museum of Immigration, housed in structural additions to the base of the statue. Some 200 exhibits memorialize the flow of immigrants into the United States, including as many as 5,000 a day on nearby Ellis Island.

On a tablet inside the pedestal is engraved the following sonnet, written by Emma Lazarus (1849-1887):

The New Colossus

Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,
With conquering limbs astride from land to land;
Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand
A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame
Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name
Mother of Exiles. From her beacon-hand
Glows world-wide welcome; her mild eyes command
The air-brided harbor that twin cities frame.
"Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she
With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

U.S. Capitol

Maj. ter more than 50 years of service to his country, whisper from one side of this room can be heard across the vast space of the hall. Visitors can see the original Supreme Court chamber a floor below the Rotunda.

In addition to its historical association, the Capitol Building is also a vast artistic treasure house. The works of such famous artists as Gilbert Stuart, Rembrandt Peale, and John Trumbull are displayed on the walls. The Great Rotunda, with its 180-foot- (54.9-m-) high dome, is decorated with a massive fresco by Constantino Brumidi, which extends some 300 feet (90 m) in circumference. Throughout the building are many paintings of events in U.S. history and sculptures of outstanding Americans. The Capitol itself is situated on a 17-acre (27.5-ha) park designed by the 19th-century landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted. There are free guided tours of the Capitol, which include admission to the House and Senate galleries. Those who wish to visit the visitors' gallery either wing without taking the tour may obtain passes from their Senators or Congressmen. Visitors may ride on the monorail subway that joins the House and Senate wings of the Capitol with the Congressional office buildings.

Washington Monument

and a lack of money brought construction to a halt. Work was resumed in 1880, and the monument was completed in 1884 and opened to the public in 1888. The tapered shaft, faced with white marble and rising from walls 15 feet thick (4.6 m) at the base was modeled after the obelisks of ancient Egypt. The monument, one of the tallest masonry constructions in the world, stands just over 555 ft (169 m). Memorial stones from the 50 States, foreign countries, and organizations line the interior walls. The top, reached only by elevator, commands a panoramic view of the city.

The Liberty Bell

den in Allentown during the British occupation of Philadelphia, it was replaced in Independence Hall in 1778. The bell cracked on July 8, 1792, while tolling the death of Chief Justice John Jay. In 1976 the Liberty Bell was moved to a special exhibition building near Independence Hall.

National Cemetery

lic without ceremony in 1932. Two additional burials, known, one from World War II and one from the Korean War, were buried May 30, 1958. The inscription carved on the side of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier reads:

HERE RESTS IN
HONORED GLORY
AN AMERICAN
SOLDIER
KNOWN BUT TO GOD

U.S. HISTORY & GOVERNMENT

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

In Congress, July 4, 1776

The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America.

When in the Course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.—That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,—That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.—Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their Public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our Legislature.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to Acts of pretended Legislation:

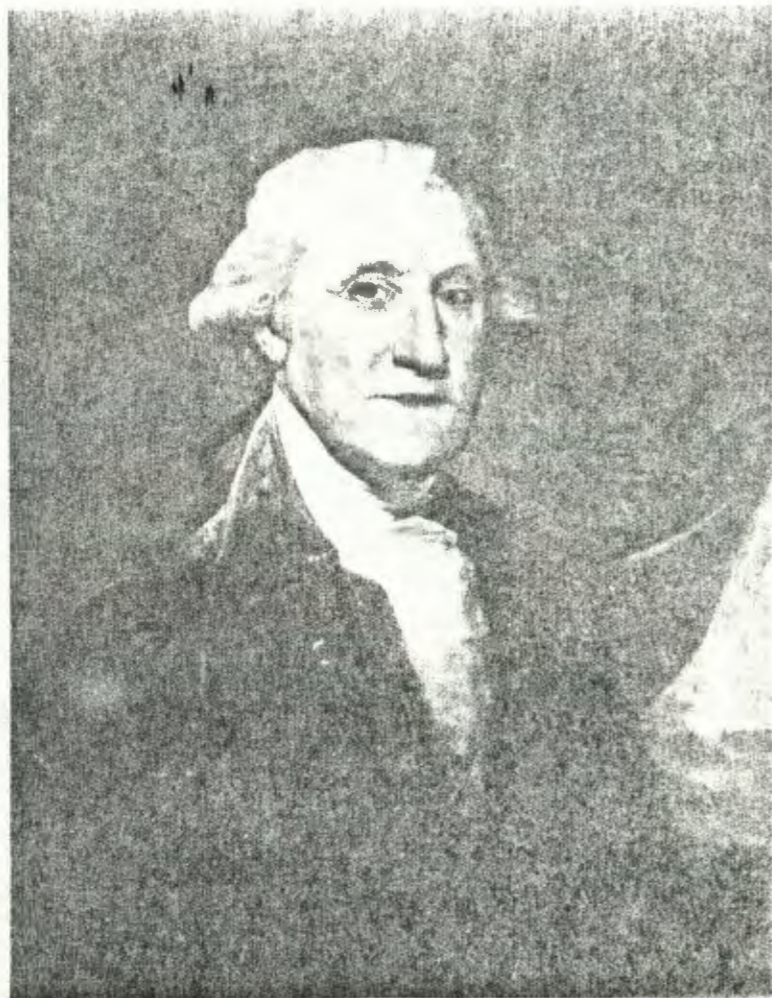
For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of

NOTE: On April 12, 1776, the legislature of North Carolina authorized its delegates to the Continental Congress, as did others in a declaration of separation from Great Britain; the first colony to instruct its delegates to take the actual step was Virginia on May 15. On June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia offered a resolution to the Congress to the effect that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States. . . . A committee, consisting of Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Robert R. Livingston, and Roger Sherman was organized to prepare a resolution to the effect of the said first resolution. The Declaration of Independence was adopted on July 4, 1776.

Most delegates signed the Declaration August 2, but George Wythe (Va.) signed August 27; Richard Henry Lee (Va.) signed August 30; John Hancock (Mass.), and Oliver Wolcott (Conn.) in September; Matthew Thornton (N. H.), not a delegate until September 17, 1776; and Thomas McKean (Del.), although present on July 4, not until 1781 by special permission, having served in the interim.



GILBERT STUART'S PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON, PAINTED IN 1796
(From the original in the Frick Collection)

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^{t!}
THE WRITINGS OF
George
Washington

from the
Original Manuscript Sources
1745-1799

Prepared under the direction of the UNITED STATES
GEORGE WASHINGTON BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION
and published by authority of CONGRESS

JOHN C. FITZPATRICK, *Editor*

Volume 35
March 30, 1796-July 31, 1797

United States
Government Printing Office
Washington

influence other foreign Governments to follow the example, which would, I conceive, contribute much more to the advancement of the City than any pecuniary consideration to be derived from the Sale of the Lots.

I shall not dwell however on the subject in this letter, as I expect in eight or ten days to be in the City, and will renew the matter then. With very great esteem etc.⁸⁵

*FAREWELL ADDRESS⁸⁴

United States, September 19, 1796.

Friends, and Fellow-Citizens: The period for a new election of a Citizen, to Administer the Executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in designating

⁸⁴From a copy in the writing of George Washington Craik in *District of Columbia Letters and Papers* in the Library of Congress.

⁸⁵On September 15 Washington submitted the Farewell Address to the Cabinet. Pickering wrote to him that same day (September 15): "The paper you put into my hands to-day was attentively perused by us all. I am now going over it by myself, but it will not be possible to get thro' in time to return it before bed-time. Before breakfast in the morning I will wait upon you with it." Pickering's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

David C. Claypoole's account of the publication of the Address is printed by Paltsits. An extract follows: "A few days before the appearance of this highly interesting document in print, I received a message from the President, by his private secretary, Col. Lear, signifying his desire to see me. I waited on him at the appointed time, and found him sitting alone in the drawing-room. He received me very kindly, and after I had paid my respects to him, desired me to take a seat near him; then addressing himself to me, said, that he had for some time contemplated retiring from public life, and had at length concluded to do so at the end of the (then) present term: that he had some thoughts and reflections on the occasion, which he deemed proper to communicate to the people of the United States, in the form of an address, and which he wished to appear in the *Daily Advertiser*, of which I was Proprietor and editor. He paused, and I took occasion to thank him for having selected that paper as the channel of communication to the Public, especially as I viewed this choice as an evidence of his approbation of the principles and manner in which the work was conducted. He silently assented, and asked me when I could make the publication. I answered that the time should be made perfectly convenient to himself, and the following Monday was fixed on: he then said that his secretary would deliver me the Copy on the next morning (Friday), and I withdrew. After the *proof sheets* had been carefully compared with the copy, and corrected by myself, I carried two different Revises, to be examined by the President; who made but few alterations from

the person, who is to be clothed with that important trust,⁸⁵ it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation, which binds a dutiful citizen to his country, and that, in with drawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest, no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but⁸⁶ am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your Suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly

the original, except in the punctuation, in which he was very minute. The publication of the Address, dated 'United States, September 17th, 1796' being completed on the 19th [bearing the same date with the Paper, Sept, 19th, 1796, being completed], I waited on the President with the original; and, in presenting it to him, expressed my regret at parting with it, and how much I should be gratified by being permitted to retain it: upon which in the most obliging manner, he handed it back to me, saying, that if I wished for it, I might keep it;—and I then took my leave."

Sparks, who prints the Farewell Address from the publication of it in Claypoole's *American Daily Advertiser*, of Sept. 19, 1796, states that he copies the following indorsement (which is in the writing of Washington) on Claypoole's paper, "designed as an instruction to the copyist, who recorded the Address in the letter-book: The letter contained in this gazette, addressed 'To the People of the United States,' is to be recorded, and in the order of its date. Let it have a blank page before and after it, so as to stand distinct. Let it be written with a letter larger and fuller than the common recording hand. And where words are printed with capital letters, it is to be done so in recording. And those other words, that are printed in italics, must be scored underneath and straight by a ruler." This newspaper, with Washington's indorsement thereon, is not now found in the *Washington Papers*. Claypoole's paper printed the Address as dated September 17, which date is followed by Sparks.

⁸⁶At this point the words "for another term" are crossed out.

⁸⁷The words "act under" are crossed out.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the Administration of the Government and serve to keep alive the spirit of Liberty. This within certain limits is probably true, and in Governments of a Monarchical cast Patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favour, upon the spirit of party.⁴¹ But in those of the popular character, in Governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched; it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest⁴¹ instead of warming it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free Country should inspire caution in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective Constitutional spheres; avoiding in the exercise of the Powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create⁴² whatever the form of government, a real⁴³ despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and⁴⁴ proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power; by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the Guardian of the Public Weal⁴⁵ against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country

⁴¹The words "it should not only warm but" are crossed out.

⁴²The word "under" is crossed out.

⁴³The words "form a" are crossed out.

⁴⁴The word "the" is crossed out.

⁴⁵The word "from" is crossed out.

and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If in the opinion of the People, the distribution or modification of the Constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the⁴⁶ customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent⁴⁷ must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or⁴⁸ transient benefit which the use⁴⁹ can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, Religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of Patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great Pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of Men and citizens. The mere Politician, equally with the pious man ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation *desert* the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in Courts of Justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that National morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

'Tis substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free Government. Who

⁴⁶The words "usual and natural" are crossed out.

⁴⁷The words "of its use" are crossed out.

⁴⁸The word "temporary" is crossed out.

⁴⁹The word "itself" is crossed out.

Penn quote

The
American Treasury
1455-1955

SELECTED, ARRANGED, AND EDITED BY
CLIFTON FADIMAN
" "
ASSISTED BY CHARLES VAN DOREN



Harper & Brothers, Publishers
New York

Did not our friends in England many of them forewarne us of it ere we came away? Did not others send letters after us, to deterre us from it? Did not some among our selvs (and those no meane ones) inculcate our inevitable dangers at home from no smale Company left out of Church fellowship, and Civill Offices, and freedome hitherto? Yet we trusted in God (though there appeared no meanes of safety) and went on our way; and the Lord hath still preserved us, and frustrated all Councells and Attempts against us.

JOHN WINTHROP, Boston, 1643

If we will not be governed by God, we must be governed by tyrants.

WILLIAM PENN

God hath sifted a whole nation, that he might send choice grain into this wilderness.

WILLIAM STOUGHTON, 1695

I write the *Wonders* of the Christian Religion, flying from the depravations of *Europe*, to the *American Strand*: and, assisted by the Holy Author of that *Religion*, I do, with all conscience of *Truth*, required therein by Him, who is the *Truth* itself, report the *wonderful displays* of His infinite Power, Wisdom, Goodness, and Faithfulness, wherewith his Divine Providence hath *irradiated* an *Indian Wilderness*.

COTTON MATHER, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, 1702

Resolved, When I feel pain, to think of the pains of martyrdom, and of Hell.

JONATHAN EDWARDS, *Seventy Resolutions*

Resolved, never to do anything which I should be afraid to do if it were the last hour of my life.

JONATHAN EDWARDS, *Ibid.*

Resolved, That I will act so, in every respect, as I think I shall wish I had done, if I should at last be damned.

JONATHAN EDWARDS, *Ibid.*, July 8, 1723

From about that time, I began to have a new kind of apprehensions and ideas of Christ, and the work of redemption, and the glorious way of salvation by him. An inward, sweet sense of those things, at times, came into

The Screwtape Letters

WITH
*Screwtape
Proposes a Toast*

C. S. LEWIS

MACMILLAN PUBLISHING CO., INC.
NEW YORK

By C. S. LEWIS

The Abolition of Man

The Case for Christianity

(Published in Great Britain as Broadcast Talks)

Christian Behavior

Dymer

George Macdonald: An Anthology

The Great Divorce

The Horse and His Boy

The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe

The Magician's Nephew

Mere Christianity

(Trilogy: The Case for Christianity,
Christian Behavior, and Beyond Personality)

Miracles

Out of the Silent Planet

The Silver Chair

Perelandra

Prince Caspian

The Problem of Pain

That Hideous Strength

The Voyage of the Dawn Treader

The Weight of Glory, and Other Addresses

The Last Battle

rest, my own choice of symbols depended, I suppose, on temperament and on the age.

I like bats much better than bureaucrats. I live in the Managerial Age, in a world of "Admin." The greatest evil is not now done in those sordid "dens of crime" that Dickens loved to paint. It is not done even in concentration camps and labour camps. In those we see its final result. But it is conceived and ordered (moved, seconded, carried, and minuted) in clean, carpeted, warmed, and well-lighted offices, by quiet men with white collars and cut fingernails and smooth-shaven cheeks who do not need to raise their voice. Hence, naturally enough, my symbol for Hell is something like the bureaucracy of a police state or the offices of a thoroughly nasty business concern.

Milton has told us that "devil with devil damned Firm concord holds." But how? Certainly not by friendship. A being which can still love is not yet a devil. Here again my symbol seemed to me useful. It enabled me, by earthly parallels, to picture an official society held together entirely by fear and greed. On the surface, manners are normally suave. Rudeness to one's superiors would obviously be suicidal; rudeness to one's equals might put them on their guard before you were ready to spring your mine. For of course "Dog eat dog" is the principle of the whole organisation. Everyone wishes everyone else's discrediting, demotion, and ruin; everyone is an expert in the confidential report, the pretended alliance, the stab in the back. Over all this their good manners, their expressions of grave respect, their

"tributes" to one another's invaluable services form a thin crust. Every now and then it gets punctured, and the scalding lava of their hatred spurts out.

This symbol also enabled me to get rid of the absurd fancy that devils are engaged in the disinterested pursuit of something called Evil (the capital is essential). Mine have no use for any such turnip ghost. Bad angels, like bad men, are entirely practical. They have two motives. The first is fear of punishment: for as totalitarian countries have their camps for torture, so my Hell contains deeper Hells, its "houses of correction." Their second motive is a kind of hunger. I feign that devils can, in a spiritual sense, eat one another; and us. Even in human life we have seen the passion to dominate, almost to digest, one's fellow; to make his whole intellectual and emotional life merely an extension of one's own—to hate one's hatreds and resent one's grievances and indulge one's egoism through him as well as through oneself. His own little store of passion must of course be suppressed to make room for ours. If he resists this suppression he is being very selfish.

On Earth this desire is often called "love." In Hell I feign that they recognise it as hunger. But there the hunger is more ravenous, and a fuller satisfaction is possible. There, I suggest, the stronger spirit—there are perhaps no bodies to impede the operation—can really and irrevocably suck the weaker into itself and permanently gorge its own being on the weaker's outraged individuality. It is (I feign) for this that devils desire human souls ~~and the souls of one another~~. It is for this that Satan desires all his own followers and

41st Natl Conv of NAEC

Coloon - layman of the year

help each other to help themselves

Student part

AHE^{mission} students - (colleges will be represented

1000

Super sweat program - pledge money for
activities for young people
(Rocking Chair)

Skip a lunch feed a bunch

"Doing together - what no one ^{church} could
do alone"

"Change Your ~~World~~ ^{World}"

\$12 in one church service

Spirit of independence - using his gift to progress

Soviet pub - Morality as understood ^{by} the Communists.

We repudiate all morality taken apart from human society and classes. We say that it is a deception, a fraud, a befogging of the minds of the workers and peasants in the interests of the landlords and capitalists. Our morality is entirely subordinated to the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat...Morality is what serves to destroy the old exploiting society and to unite all toilers around the proletariat which is building a new Communist society.

Lenin speech to the Komsomol, 1920

quoting it even in contemporary publications

Book: Morality as understood by the Communists, Moscow 1977.

Book: 1964: Communist morality, published by Progress publishers in Moscow

Greg
287-5530

John Metvin
893-0226

USIA - Leon Guroff
earlier editions

John Horan John Horan
John Horan Marshall John Horan

Def
Intell
Review

Lenin Reader p. 91

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Stephan T. Possony

415/968-4940

Basic Prin, item 9.

(L/C) ← Harriet Scott
with Francis Scott

We repudiate all morality that is taken outside of human, class concepts. We say that this deception, a fraud, which clogs the brains of the workers and peasants in the interests of the landowners and capitalists

We say that our morality is entirely subordinated to the int of the class struggle of the proletariat. Our morality is deduced from the class struggle of the proletariat.

We do not believe in eternal morality and we expose all the fables about morality

Tasks of the Youth League

Oct 2, 1920

Sele Works 1.9 415-8

John Lendowski -

X 5646

Gene
Metwin

Reader's Digest

(DOLAN/RR)

MARCH 8, 1983
2:30 PM
ORLANDO, FLORIDA

ml 3/8

PRESIDENT'S BACKUP COPY:

ADDRESS TO NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS

I AM DELIGHTED TO BE HERE TODAY. THOSE OF YOU IN THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS ARE KNOWN FOR YOUR SPIRITUAL AND HUMANITARIAN WORK -- AND I WOULD BE ESPECIALLY REMISS IF I DID NOT DISCHARGE RIGHT NOW ONE PERSONAL DEBT OF GRATITUDE.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PRAYERS. NANCY AND I HAVE FELT THEIR PRESENCE MANY TIMES IN MANY WAYS. BELIEVE ME, FOR US THEY HAVE MADE ALL THE DIFFERENCE. THE OTHER DAY IN THE EAST ROOM OF THE WHITE HOUSE SOMEONE ASKED ME WHETHER I WAS AWARE OF ALL THE PEOPLE OUT THERE PRAYING FOR THE PRESIDENT. YES, I AM -- BECAUSE I'VE FELT IT AND I BELIEVE IN INTERCESSIONARY PRAYER. BUT I COULDN'T HELP BUT SAY TO THAT QUESTIONER THAT IF SOMETIMES WHEN HE WAS PRAYING HE GOT A BUSY SIGNAL, IT WAS JUST ME IN THERE AHEAD OF HIM. I FEEL AS ABE LINCOLN FELT WHEN HE SAID, "I HAVE BEEN DRIVEN MANY TIMES UPON MY KNEES BY THE OVERWHELMING CONVICTION THAT I HAD NO WHERE ELSE TO GO."

FROM THE JOY AND GOOD FEELING OF THIS CONFERENCE I GO TO A POLITICAL RECEPTION. I DON'T KNOW WHY THAT SCHEDULING REMINDS ME OF A STORY, BUT IT DOES. AN EVANGELICAL MINISTER AND A POLITICIAN ARRIVED AT HEAVEN'S GATE TOGETHER.

ST. PETER TOOK THEM IN HAND TO SHOW THEM THEIR NEW QUARTERS. HE TOOK THE MINISTER TO A SMALL ROOM WITH JUST A BED, A SINGLE CHAIR AND TABLE.

THE POLITICIAN WAS A LITTLE WORRIED ABOUT WHAT WAS IN STORE FOR HIM. AND HE COULDN'T BELIEVE IT WHEN ST. PETER STOPPED BEFORE A GREAT MANSION, WITH BEAUTIFUL GROUNDS AND MANY SERVANTS AND TOLD HIM ALL THIS WOULD BE HIS. THE POLITICIAN SAID, "BUT HOW CAN YOU GIVE ME THIS MANSION WHILE THAT GOOD AND HOLY MAN ONLY GETS A SINGLE ROOM?"

ST. PETER SAID, "YOU HAVE TO UNDERSTAND HOW THINGS ARE UP HERE; WE'VE GOT THOUSANDS AND THOUSANDS OF CLERGY -- YOU'RE THE FIRST POLITICIAN WHO EVER MADE IT."

NOW I DON'T WANT TO CONTRIBUTE TO A STEROTYPE. I TELL YOU TRULY, THERE ARE A GREAT MANY GOD-FEARING, DEDICATED, NOBLE MEN AND WOMEN IN PUBLIC LIFE. YES, WE NEED YOUR HELP TO KEEP US EVER MINDFUL OF THE IDEAS AND PRINCIPLES THAT BROUGHT US INTO THE PUBLIC ARENA IN THE FIRST PLACE. THE BASIS OF THOSE IDEALS AND PRINCIPLES IS A COMMITMENT TO FREEDOM AND PERSONAL LIBERTY, A COMMITMENT THAT ITSELF IS GROUNDED IN THE MUCH DEEPER REALIZATION: THAT FREEDOM PROSPERS ONLY WHERE THE BLESSINGS OF GOD ARE AVIDLY SOUGHT AND HUMBL Y ACKNOWLEDGED.

THE AMERICAN EXPERIMENT IN DEMOCRACY RESTS ON THIS INSIGHT; ITS DISCOVERY WAS THE GREAT TRIUMPH OF OUR FOUNDING FATHERS VOICED BY WILLIAM PENN: "IF WE WILL NOT BE GOVERNED BY GOD, WE MUST BE GOVERNED BY TYRANTS," EXPLAINING THE INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF MEN, JEFFERSON SAID, "THE GOD WHO GAVE US LIFE, GAVE US LIBERTY AT THE SAME TIME." AND IT WAS GEORGE WASHINGTON WHO SAID THAT "OF ALL THE DISPOSITIONS AND HABITS WHICH LEAD TO POLITICAL PROSPERITY, RELIGION AND MORALITY ARE INDISPENSABLE SUPPORTS."

AND FINALLY, THAT SHREWDEST OF ALL OBSERVERS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE, PUT IT ELOQUENTLY AFTER HE HAD GONE ON A SEARCH FOR THE SECRET OF AMERICA'S GREATNESS AND GENIUS.

NOT UNTIL I WENT TO THE CHURCHES OF AMERICA AND HEARD HER PULPITS AFLAME WITH RIGHTEOUSNESS DID I UNDERSTAND THE GREATNESS AND GENIUS OF AMERICA. AMERICA IS GREAT BECAUSE AMERICA IS GOOD. AND IF AMERICA EVER CEASES TO BE GOOD, AMERICA WILL CEASE TO BE GREAT."

I AM PLEASED TO BE HERE TODAY WITH YOU WHO ARE KEEPING AMERICA GREAT BY KEEPING HER GOOD. ONLY THROUGH YOUR WORK AND PRAYERS AND THOSE OF MILLIONS OF OTHERS CAN WE HOPE TO SURVIVE THIS PERILOUS CENTURY AND KEEP ALIVE THIS EXPERIMENT IN LIBERTY, THIS LAST BEST HOPE OF MAN.

I WANT YOU TO KNOW THIS ADMINISTRATION IS MOTIVATED BY A POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY THAT SEES THE GREATNESS OF AMERICA IN YOU, HER PEOPLE, AND IN YOUR FAMILIES, CHURCHES, NEIGHBORHOODS, COMMUNITIES -- THE INSTITUTIONS THAT FOSTER AND NOURISH VALUES LIKE CONCERN FOR OTHERS AND RESPECT FOR THE RULE OF LAW UNDER GOD.

NOW I DON'T HAVE TO TELL YOU THAT THIS PUTS US IN OPPOSITION TO, OR AT LEAST OUT OF STEP WITH, A PREVAILING ATTITUDE OF MANY WHO HAVE TURNED TO A MODERN DAY SECULARISM, DISCARDING THE TRIED AND TIME-TESTED VALUES UPON WHICH OUR VERY CIVILIZATION IS BASED. NO MATTER HOW WELL INTENTIONED, THEIR VALUE SYSTEM IS RADICALLY DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF MOST AMERICANS. AND, WHILE THEY PROCLAIM THEY ARE FREEING US FROM SUPERSTITIONS OF THE PAST, THEY HAVE TAKEN UPON THEMSELVES THE JOB OF SUPERINTENDING US BY GOVERNMENT RULE AND REGULATION. SOMETIMES THEIR VOICES ARE LOUDER THAN OURS, BUT THEY ARE NOT YET A MAJORITY.

AN EXAMPLE OF THAT VOCAL SUPERIORITY IS EVIDENT IN A CONTROVERSY NOW GOING ON IN WASHINGTON. SINCE I'M INVOLVED, I'VE BEEN WAITING TO HEAR FROM THE PARENTS OF YOUNG AMERICA. HOW FAR ARE THEY WILLING TO GO IN GIVING TO GOVERNMENT THEIR PREROGATIVES AS PARENTS?

LET ME STATE THE CASE AS BRIEFLY AND SIMPLY AS I CAN. AN ORGANIZATION OF CITIZENS SINCERELY MOTIVATED AND DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE INCREASE IN ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS AND ABORTIONS INVOLVING GIRLS WELL BELOW THE AGE OF CONSENT ESTABLISHED CLINICS NATIONWIDE TO OFFER HELP TO THESE GIRLS AND HOPEFULLY ALLEVIATE THIS SITUATION.

AGAIN LET ME SAY, I DO NOT FAULT THEIR INTENT. HOWEVER, IN THEIR WELL-INTENTIONED EFFORT, THESE CLINICS PROVIDE ADVICE AND BIRTH CONTROL DRUGS AND DEVICES TO UNDERAGE GIRLS WITHOUT THE KNOWLEDGE OF THEIR PARENTS.

FOR SOME YEARS NOW, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS HELPED WITH FUNDS TO SUBSIDIZE THESE CLINICS. IN PROVIDING FOR THIS, THE CONGRESS DECREED THAT EVERY EFFORT WOULD BE MADE TO MAXIMIZE PARENTAL PARTICIPATION. NEVERTHELESS, THE DRUGS AND DEVICES ARE PRESCRIBED WITHOUT GETTING PARENTAL CONSENT OR GIVING NOTIFICATION. GIRLS TERMED "SEXUALLY ACTIVE" -- THAT HAS REPLACED THE WORD "PROMISCUOUS" -- ARE GIVEN THIS HELP IN ORDER TO PREVENT ILLEGITIMATE BIRTH OR ABORTION.

WE HAVE ORDERED CLINICS RECEIVING FEDERAL FUNDS TO NOTIFY THE PARENTS SUCH HELP HAS BEEN GIVEN. ONE OF THE NATION'S LEADING NEWSPAPERS HAS CREATED THE TERM "SQUEAL RULE" IN EDITORIALIZING AGAINST US, AND WE ARE BEING CRITICIZED FOR VIOLATING THE PRIVACY OF YOUNG PEOPLE. A JUDGE HAS GRANTED AN INJUNCTION AGAINST ENFORCEMENT OF OUR RULE.

I HAVE WATCHED TV PANEL SHOWS DISCUSS THIS ISSUE, HAVE READ COLUMNS PONTIFICATING ON OUR ERROR BUT NO ONE SEEMS TO MENTION MORALITY AS PLAYING A PART IN THE SUBJECT OF SEX.

IS ALL OF JUDEO-CHRISTIAN TRADITION WRONG? ARE WE TO BELIEVE THAT SOMETHING SO SACRED CAN BE LOOKED UPON AS A PURELY PHYSICAL THING WITH NO POTENTIAL FOR EMOTIONAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL HARM? AND ISN'T IT THE PARENTS RIGHT TO GIVE COUNSEL AND ADVICE TO KEEP THEIR CHILDREN FROM MAKING MISTAKES THAT MAY AFFECT THEIR ENTIRE LIVES?

MANY OF US IN GOVERNMENT WOULD LIKE TO KNOW WHAT PARENTS THINK ABOUT THIS INTRUSION IN THEIR FAMILY BY GOVERNMENT. WE ARE GOING TO FIGHT IN THE COURTS. THE RIGHTS OF PARENTS AND THE RIGHTS OF FAMILY TAKE PRECEDENCE OVER THOSE OF WASHINGTON-BASED BUREAUCRATS AND SOCIAL ENGINEERS.

BUT THE FIGHT AGAINST PARENTAL NOTIFICATION IS REALLY ONLY ONE EXAMPLE OF MANY ATTEMPTS TO WATER DOWN TRADITIONAL VALUES AND EVEN ABROGATE THE ORIGINAL TERMS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY. FREEDOM PROSPERS WHEN RELIGION IS VIBRANT AND THE RULE OF LAW UNDER GOD ACKNOWLEDGED. WHEN OUR FOUNDING FATHERS PASSED THE FIRST AMENDMENT THEY SOUGHT TO PROTECT CHURCHES FROM GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE. THEY NEVER MEANT TO CONSTRUCT A WALL OF HOSTILITY BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND THE CONCEPT OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF ITSELF.

THE EVIDENCE OF THIS PERMEATES OUR HISTORY AND OUR GOVERNMENT: THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE MENTIONS THE SUPREME BEING NO LESS THAN FOUR TIMES; "IN GOD WE TRUST" IS ENGRAVED ON OUR COINAGE; THE SUPREME COURT OPENS ITS PROCEEDINGS WITH A RELIGIOUS INVOCATION; AND THE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS OPEN THEIR SESSIONS WITH A PRAYER. I JUST HAPPEN TO BELIEVE THE SCHOOL CHILDREN OF THE UNITED STATES ARE ENTITLED TO THE SAME PRIVILEGES AS SUPREME COURT JUSTICES AND CONGRESSMEN. LAST YEAR, I SENT THE CONGRESS -A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT TO RESTORE PRAYER TO PUBLIC SCHOOLS. THIS WEEK I AM RESUBMITTING THAT AMENDMENT AND CALLING ON THE CONGRESS TO ACT SPEEDILY TO PASS IT. LET OUR CHILDREN PRAY.

PERHAPS SOME OF YOU READ RECENTLY ABOUT THE LUBBOCK SCHOOL CASE WHERE A JUDGE ACTUALLY RULED THAT IT WAS UNCONSTITUTIONAL FOR A SCHOOL DISTRICT TO GIVE EQUAL TREATMENT TO RELIGIOUS AND NONRELIGIOUS STUDENT GROUPS, EVEN WHEN THE GROUP MEETINGS WERE HELD DURING THE STUDENTS' OWN TIME. THE FIRST AMENDMENT NEVER INTENDED TO REQUIRE GOVERNMENT TO DISCRIMINATE AGAINST RELIGIOUS SPEECH.

SENATORS DENTON AND HATFIELD HAVE PROPOSED LEGISLATION IN THE CONGRESS ON THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PROHIBITING DISCRIMINATION AGAINST RELIGIOUS FORMS OF STUDENT SPEECH. SUCH LEGISLATION COULD GO FAR TO RESTORE FREEDOM OF RELIGIOUS SPEECH FOR PUBLIC SCHOOL STUDENTS, AND I HOPE THE CONGRESS CONSIDERS THESE BILLS QUICKLY. AND WITH YOUR HELP, I THINK IT'S POSSIBLE WE COULD ALSO GET THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT THROUGH THE CONGRESS THIS YEAR.

MORE THAN A DECADE AGO, A SUPREME COURT DECISION LITERALLY WIPED OFF THE BOOKS OF 50 STATES STATUTES PROTECTING THE RIGHTS OF UNBORN CHILDREN. "ABORTION ON DEMAND" NOW TAKES THE LIVES OF UP TO 1½ MILLION UNBORN CHILDREN A YEAR. HUMAN LIFE LEGISLATION ENDING THIS TRAGEDY WILL SOMEDAY PASS THE CONGRESS -- AND YOU AND I MUST NEVER REST UNTIL IT DOES. UNLESS AND UNTIL IT CAN BE PROVEN THAT THE UNBORN CHILD IS NOT A LIVING ENTITY, THEN IT'S RIGHT TO LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS MUST BE PROTECTED.

YOU MAY REMEMBER THAT WHEN ABORTION ON DEMAND BEGAN MANY, INDEED, I'M SURE MANY OF YOU, WARNED THAT THE PRACTICE WOULD LEAD TO A DECLINE IN RESPECT FOR HUMAN LIFE, THAT THE PHILOSOPHICAL PREMISES USED TO JUSTIFY ABORTION ON DEMAND WOULD ULTIMATELY BE USED TO JUSTIFY OTHER ATTACKS ON THE SACREDNESS OF HUMAN LIFE, INFANTICIDE OR MERCY KILLING. TRAGICALLY ENOUGH, THOSE WARNINGS PROVED ALL TOO TRUE: ONLY LAST YEAR A COURT PERMITTED THE DEATH BY STARVATION OF A HANDICAPPED INFANT.

I HAVE DIRECTED THE HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES DEPARTMENT TO MAKE CLEAR TO EVERY HEALTH CARE FACILITY IN THE UNITED STATES THAT THE REHABILITATION ACT OF 1973 PROTECTS ALL HANDICAPPED PERSONS AGAINST DISCRIMINATION BASED ON HANDICAPS, INCLUDING INFANTS. AND WE HAVE TAKEN THE FURTHER STEP OF REQUIRING THAT EACH AND EVERY RECIPIENT OF FEDERAL FUNDS WHO PROVIDES HEALTH CARE SERVICES TO INFANTS MUST POST AND KEEP POSTED IN A CONSPICUOUS PLACE A NOTICE STATING THAT "DISCRIMINATORY FAILURE TO FEED AND CARE FOR HANDICAPPED INFANTS IN THIS FACILITY IS PROHIBITED BY FEDERAL LAW." IT ALSO LISTS A 24-HOUR, TOLL-FREE NUMBER SO THAT NURSES AND OTHERS MAY REPORT VIOLATIONS IN TIME TO SAVE THE INFANT'S LIFE.

IN ADDITION, RECENT LEGISLATION INTRODUCED IN THE CONGRESS BY REPRESENTATIVE HENRY HYDE NOT ONLY INCREASES RESTRICTIONS ON PUBLICLY-FINANCED ABORTIONS, IT ALSO ADDRESSES THIS WHOLE PROBLEM OF INFANTICIDE. I URGE THE CONGRESS TO BEGIN HEARINGS AND TO ADOPT LEGISLATION THAT WILL PROTECT THE RIGHT OF LIFE TO ALL CHILDREN, INCLUDING THE DISABLED OR HANDICAPPED.

I'M SURE YOU MUST GET DISCOURAGED AT TIMES, BUT THERE IS A GREAT SPIRITUAL AWAKENING IN AMERICA, A RENEWAL OF THE TRADITIONAL VALUES THAT HAVE BEEN THE BEDROCK OF AMERICA'S GOODNESS AND GREATNESS.

ONE RECENT SURVEY BY A WASHINGTON-BASED RESEARCH COUNCIL CONCLUDED THAT AMERICANS WERE FAR MORE RELIGIOUS THAN THE PEOPLE OF OTHER NATIONS; 95 PERCENT OF THOSE SURVEYED EXPRESSED A BELIEF IN GOD AND A HUGE MAJORITY BELIEVED THE TEN COMMANDMENTS HAD REAL MEANING FOR THEIR LIVES.

ANOTHER STUDY HAS FOUND THAT AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF AMERICANS DISAPPROVE OF ADULTERY, TEENAGE SEX, PORNOGRAPHY, ABORTION AND HARD DRUGS. AND THIS SAME STUDY SHOWED A DEEP REVERENCE FOR THE IMPORTANCE OF FAMILY TIES AND RELIGIOUS BELIEF.

I THINK THE ITEMS WE HAVE DISCUSSED HERE TODAY MUST BE A KEY PART OF THE NATION'S POLITICAL AGENDA. FOR THE FIRST TIME THE CONGRESS IS OPENLY AND SERIOUSLY DEBATING AND DEALING WITH THE PRAYER AND ABORTION ISSUES -- THAT'S ENORMOUS PROGRESS RIGHT THERE.

I REPEAT: AMERICA IS IN THE MIDST OF A SPIRITUAL AWAKENING AND A MORAL RENEWAL. WITH YOUR BIBLICAL KEYNOTE, I SAY TODAY LET "JUSTICE ROLL ON LIKE A RIVER, RIGHTEOUSNESS LIKE A NEVER-FAILING STREAM."

NOW, OBVIOUSLY, MUCH OF THIS NEW POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONSENSUS I HAVE TALKED ABOUT IS BASED ON A POSITIVE VIEW OF AMERICAN HISTORY, ONE THAT TAKES PRIDE IN OUR COUNTRY'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND RECORD. BUT WE MUST NEVER FORGET THAT NO GOVERNMENT SCHEMES ARE GOING TO PERFECT MAN; WE KNOW THAT LIVING IN THIS WORLD MEANS DEALING WITH WHAT PHILOSOPHERS WOULD CALL THE PHENOMENOLOGY OF EVIL OR, AS THEOLOGIANS WOULD PUT IT, THE DOCTRINE OF SIN.

THERE IS SIN AND EVIL IN THE WORLD, AND WE ARE ENJOINED BY SCRIPTURE AND THE LORD JESUS TO OPPOSE IT WITH ALL OUR MIGHT. OUR NATION, TOO, HAS A LEGACY OF EVIL WITH WHICH IT MUST DEAL.

THE GLORY OF THIS LAND HAS BEEN ITS CAPACITY FOR TRANSCENDING THE MORAL EVILS OF OUR PAST. FOR EXAMPLE, THE LONG STRUGGLE OF MINORITY CITIZENS FOR EQUAL RIGHTS, ONCE A SOURCE OF DISUNITY AND CIVIL WAR, IS NOW A POINT OF PRIDE FOR ALL AMERICANS. WE MUST NEVER GO BACK. THERE IS NO ROOM FOR RACISM, ANTI-SEMITISM OR OTHER FORMS OF ETHNIC AND RACIAL HATRED IN THIS COUNTRY. I KNOW YOU HAVE BEEN HORRIFIED, AS HAVE I, BY THE RESURGENCE OF SOME HATE GROUPS PREACHING BIGOTRY AND PREJUDICE.

USE THE MIGHTY VOICE OF YOUR PULPITS AND THE POWERFUL STANDING OF YOUR CHURCHES TO DENOUNCE AND ISOLATE THESE HATE GROUPS IN OUR MIDST. THE COMMANDMENT GIVEN US IS CLEAR AND SIMPLE -- "THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR AS THYSELF."

BUT WHATEVER SAD EPISODES EXIST IN OUR PAST, ANY OBJECTIVE OBSERVER MUST HOLD A POSITIVE VIEW OF AMERICAN HISTORY, A HISTORY THAT HAS BEEN THE STORY OF HOPES FULFILLED AND DREAMS MADE INTO REALITY. ESPECIALLY IN THIS CENTURY, AMERICA HAS KEPT ALIGHT THE TORCH OF FREEDOM -- NOT JUST FOR OURSELVES BUT FOR MILLIONS OF OTHERS AROUND THE WORLD. AND THIS BRINGS ME TO MY FINAL POINT TODAY.

DURING MY FIRST PRESS CONFERENCE AS PRESIDENT, IN ANSWER TO A DIRECT QUESTION, I POINTED OUT THAT AS GOOD MARXISTS-LENINISTS THE SOVIET LEADERS HAVE OPENLY AND PUBLICLY DECLARED THAT THE ONLY MORALITY THEY RECOGNIZE IS THAT WHICH WILL FURTHER THEIR CAUSE, WHICH IS WORLD REVOLUTION. I THINK I SHOULD POINT OUT I WAS ONLY QUOTING LENIN, THEIR GUIDING SPIRIT, WHO SAID IN 1920 THAT THEY REPUDIATE ALL MORALITY THAT PROCEEDS FROM SUPERNATURAL IDEAS OR IDEAS THAT ARE OUTSIDE CLASS CONCEPTIONS; MORALITY IS ENTIRELY SUBORDINATE TO THE INTERESTS OF CLASS WAR; AND EVERYTHING IS MORAL THAT IS NECESSARY FOR THE ANNIHILATION OF THE OLD EXPLOITING SOCIAL ORDER AND FOR UNITING THE PROLETARIAT.

I THINK THE REFUSAL OF MANY INFLUENTIAL PEOPLE TO ACCEPT THIS ELEMENTARY FACT OF SOVIET DOCTRINE ILLUSTRATES AN HISTORICAL RELUCTANCE TO SEE TOTALITARIAN POWERS FOR WHAT THEY ARE. WE SAW THIS PHENOMENON IN THE 1930'S; WE SEE IT TOO OFTEN TODAY. THIS DOES NOT MEAN WE SHOULD ISOLATE OURSELVES AND REFUSE TO SEEK AN UNDERSTANDING WITH THEM. I INTEND TO DO EVERYTHING I CAN TO PERSUADE THEM OF OUR PEACEFUL INTENT; TO REMIND THEM THAT IT WAS THE WEST THAT REFUSED TO USE ITS NUCLEAR MONOPOLY IN THE FORTIES AND FIFTIES FOR TERRITORIAL GAIN AND WHICH NOW PROPOSES 50-PERCENT CUTS IN STRATEGIC BALLISTIC MISSILES AND THE ELIMINATION OF AN ENTIRE CLASS OF LAND-BASED, INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILES.

AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, THEY MUST BE MADE TO UNDERSTAND WE WILL NEVER COMPROMISE OUR PRINCIPLES AND STANDARDS. WE WILL NEVER GIVE AWAY OUR FREEDOM. WE WILL NEVER ABANDON OUR BELIEF IN GOD.

A NUMBER OF YEARS AGO, I HEARD A YOUNG FATHER ADDRESSING A TREMENDOUS GATHERING IN CALIFORNIA. IT WAS DURING THE TIME OF THE COLD WAR WHEN COMMUNISM AND OUR OWN WAY OF LIFE WERE VERY MUCH ON PEOPLE'S MINDS. HE WAS SPEAKING TO THAT SUBJECT. SUDDENLY, I HEARD HIM SAYING, "I LOVE MY LITTLE GIRLS MORE THAN ANYTHING IN THE WORLD, BUT I WOULD RATHER SEE THEM," AND I THOUGHT -- OH, NO, NOT THAT.

BUT I HAD UNDERESTIMATED HIM. HE WENT ON: "I WOULD RATHER SEE THEM DIE NOW, STILL BELIEVING IN GOD, THAN HAVE THEM GROW UP UNDER COMMUNISM AND ONE DAY DIE NO LONGER BELIEVING IN GOD."

THERE WERE THOUSANDS OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN THAT AUDIENCE. THEY CAME TO THEIR FEET WITH SHOUTS OF JOY. THEY RECOGNIZED THE PROFOUND TRUTH IN WHAT HE HAD SAID.

LET US PRAY FOR THE SALVATION OF ALL THOSE WHO LIVE IN THAT TOTALITARIAN DARKNESS -- PRAY THEY WILL DISCOVER THE JOY OF KNOWING GOD.

BUT UNTIL THEY DO, LET US BE AWARE THAT WHILE THEY PREACH THE SUPREMACY OF THE STATE, DECLARE ITS OMNIPOTENCE OVER INDIVIDUAL MAN, AND PREDICT ITS EVENTUAL DOMINATION OF ALL PEOPLES OF THE EARTH -- THEY ARE THE FOCUS OF EVIL IN THE MODERN WORLD. IT WAS C. S. LEWIS WHO, IN HIS UNFORGETTABLE SCREWTAPE LETTERS, WROTE:

"THE GREATEST EVIL IS NOT NOW DONE IN THOSE SORDID 'DENS OF CRIME' THAT DICKENS LOVED TO PAINT. IT IS NOT DONE EVEN IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS AND LABOR CAMPS. IN THOSE WE SEE ITS FINAL RESULT. BUT IT IS CONCEIVED AND ORDERED (MOVED, SECONDED, CARRIED, AND MINUTED) IN CLEAR, CARPETED, WARMED, AND WELL-LIGHTED OFFICES, BY QUIET MEN WITH WHITE COLLARS AND CUT FINGERNAILS AND SMOOTH-SHAVEN CHEEKS WHO DO NOT NEED TO RAISE THEIR VOICE."

BECAUSE THESE "QUIET MEN" DO NOT "RAISE THEIR VOICES," BECAUSE THEY SOMETIMES SPEAK IN SOOTHING TONES OF BROTHERHOOD AND PEACE, BECAUSE, LIKE OTHER DICTATORS BEFORE THEM, THEY ARE ALWAYS MAKING "THEIR FINAL TERRITORIAL DEMAND," SOME WOULD HAVE US ACCEPT THEM AT THEIR WORD AND ACCOMMODATE OURSELVES TO THEIR AGGRESSIVE IMPULSES. BUT, IF HISTORY TEACHES ANYTHING, IT TEACHES: SIMPLE-MINDED APPEASEMENT OR WISHFUL THINKING ABOUT OUR ADVERSARIES IS FOLLY -- IT MEANS THE BETRAYAL OF OUR PAST, THE SQUANDERING OF OUR FREEDOM.

SO I URGE YOU TO SPEAK OUT AGAINST THOSE WHO WOULD PLACE THE UNITED STATES IN A POSITION OF MILITARY AND MORAL INFERIORITY. YOU KNOW, I HAVE ALWAYS BELIEVED THAT OLD SCREWTAPE RESERVES HIS BEST EFFORTS FOR THOSE OF YOU IN THE CHURCH. SO IN YOUR DISCUSSIONS OF THE NUCLEAR FREEZE PROPOSALS, I URGE YOU TO BEWARE THE TEMPTATION OF PRIDE -- THE TEMPTATION BLITHELY TO DECLARE YOURSELVES ABOVE IT ALL AND LABEL BOTH SIDES EQUALLY AT FAULT, TO IGNORE THE FACTS OF HISTORY AND THE AGGRESSIVE IMPULSES OF AN EVIL EMPIRE, TO SIMPLY CALL THE ARMS RACE A GIANT MISUNDERSTANDING AND THEREBY REMOVE YOURSELF FROM THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN RIGHT AND WRONG, GOOD AND EVIL.

I ASK YOU TO RESIST THE ATTEMPTS OF THOSE WHO WOULD HAVE YOU WITHHOLD YOUR SUPPORT FOR THIS ADMINISTRATION'S EFFORTS TO KEEP AMERICA STRONG AND FREE, WHILE WE NEGOTIATE REAL AND VERIFIABLE REDUCTIONS IN THE WORLD'S NUCLEAR ARSENALS AND ONE DAY, WITH GOD'S HELP, THEIR TOTAL ELIMINATION.

WHILE AMERICA'S MILITARY STRENGTH IS IMPORTANT, LET ME ADD HERE THAT I HAVE ALWAYS MAINTAINED THAT THE STRUGGLE NOW GOING ON FOR THE WORLD WILL NEVER BE DECIDED BY BOMBS OR ROCKETS, BY ARMIES OR MILITARY MIGHT. THE REAL CRISIS WE FACE TODAY IS A SPIRITUAL ONE; AT ROOT, IT IS A TEST OF MORAL WILL AND FAITH.

WHITTAKER CHAMBERS, THE MAN WHOSE OWN RELIGIOUS CONVERSION MADE HIM A "WITNESS" TO ONE OF THE TERRIBLE TRAUMAS OF OUR AGE, THE HISS-CHAMBERS CASE, WROTE THAT THE CRISIS OF THE WESTERN WORLD EXISTS TO THE DEGREE IN WHICH THE WEST IS INDIFFERENT TO GOD, THE DEGREE TO WHICH IT COLLABORATES IN COMMUNISM'S ATTEMPT TO MAKE MAN STAND ALONE WITHOUT GOD. FOR MARXISM-LENINISM IS ACTUALLY THE SECOND OLDEST FAITH, HE SAID, FIRST PROCLAIMED IN THE GARDEN OF EDEN WITH THE WORDS OF TEMPTATION: "YE SHALL BE AS GODS."

THE WESTERN WORLD CAN ANSWER THIS CHALLENGE, HE WROTE, "BUT ONLY PROVIDED THAT ITS FAITH IN GOD AND THE FREEDOM HE ENJOINS IS AS GREAT AS COMMUNISM'S FAITH IN MAN."

I BELIEVE WE SHALL RISE TO THIS CHALLENGE; I BELIEVE THAT COMMUNISM IS ANOTHER SAD, BIZARRE CHAPTER IN HUMAN HISTORY WHOSE LAST PAGES EVEN NOW ARE BEING WRITTEN. I BELIEVE THIS BECAUSE THE SOURCE OF OUR STRENGTH IN THE QUEST FOR HUMAN FREEDOM IS NOT MATERIAL BUT SPIRITUAL, AND, BECAUSE IT KNOWS NO LIMITATION, IT MUST TERRIFY AND ULTIMATELY TRIUMPH OVER THOSE WHO WOULD ENSLAVE THEIR FELLOW MAN. FOR, IN THE WORDS OF ISAIAH:

"HE GIVETH POWER TO THE FAINT; AND TO THEM THAT HAVE NO MIGHT HE INCREASED STRENGTH. . . . BUT THEY THAT WAIT UPON THE LORD SHALL RENEW THEIR STRENGTH; THEY SHALL MOUNT UP WITH WINGS AS EAGLES; THEY SHALL RUN, AND NOT BE WEARY . . ."

THANK YOU AND GOD BLESS YOU.

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*Vladimir
Ilich*
V. I. LENIN

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1969

LAWRENCE AND WISHART

London

THE TASKS OF THE YOUTH LEAGUES

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE THIRD ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS
OF THE RUSSIAN YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE
OCTOBER 2, 1920²⁰⁰

(The congress greets Lenin with a tremendous ovation.) Comrades, today I would like to talk on the fundamental tasks of the Young Communist League and, in this connection, on what the youth organisations in a socialist republic should be like in general.

It is all the more necessary to dwell on this question because in a certain sense it may be said that it is the youth that will be faced with the actual task of creating a communist society. For it is clear that the generation of working people brought up in capitalist society can, at best, accomplish the task of destroying the foundations of the old, the capitalist way of life, which was built on exploitation. At best it will be able to accomplish the tasks of creating a social system that will help the proletariat and the working classes retain power and lay a firm foundation, which can be built on only by a generation that is starting to work under the new conditions, in a situation in which relations based on the exploitation of man by man no longer exist.

And so, in dealing from this angle with the tasks confronting the youth, I must say that the tasks of the youth in general, and of the Young Communist Leagues and all other organisations in particular, might be summed up in a single word: learn.

Of course, this is only a "single word". It does not reply to the principal and most essential questions: what to learn, and how to learn? And the whole point here is that, with the transformation of the old, capitalist society, the upbringing, training and education of the new generations that will create the communist society cannot be conducted on the old lines. The teaching, training and education of the youth must proceed from the material that has been left to us by the old society. We can build communism only on the basis of the totality of knowledge, organisations and institutions, only by using the stock of human forces and means that have been left to us by the old society. Only by radically remoulding the teaching, organisation and training of the youth shall we be able to ensure that the efforts of the younger generation will result in the creation

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of a society that will be unlike the old society, i.e., in the creation of a communist society. That is why we must deal in detail with the question of what we should teach the youth and how the youth should learn if it really wants to justify the name of communist youth, and how it should be trained so as to be able to complete and consummate what we have started.

I must say that the first and most natural reply would seem to be that the Youth League, and the youth in general, who want to advance to communism, should learn communism.

But this reply—"learn communism"—is too general. What do we need in order to learn communism? What must be singled out from the sum of general knowledge so as to acquire a knowledge of communism? Here a number of dangers arise, which very often manifest themselves whenever the task of learning communism is presented incorrectly, or when it is interpreted in too one-sided a manner.

Naturally, the first thought that enters one's mind is that learning communism means assimilating the sum of knowledge that is contained in communist manuals, pamphlets and books. But such a definition of the study of communism would be too crude and inadequate. If the study of communism consisted solely in assimilating what is contained in communist books and pamphlets, we might all too easily obtain communist text-jugglers or braggarts, and this would very often do us harm, because such people, after learning by rote what is set forth in communist books and pamphlets, would prove incapable of combining the various branches of knowledge, and would be unable to act in the way communism really demands.

One of the greatest evils and misfortunes left to us by the old, capitalist society is the complete rift between books and practical life; we have had books explaining everything in the best possible manner, yet in most cases these books contained the most pernicious and hypocritical lies, a false description of capitalist society.

That is why it would be most mistaken merely to assimilate book knowledge about communism. No longer do our speeches and articles merely reiterate what used to be said about communism, because our speeches and articles are connected with our daily work in all fields. Without work and without struggle book knowledge of communism obtained from communist pamphlets and works is absolutely worthless, for it would continue the old separation of theory and practice, the old rift which was the most pernicious feature of the old, bourgeois society.

It would be still more dangerous to set about assimilating only communist slogans. Had we not realised this danger in time, and had we not directed all our efforts to averting this danger, the half million or million young men and women who would have called themselves Communists after studying communism in this way would only greatly prejudice the cause of communism.

The question arises: how is all this to be blended for the study of communism? What must we take from the old schools, from the old kind of science? It was the declared aim of the old type of school to produce men with an all-round education, to teach the sciences in general. We know that this was utterly false, since the whole of society was based and maintained on the division of people into classes, into exploiters and oppressed. Since they were thoroughly imbued with the class spirit, the old schools naturally gave knowledge only to the children of the bourgeoisie. Every word was falsified in the interests of the bourgeoisie. In these schools the younger generation of workers and peasants were not so much educated as drilled in the interests of that bourgeoisie. They were trained in such a way as to be useful servants of the bourgeoisie, able to create profits for it without disturbing its peace and leisure. That is why, while rejecting the old type of schools, we have made it our task to take from it only what we require for genuine communist education.

This brings me to the reproaches and accusations which we constantly hear levelled at the old schools, and which often lead to wholly wrong conclusions. It is said that the old school was a school of purely book knowledge, of ceaseless drilling and grinding. That is true, but we must distinguish between what was bad in the old schools and what is useful to us, and we must be able to select from it what is necessary for communism.

The old schools provided purely book knowledge; they compelled their pupils to assimilate a mass of useless, superfluous and barren knowledge, which cluttered up the brain and turned the younger generation into bureaucrats regimented according to a single pattern. But it would mean falling into a grave error for you to try to draw the conclusion that one can become a Communist without assimilating the wealth of knowledge amassed by mankind. It would be mistaken to think it sufficient to learn communist slogans and the conclusions of communist science, without acquiring that sum of knowledge of which communism itself is a result. Marxism is an example which shows how communism arose out of the sum of human knowledge.

You have read and heard that communist theory—the science of communism created in the main by Marx, this doctrine of Marxism—has ceased to be the work of a single socialist of the nineteenth century, even though he was a genius, and that it has become the doctrine of millions and tens of millions of proletarians all over the world, who are applying it in their struggle against capitalism. If you were to ask why the teachings of Marx have been able to win the hearts and minds of millions and tens of millions of the most revolutionary class, you would receive only one answer: it was because Marx based his work on the firm foundation of the human

knowledge acquired under capitalism. After making a study of the laws governing the development of human society, Marx realised the inevitability of capitalism developing towards communism. What is most important is that he proved this on the sole basis of a most precise, detailed and profound study of this capitalist society, by fully assimilating all that earlier science had produced. He critically reshaped everything that had been created by human society, without ignoring a single detail. He reconsidered, subjected to criticism, and verified on the working-class movement everything that human thinking had created, and therefrom formulated conclusions which people hemmed in by bourgeois limitations or bound by bourgeois prejudices could not draw.

We must bear this in mind when, for example, we talk about proletarian culture.²⁹¹ We shall be unable to solve this problem unless we clearly realise that only a precise knowledge and transformation of the culture created by the entire development of mankind will enable us to create a proletarian culture. The latter is not clutched out of thin air; it is not an invention of those who call themselves experts in proletarian culture. That is all nonsense. Proletarian culture must be the logical development of the store of knowledge mankind has accumulated under the yoke of capitalist, landowner and bureaucratic society. All these roads have been leading, and will continue to lead up to proletarian culture, in the same way as political economy, as reshaped by Marx, has shown us what human society must arrive at, shown us the passage to the class struggle, to the beginning of the proletarian revolution.

When we so often hear representatives of the youth, as well as certain advocates of a new system of education, attacking the old schools, claiming that they used the system of cramming, we say to them that we must take what was good in the old schools. We must not borrow the system of encumbering young people's minds with an immense amount of knowledge, nine-tenths of which was useless and one-tenth distorted. This, however, does not mean that we can restrict ourselves to communist conclusions and learn only communist slogans. You will not create communism that way. You can become a Communist only when you enrich your mind with a knowledge of all the treasures created by mankind.

We have no need of cramming, but we do need to develop and perfect the mind of every student with a knowledge of fundamental facts. Communism will become an empty word, a mere signboard, and a Communist a mere boaster, if all the knowledge he has acquired is not digested in his mind. You should not merely assimilate this knowledge, but assimilate it critically, so as not to cram your mind with useless lumber, but enrich it with all those facts that are indispensable to the well-educated man of today. If a Communist took it into his head to boast about his communism because of the

cut-and-dried conclusions he had acquired, without putting in a great deal of serious and hard work and without understanding facts he should examine critically, he would be a deplorable Communist indeed. Such superficiality would be decidedly fatal. If I know that I know little, I shall strive to learn more; but if a man says that he is a Communist and that he need not know anything thoroughly, he will never become anything like a Communist.

The old schools produced servants needed by the capitalists; the old schools turned men of science into men who had to write and say whatever pleased the capitalists. We must therefore abolish them. But does the fact that we must abolish them, destroy them, mean that we should not take from them everything mankind has accumulated that is essential to man? Does it mean that we do not have to distinguish between what was necessary to capitalism and what is necessary to communism?

We are replacing the old drill-sergeant methods practised in bourgeois society, against the will of the majority, with the class-conscious discipline of the workers and peasants, who combine hatred of the old society with a determination, ability and readiness to unite and organise their forces for this struggle so as to forge the wills of millions and hundreds of millions of people—disunited, and scattered over the territory of a huge country—into a single will, without which defeat is inevitable. Without this solidarity, without this conscious discipline of the workers and peasants, our cause is hopeless. Without this, we shall be unable to vanquish the capitalists and landowners of the whole world. We shall not even consolidate the foundation, let alone build a new, communist society on that foundation. Likewise, while condemning the old schools, while harbouring an absolutely justified and necessary hatred for the old schools, and appreciating the readiness to destroy them, we must realise that we must replace the old system of instruction, the old cramming and the old drill, with an ability to acquire the sum total of human knowledge, and to acquire it in such a way that communism shall not be something to be learned by rote, but something that you yourselves have thought over, something that will embody conclusions inevitable from the standpoint of present-day education.

That is the way the main tasks should be presented when we speak of the aim: learn communism.

I shall take a practical example to make this clear to you, and to demonstrate the approach to the problem of how you must learn. You all know that, following the military problems, those of defending the republic, we are now confronted with economic tasks. Communist society, as we know, cannot be built unless we restore industry and agriculture, and that, not in the old way. They must be re-established on a modern basis, in accordance with the last word in science. You know that electricity is that basis, and that

only after electrification of the entire country, of all branches of industry and agriculture, only when you have achieved that aim, will you be able to build for yourselves the communist society which the older generation will not be able to build. Confronting you is the task of economically reviving the whole country, of reorganising and restoring both agriculture and industry on modern technical lines, based on modern science and technology, on electricity. You realise perfectly well that illiterate people cannot tackle electrification, and that elementary literacy is not enough either. It is insufficient to understand what electricity is; what is needed is the knowledge of how to apply it technically in industry and agriculture, and in the individual branches of industry and agriculture. This has to be learnt for oneself, and it must be taught to the entire rising generation of working people. That is the task confronting every class-conscious Communist, every young person who regards himself a Communist and who clearly understands that, by joining the Young Communist League, he has pledged himself to help the Party build communism and to help the whole younger generation create a communist society. He must realise that he can create it only on the basis of modern education, and if he does not acquire this education communism will remain merely a pious wish.

It was the task of the older generation to overthrow the bourgeoisie. The main task then was to criticise the bourgeoisie, arouse hatred of the bourgeoisie among the masses, and foster class-consciousness and the ability to unite their forces. The new generation is confronted with a far more complex task. Your duty does not lie only in assembling your forces so as to uphold the workers' and peasants' government against an invasion instigated by the capitalists. Of course, you must do that; that is something you clearly realise, and is distinctly seen by the Communist. However, that is not enough. You have to build up a communist society. In many respects half of the work has been done. The old order has been destroyed, just as it deserved, it has been turned into a heap of ruins, just as it deserved. The ground has been cleared, and on this ground the younger communist generation must build a communist society. You are faced with the task of construction, and you can accomplish that task only by assimilating all modern knowledge, only if you are able to transform communism from cut-and-dried and memorised formulas, counsels, recipes, prescriptions and programmes into that living reality which gives unity to your immediate work, and only if you are able to make communism a guide in all your practical work.

That is the task you should pursue in educating, training and rousing the entire younger generation. You must be foremost among the millions of builders of a communist society in whose ranks every young man and young woman should be. You will not build

a communist society unless you enlist the mass of young workers and peasants in the work of building communism.

This naturally brings me to the question of how we should teach communism and what the specific features of our methods should be.

I first of all shall deal here with the question of communist ethics.

You must train yourselves to be Communists. It is the task of the Youth League to organise its practical activities in such a way that, by learning, organising, uniting and fighting, its members shall train both themselves and all those who look to it for leadership; it should train Communists. The entire purpose of training, educating and teaching the youth of today should be to imbue them with communist ethics.

But is there such a thing as communist ethics? Is there such a thing as communist morality? Of course, there is. It is often suggested that we have no ethics of our own; very often the bourgeoisie accuse us Communists of rejecting all morality. This is a method of confusing the issue, of throwing dust in the eyes of the workers and peasants.

In what sense do we reject ethics, reject morality?

In the sense given to it by the bourgeoisie, who based ethics on God's commandments. On this point we, of course, say that we do not believe in God, and that we know perfectly well that the clergy, the landowners and the bourgeoisie invoked the name of God so as to further their own interests as exploiters. Or, instead of basing ethics on the commandments of morality, on the commandments of God, they based it on idealist or semi-idealist phrases, which always amounted to something very similar to God's commandments.

We reject any morality based on extra-human and extra-class concepts. We say that this is deception, dupery, stultification of the workers and peasants in the interests of the landowners and capitalists.

We say that our morality is entirely subordinated to the interests of the proletariat's class struggle. Our morality stems from the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat.

The old society was based on the oppression of all the workers and peasants by the landowners and capitalists. We had to destroy all that, and overthrow them but to do that we had to create unity. That is something that God cannot create.

This unity could be provided only by the factories, only by a proletariat trained and roused from its long slumber. Only when that class was formed did a mass movement arise which has led to what we have now—the victory of the proletarian revolution in one of the weakest of countries, which for three years has been repelling the onslaught of the bourgeoisie of the whole world. We

can see how the proletarian revolution is developing all over the world. On the basis of experience, we now say that only the proletariat could have created the solid force which the disunited and scattered peasantry are following and which has withstood all onslaughts by the exploiters. Only this class can help the working masses unite, rally their ranks and conclusively defend, conclusively consolidate and conclusively build up a communist society.

That is why we say that to us there is no such thing as a morality that stands outside human society; that is a fraud. To us morality is subordinated to the interests of the proletariat's class struggle.

What does that class struggle consist in? It consists in overthrowing the tsar, overthrowing the capitalists, and abolishing the capitalist class.

What are classes in general? Classes are that which permits one section of society to appropriate the labour of another section. If one section of society appropriates all the land, we have a landowner class and a peasant class. If one section of society owns the factories, shares and capital, while another section works in these factories, we have a capitalist class and a proletarian class.

It was not difficult to drive out the tsar—that required only a few days. It was not very difficult to drive out the landowners—that was done in a few months. Nor was it very difficult to drive out the capitalists. But it is incomparably more difficult to abolish classes; we still have the division into workers and peasants. If the peasant is installed on his plot of land and appropriates his surplus grain, that is, grain that he does not need for himself or for his cattle, while the rest of the people have to go without bread, then the peasant becomes an exploiter. The more grain he clings to, the more profitable he finds it; as for the rest, let them starve: "The more they starve, the dearer I can sell this grain." All should work according to a single common plan, on common land, in common factories and in accordance with a common system. Is that easy to attain? You see that it is not as easy as driving out the tsar, the landowners and the capitalists. What is required is that the proletariat re-educate a section of the peasantry; it must win over the working peasants in order to crush the resistance of those peasants who are rich and are profiting from the poverty and want of the rest. Hence the task of the proletarian struggle is not quite completed after we have overthrown the tsar and driven out the landowners and capitalists; to accomplish that is the task of the system we call the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The class struggle is continuing; it has merely changed its forms. It is the class struggle of the proletariat to prevent the return of the old exploiters, to unite in a single union the scattered masses of unenlightened peasants. The class struggle is continuing and it is our task to subordinate all interests to that struggle. Our commu-

nist morality is also subordinated to that task. We say: morality is what serves to destroy the old exploiting society and to unite all the working people around the proletariat, which is building up a new, a communist society.

Communist morality is that which serves this struggle and unites the working people against all exploitation, against all petty private property; for petty property puts into the hands of one person that which has been created by the labour of the whole of society. In our country the land is common property.

But suppose I take a piece of this common property and grow on it twice as much grain as I need, and profiteer on the surplus? Suppose I argue that the more starving people there are, the more they will pay? Would I then be behaving like a Communist? No, I would be behaving like an exploiter, like a proprietor. That must be combated. If that is allowed to go on, things will revert to the rule of the capitalists, to the rule of the bourgeoisie, as has more than once happened in previous revolutions. To prevent the restoration of the rule of the capitalists and the bourgeoisie, we must not allow profiteering; we must not allow individuals to enrich themselves at the expense of the rest; the working people must unite with the proletariat and form a communist society. This is the principal feature of the fundamental task of the League and the organisation of the communist youth.

The old society was based on the principle: rob or be robbed; work for others or make others work for you; be a slave-owner or a slave. Naturally, people brought up in such a society assimilate with their mother's milk, one might say, the psychology, the habit, the concept which says: you are either a slave-owner or a slave, or else, a small owner, a petty employee, a petty official, or an intellectual—in short, a man who is concerned only with himself, and does not care a rap for anybody else.

If I work this plot of land, I do not care a rap for anybody else; if others starve, all the better, I shall get the more for my grain. If I have a job as a doctor, engineer, teacher, or clerk, I do not care a rap for anybody else. If I toady to and please the powers that be, I may be able to keep my job, and even get on in life and become a bourgeois. A Communist cannot harbour such a psychology and such sentiments. When the workers and peasants proved that they were able, by their own efforts, to defend themselves and create a new society—that was the beginning of the new and communist education, education in the struggle against the exploiters, education in alliance with the proletariat against the self-seekers and petty proprietors, against the psychology and habits which say: I seek my own profit and don't care a rap for anything else.

That is the reply to the question of how the young and rising generation should learn communism.

It can learn communism only by linking up every step in its studies, training and education with the continuous struggle the proletarians and the working people are waging against the old society of exploiters. When people tell us about morality, we say: to a Communist all morality lies in this united discipline and conscious mass struggle against the exploiters. We do not believe in an eternal morality, and we expose the falseness of all the fables about morality. Morality serves the purpose of helping human society rise to a higher level and rid itself of the exploitation of labour.

To achieve this we need that generation of young people who began to reach political maturity in the midst of a disciplined and desperate struggle against the bourgeoisie. In this struggle that generation is training genuine Communists; it must subordinate to this struggle, and link up with it, each step in its studies, education and training. The education of the communist youth must consist, not in giving them suave talks and moral precepts. This is not what education consists in. When people have seen the way in which their fathers and mothers lived under the yoke of the landowners and capitalists; when they have themselves experienced the sufferings of those who began the struggle against the exploiters; when they have seen the sacrifices made to keep what has been won, and seen what deadly enemies the landowners and capitalists are—they are taught by these conditions to become Communists. Communist morality is based on the struggle for the consolidation and completion of communism. That is also the basis of communist training, education, and teaching. That is the reply to the question of how communism should be learnt.

We could not believe in teaching, training and education if they were restricted only to the schoolroom and divorced from the ferment of life. As long as the workers and peasants are oppressed by the landowners and capitalists, and as long as the schools are controlled by the landowners and capitalists, the young generation will remain blind and ignorant. Our schools must provide the youth with the fundamentals of knowledge, the ability to evolve communist views independently; they must make educated people of the youth. While they are attending school, they must learn to become participants in the struggle for emancipation from the exploiters. The Young Communist League will justify its name as the League of the young communist generation only when every step in its teaching, training and education is linked up with participation in the common struggle of all working people against the exploiters. You are well aware that, as long as Russia remains the only workers' republic and the old, bourgeois system exists in the rest of the world, we shall be weaker than they are, and be constantly threatened with a new attack; and that only if we learn to be solidly united shall we win in the further struggle and—having gained

strength—become really invincible. Thus, to be a Communist means that you must organise and unite the entire young generation and set an example of training and discipline in this struggle. Then you will be able to start building the edifice of communist society and bring it to completion.

To make this clearer to you, I shall quote an example. We call ourselves Communists. What is a Communist? Communist is a Latin word. *Communis* is the Latin for "common". Communist society is a society in which all things—the land, the factories—are owned in common and the people work in common. That is communism.

Is it possible to work in common if each one works separately on his own plot of land? Work in common cannot be brought about all at once. That is impossible. It does not drop from the skies. It comes through toil and suffering; it is created in the course of struggle. The old books are of no use here; no one will believe them. One's own experience of life is needed. When Kolchak and Denikin were advancing from Siberia and the South, the peasants were on their side. They did not like Bolshevism because the Bolsheviks took their grain at a fixed price. But when the peasants in Siberia and the Ukraine experienced the rule of Kolchak and Denikin, they realised that they had only one alternative: either to go to the capitalists, who would at once hand them over into slavery under the landowners; or to follow the workers, who, it is true, did not promise a land flowing with milk and honey, and demanded iron discipline and firmness in an arduous struggle, but would lead them out of enslavement by the capitalists and landowners. When even the ignorant peasants saw and realised this from their own experience, they became conscious adherents of communism, who had gone through a severe school. It is such experience that must form the basis of all the activities of the Young Communist League.

I have replied to the questions of what we must learn, what we must take from the old schools and from the old science. I shall now try to answer the question of how this must be learnt. The answer is: only by inseparably linking each step in the activities of the schools, each step in training, education and teaching, with the struggle of all the working people against the exploiters.

I shall quote a few examples from the experience of the work of some of the youth organisations so as to illustrate how this training in communism should proceed. Everybody is talking about abolishing illiteracy. You know that a communist society cannot be built in an illiterate country. It is not enough for the Soviet government to issue an order, or for the Party to issue a particular slogan, or to assign a certain number of the best workers to this task. The young generation itself must take up this work. Communism means that the youth, the young men and women who belong to the Youth League, should say: this is our job; we shall

unite and go into the rural districts to abolish illiteracy, so that there shall be no illiterates among our young people. We are trying to get the rising generation to devote their activities to this work. You know that we cannot rapidly transform an ignorant and illiterate Russia into a literate country. But if the Youth League sets to work on the job, and if all young people work for the benefit of all, the League, with a membership of 400,000 young men and women, will be entitled to call itself a Young Communist League. It is also a task of the League, not only to acquire knowledge itself, but to help those young people who are unable to extricate themselves by their own efforts from the toils of illiteracy. Being a member of the Youth League means devoting one's labour and efforts to the common cause. That is what a communist education means. Only in the course of such work do young men and women become real Communists. Only if they achieve practical results in this work will they become Communists.

Take, for example, work in the suburban vegetable gardens. Is that not a real job of work? It is one of the tasks of the Young Communist League. People are starving; there is hunger in the factories. To save ourselves from starvation, vegetable gardens must be developed. But farming is being carried on in the old way. Therefore, more class-conscious elements should engage in this work, and then you will find that the number of vegetable gardens will increase, their acreage will grow, and the results will improve. The Young Communist League must take an active part in this work. Every League and League branch should regard this as its duty.

The Young Communist League must be a shock force, helping in every job and displaying initiative and enterprise. The League should be an organisation enabling any worker to see that it consists of people whose teachings he perhaps does not understand, and whose teachings he may not immediately believe, but from whose practical work and activity he can see that they are really people who are showing him the right road.

If the Young Communist League fails to organise its work in this way in all fields, it will mean that it is reverting to the old bourgeois path. We must combine our education with the struggle of the working people against the exploiters, so as to help the former accomplish the tasks set by the teachings of communism.

The members of the League should use every spare hour to improve the vegetable gardens, or to organise the education of young people at some factory, and so on. We want to transform Russia from a poverty-stricken and wretched country into one that is wealthy. The Young Communist League must combine its education, learning and training with the labour of the workers and peasants, so as not to confine itself to schools or to reading com-

munist books and pamphlets. Only by working side by side with the workers and peasants can one become a genuine Communist. It has to be generally realised that all members of the Youth League are literate people and at the same time are keen at their jobs. When everyone sees that we have ousted the old drill-ground methods from the old schools and have replaced them with conscious discipline, that all young men and women take part in subbotniks, and utilise every suburban farm to help the population—people will cease to regard labour in the old way.

It is the task of the Young Communist League to organise assistance everywhere, in village or city block, in such matters as—and I shall take a small example—public hygiene or the distribution of food. How was this done in the old, capitalist society? Everybody worked only for himself and nobody cared a straw for the aged and the sick, or whether housework was the concern only of the women, who, in consequence, were in a condition of oppression and servitude. Whose business is it to combat this? It is the business of the Youth Leagues, which must say: we shall change all this; we shall organise detachments of young people who will help to assure public hygiene or distribute food, who will conduct systematic house-to-house inspections, and work in an organised way for the benefit of the whole of society, distributing their forces properly and demonstrating that labour must be organised.

The generation of people who are now at the age of fifty cannot expect to see a communist society. This generation will be gone before then. But the generation of those who are now fifteen will see a communist society, and will itself build this society. This generation should know that the entire purpose of their lives is to build a communist society. In the old society, each family worked separately and labour was not organised by anybody except the landowners and capitalists, who oppressed the masses of the people. We must organise all labour, no matter how toilsome or messy it may be, in such a way that every worker and peasant will be able to say: I am part of the great army of free labour, and shall be able to build up my life without the landowners and capitalists, able to help establish a communist system. The Young Communist League should teach all young people to engage in conscious and disciplined labour from an early age.* In this way we can be confident that the problems now confronting us will be solved. We must assume that no less than ten years will be required for the electrification of the country, so that our impoverished land may profit from the latest achievements of technology. And so, the generation of those who are now fifteen years old, and will be living

* In *Pravda* No. 223, October 7, 1920 instead of the words "from an early age" it was given "from the age of 12".—Ed.

in a communist society in ten or twenty years' time, should tackle all its educational tasks in such a way that every day, in every village and city, the young people shall engage in the practical solution of some problem of labour in common, even though the smallest or the simplest. The success of communist construction will be assured when this is done in every village, as communist emulation develops, and the youth prove that they can unite their labour. Only by regarding your every step from the standpoint of the success of that construction, and only by asking ourselves whether we have done all we can to be united and politically conscious working people will the Young Communist League succeed in uniting its half a million members into a single army of labour and win universal respect. (*Stormy applause.*)

Pravda Nos. 221, 222 and 223
October 5, 6 and 7, 1920

Collected Works, Vol. 31

ON PROLETARIAN CULTURE²⁹²

We see from *Izvestia* of October 8 that, in his address to the Proletcult Congress, Comrade Lunacharsky said things that were *diametrically opposite* to what he and I had agreed upon yesterday.

It is necessary that a draft resolution (of the Proletcult Congress) should be drawn up with the utmost urgency, and that it should be endorsed by the Central Committee, in time to have it put to the vote *at this very* session of the Proletcult. On behalf of the Central Committee it should be submitted not later than today, for endorsement both by the Collegium of the People's Commissariat of Education and by the Proletcult Congress, because the congress is closing today.

DRAFT RESOLUTION

1) All educational work in the Soviet Republic of workers and peasants, in the field of political education in general and in the field of art in particular, should be imbued with the spirit of the class struggle being waged by the proletariat for the successful achievement of the aims of its dictatorship, i.e., the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the abolition of classes, and the elimination of all forms of exploitation of man by man.

2) Hence, the proletariat, both through its vanguard—the Communist Party—and through the many types of proletarian organisations in general, should display the utmost activity and play the leading part in all the work of public education.

3) All the experience of modern history and, particularly, the more than half-century-old revolutionary struggle of the proletariat of all countries since the appearance of the *Communist Manifesto* has unquestionably demonstrated that the Marxist world outlook is the only true expression of the interests, the viewpoint, and the culture of the revolutionary proletariat.

Underlying the congress decisions were the ideas expounded by Lenin in his classical "*Left-Wing*" *Communism—an Infantile Disorder*. The congress endorsed Lenin's *Theses on the Fundamental Tasks of the 2nd Congress of the Communist International* as its resolution on the first question of the agenda. One of the basic questions debated at the congress was the role played by the Communist Party in the proletarian revolution and the relations between the Party and the working class. In the resolution "On the Role of the Communist Party in the Proletarian Revolution" the congress noted that the Communist Party is the main and basic weapon for the emancipation of the working class. Lenin's theses on the national, colonial and agrarian questions were approved by the congress as its resolutions on these questions.

It adopted Lenin's 21 conditions for admittance to the Communist International. This was of tremendous importance in setting up and strengthening parties of the new type in the working-class movement of the capitalist countries.

The congress did much to promote the international communist movement. After the congress, Lenin pointed out that "communism has become the focal issue of the working-class movement as a whole". p. 602

²⁸⁹ *Jingoism*—militant chauvinism, which advocated aggressive imperialist policies. The term derived from the chorus of an English chauvinistic song of the 1870s. p. 606

²⁹⁰ *The Third All-Russia Congress of the Russian Young Communist League* was held in Moscow on October 2-10, 1920. It was attended by about 600 delegates. Lenin delivered a speech at its first sitting in the evening of October 2.

In line with Lenin's instructions, it emphasised the following programmatic proposition: "The basic aim of the R.Y.C.L. is to educate young working people in a spirit of communism, in which theoretical education is closely linked up with active participation in the life, work, struggle and creative endeavour of the masses. The practical activities of the R.Y.C.L. in all spheres must be subordinated to the task of the communist education of young people, to the training of energetic and skilful builders of socialist economy, defenders of the Soviet Republic and organisers of the new society." p. 607

²⁹¹ A reference to members of the Proletarian Culture Organisation known by its abbreviated name *Proletcult*. Founded as early as in September 1917 as an independent workers' organisation, Proletcult continued to insist on its "independence" after the October Revolution, thereby counterposing itself to the proletarian state. The members of this organisation virtually rejected the importance of the cultural heritage of the past, fenced themselves off from mass cultural activities and sought to create a special "proletarian culture" in isolation from life, by "laboratory means". Proletcult was not a homogeneous organisation. Along with bourgeois intellectuals, who controlled many of the Proletcult bodies, the membership included young workers who sincerely strove to help promote cultural development in the country. Proletcult reached its heyday in 1919, and in the early twenties it declined, finally ceasing to exist in 1932. p. 610

²⁹² Lenin drafted the resolution "On Proletarian Culture" in connection with the First All-Russia Proletcult Congress that was held in Moscow on

October 5-12, 1920. The Communist faction at that congress was instructed to adopt an organisational resolution on the subordination of the Proletcult bodies in the centre and in the localities to the People's Commissariat of Education. This resolution, drawn up in the spirit of Lenin's direct instructions, was unanimously passed by the congress. p. 62

²⁹³ *The All-Russia Conference of Political Education Workers of Gubernia and Uyezd Education Departments* was held in Moscow on November 2-8, 1920 and was attended by 283 delegates. The proceedings centred around questions linked up with the setting up of a Central Political Education Committee of the Republic. The agenda also included questions connected with the food campaign, political education, production propaganda (linked up with economic rehabilitation), the abolition of illiteracy and other items. p. 623

²⁹⁴ *The Tenth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.)* was held in Moscow on March 8-16, 1921. Its proceedings were directed by Lenin, who delivered the opening and closing speeches and reports on the political activity of the Central Committee, the replacement of surplus food requisitioning by a tax in kind, Party unity and the anarcho-syndicalist deviation, the trade unions and the fuel question. He drafted the key resolutions.

In the report on the activity of the Central Committee and on the replacement of surplus food requisitioning by a tax in kind, Lenin gave profound theoretical and political reasons for the need to go over to the New Economic Policy (see Note 302). Following the debate on these reports the congress passed historic decisions on the replacement of surplus food requisitioning by a tax in kind and on the transition from war communism to the New Economic Policy.

Party unity was given considerable attention. The resolution "On Party Unity", proposed by Lenin, required the immediate dissolution of all factions which weakened the Party and undermined its unity. The congress passed a resolution "On the Syndicalist and Anarchist Deviation in Our Party", which was likewise drafted by Lenin.

The role of the trade unions in economic development were closely reviewed at the congress. Summing up the debate on the trade unions, the congress emphatically condemned the views of the "Workers' Opposition" and the "democratic Centralism" and other opportunist groups, and by an overwhelming majority approved Lenin's platform, in which the role of the trade unions was defined as that of a school of communism, and charted steps to extend trade union democracy.

In its decision on the national question, drafted by a commission headed by Lenin, the congress put forward the task of completely eradicating the actual inequality of the formerly oppressed peoples and drawing them into active participation in the building of socialism. The congress denounced anti-Party deviations in the national question—Great Power chauvinism and local nationalism. p. 631

²⁹⁵ *The "Workers' Opposition"* was an anti-Party anarcho-syndicalist factional group that took final shape during the discussions on the trade unions in 1920-21. It recommended placing the management of the economy in the hands of an "All-Russia Congress of Producers" united in trade unions. This opposition demanded that all economic administrative bodies should be elected solely by the corresponding trade unions and that Party and government bodies should not have the right to challenge the candidatures nominated by the trade unions. Compliance with these demands would

justify the heathen through faith, preached before the gospel unto Abraham, saying, In thee shall all nations be blessed.

9 So then they which be of faith are blessed with faithful Abraham.

10 For as many as are of the works of the law are under the curse: are of it written, Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the law to do them.

11 But that no man is justified by the law in the sight of God, it is evident: for, The just shall live by faith.

12 And the law is not of faith: but, The man that doeth them shall live in them.

13 Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us: for it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree:

14 That the blessing of Abraham might come on the Gentiles through Jesus Christ; that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith.

15 Brethren, I speak after the manner of men; Though it be but a man's covenant, yet if it be confirmed, no man disannulleth, or addeth thereto.

16 Now to Abraham and his seed were the promises made. He saith not, And to seeds, as of many; but as of one, And to thy seed, which is Christ.

17 And this I say, that the covenant, that was confirmed before of God in Christ, the law, which was four hundred and thirty years after, cannot disannul, that it should make the promise of none effect.

18 For if the inheritance be of the law, it is no more of promise: but God gave it to Abraham by promise.

19 Wherefore then serveth the law? I was added because of transgressions, till the seed should come to whom the promise was made; and it was ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator.

20 Now a mediator is not a mediator of one, but God is one.

21 Is the law then against the promises of God? God forbid: for if there had been a law given which could have given life, verily righteousness should have been by the law.

22 But the scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe.

23 But before faith came, we were kept under the law, shut up unto the faith which should afterwards be revealed.

24 Wherefore the law was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith.

25 But after that faith is come, we are no longer under a schoolmaster.

26 For ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus.

27 For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ.

28 There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.

29 And if ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise.

4 NOW I say, That the heir, as long as he is a child, differeth nothing from a servant, though he be lord of all;

2 But is under tutors and governors until the time appointed of the father.

3 Even so we, when we were children, were in bondage under the elements of the world:

4 But when the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law,

5 To redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons.

6 And because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father.

7 Wherefore thou art no more a servant, but a son; and if a son, then an heir of God through Christ.

8 Howbeit then, when ye knew not God, ye did service unto them which by nature are no gods.

9 But now, after that ye have known God, or rather are known of God, how turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements, wherunto ye desire again to be in bondage?

10 Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years.

11 I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain.

12 Brethren, I beseech you, be as I am; for I am as ye are: ye have not injured me at all.

13 Ye know how through infirmity of the flesh I preached the gospel unto you at the first.

14 And my temptation which was in my flesh ye despised not, nor rejected; but received me as an angel of God, even as Christ Jesus.

15 Where is then the blessedness ye spake off for I bear you record, that, if it had been possible, ye would have plucked out your own eyes, and have given them to me.

16 Am I therefore become your enemy, because I tell you the truth?

17 They zealously affect you, but not well; they would exclude you, that ye might affect them.

18 But it is good to be zealously affected always in a good thing, and not only when I am present with you.

19 My little children, of whom I travail in birth again until Christ be formed in you,

20 I desire to be present with you now, and to change my voice; for I stand in doubt of you.

21 Tell me, ye that desire to be under the law, do ye not hear the law?

22 For it is written, that Abraham had two sons, the one by a bondmaid, the other by a freewoman.

23 But he who was of the bondwoman was born after the flesh; but he of the freewoman was by promise.

24 Which things are an allegory: for these are the two covenants; the one from the mount Si-nai, which gendereth to bondage, which Agar.

25 For this Agar is mount Si-nai in Arabia, answereth to Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children.

26 But Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all.

27 For it is written, Rejoice, thou barren that bearest not; break forth and cry, thou that

travailest not: for the desolate hath many more children than she which hath an husband.

28 Now we, brethren, as Isaac was, are the children of promise.

29 But as then he that was born after the flesh persecuted him that was born after the Spirit, even so it is now.

30 Nevertheless what saith the scripture? Cast out the bondwoman and her son: for the son of the bondwoman shall not be heir with the son of the freewoman.

31 So then, brethren, we are not children of the bondwoman, but of the free.

5 STAND fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage.

2 Behold, I Paul say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing.

3 For I testify again to every man that is circumcised, that he is a debtor to do the whole law.

4 Christ is become of no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the law; ye are fallen from grace.

5 For we through the Spirit wait for the hope of righteousness by faith.

6 For in Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but faith which worketh by love.

7 Ye did run well; who did hinder you that ye should not obey the truth?

8 This persuasion cometh not of him that telleth you.

9 A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump.

10 I have confidence in you through the Lord, but ye will be none otherwise minded: but he that troubleth you shall bear his judgment, whosoever he be.

11 And I, brethren, if I yet preach circumcision, why do I yet suffer persecution? then is the offence of the cross ceased.

12 I would they were even cut off which trouble you.

13 For, brethren, ye have been called unto liberty; only use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve one another.

14 For all the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

15 But if ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another.

16 Thus I say then, Walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lust of the flesh.

17 For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh: and these are contrary the one to the other: so that ye cannot do the things that ye would.

18 But if ye be led of the Spirit, ye are not under the law.

19 Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these; Adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness,

20 Envy, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, murders, drunkenness, revellings, and such like: of the which I tell you before, as I have told you in time past, that they which

do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God.

22 But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith,

23 Meekness, temperance: against such there is no law.

24 And they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts.

25 If we live in the Spirit, let us also walk in the Spirit.

26 Let us not be desirous of vain glory, provoking one another, envying one another.

6 BRETHREN, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such an one in the spirit of meekness; considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted.

2 Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ.

3 For if a man think himself to be something, when he is nothing, he deceiveth himself.

4 But let every man prove his own work, and then shall he have rejoicing in himself alone, and not in another.

5 For every man shall bear his own burden.

6 Let him that is taught in the word communicate unto him that teacheth in all good things.

7 Be not deceived; God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.

8 For he that soweth to his flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth to the Spirit shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting.

9 And let us not be weary in well doing: for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not.

10 As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good unto all men, especially unto them who are of the household of faith.

11 Ye see how large a letter I have written unto you with mine own hand.

12 As many as desire to make a fair shew in the flesh, they constrain you to be circumcised; only lest they should suffer persecution for the cross of Christ.

13 For neither they themselves who are circumcised keep the law; but desire to have you circumcised, that they may glory in your flesh.

14 But God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world.

15 For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature.

16 And as many as walk according to this rule, peace be on them, and mercy, and upon the Israel of God.

17 From henceforth let no man trouble me: for I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus.

18 Brethren, the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit. A-mén.

¶ Unto the Galatians written from Rome.

13 Therefore the prudent shall keep silence in that time; for it is an evil time

14 Seek good, and not evil, that ye may live: and so the LORD, the God of hosts, shall be with you, as ye have spoken.

15 Hate the evil, and love the good, and establish judgment in the gate; it may be that the LORD God of hosts will be gracious unto the remnant of Joseph.

16 Therefore the LORD, the God of hosts, the Lord, saith thus; Wailing shall be in all streets; and they shall say in all the highways, Alas! alas! and they shall call the husbandmen to mourning, and such as are skilful of lamentation to wailing.

17 And in all vineyards shall be wailing; for I will pass through thee, saith the LORD.

18 Woe unto you that desire the day of The LORD! to what end is it for you? the day of The LORD is darkness, and not light.

19 As if a man did flee from a lion, and a bear met him; or went into the house, and leaned his hand on the wall, and a serpent bit him.

20 Shall not the day of the LORD be darkness, and not light? even very dark, and no brightness in it?

21 I hate, I despise your feast days, and I will not smell in your solemn assemblies.

22 Though ye offer me burnt offerings and your meat offerings, I will not accept them: neither will I regard the peace offerings of your fat beasts.

23 Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs; for I will not hear the melody of thy viols.

24 But let judgment run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream.

25 Have ye offered unto me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel?

26 But ye have borne the tabernacle of your Moloch and Chi-un your images, the star of your god, which ye made to yourselves.

27 Therefore will I cause you to go into captivity beyond Damascus, saith the LORD, whose name is The God of hosts.

6 WOE to them that are at ease in Zion, and trust in the mountain of Sâ-mâr-i-â, which are named chief of the nations, to whom the house of Israel came!

2 Pass ye unto Câl-neh, and see; and from thence go ye to Hâ-mâth the great; then go down to Gath of the Philistines: be they better than these kingdoms? or their border greater than your border?

3 Ye that put far away the evil day, and cause the seat of violence to come near;

4 That lie upon beds of ivory, and stretch themselves upon their couches, and eat the lambs out of the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the stall;

5 That chant to the sound of the viol, and invent to themselves instruments of musick, like David;

6 That drink wine in bowls, and anoint themselves with the chief ointments: but they are not grieved for the affliction of Joseph.

7 Therefore now shall they go captive with the first that go captive, and the banquet of them that stretched themselves shall be removed.

8 The Lord GOD hath sworn by himself, saith

the LORD the God of hosts, I abhor the excellency of Jacob, and hate his palaces: therefore will I deliver up the city with all that is therein.

9 And it shall come to pass, if there remain ten men in one house, that they shall die.

10 And a man's uncle shall take him up, and he that burneth him, to bring out the bones out of that burneth him, and shall say unto him that is by the sides of the house, Is there yet any with thee? and he shall say, No. Then shall he say, Hold thy tongue: for we may not make mention of the name of the LORD.

11 For, behold the LORD commandeth, and he will smite the great house with breaches, and the little house with clefts.

12 Shall horses run upon the rock? will one plow there with oxen? for ye have turned judgment into gall, and the fruit of righteousness into hemlock:

13 Ye which rejoice in a thing of nought, which say, Have we not taken to us horns by our own strength?

14 But, behold, I will raise up against you a nation, O house of Israel, saith the LORD the God of hosts; and they shall afflict you from the entering in of Hê-mâth unto the river of the wilderness.

7 THUS hath the Lord GOD shewed unto me and, behold, he formed grasshoppers in the beginning of the shooting up of the latter growth; and, lo, it was the latter growth after the king's mowings.

2 And it came to pass, that when they had made an end of eating of the grass of the land, then I said, O Lord GOD, forgive, I beseech thee: by whom shall Jacob arise? for he is small.

3 The LORD repented for this: It shall not be, saith the LORD.

4 Thus hath the Lord GOD shewed unto me and, behold, the Lord GOD called to contend by fire, and it devoured the great deep, and did eat up a part.

5 Then said I, O Lord GOD, cease, I beseech thee: by whom shall Jacob arise? for he is small.

6 The LORD repented for this: Thus also shall not be, saith the Lord GOD.

7 Thus he shewed me: and, behold, the Lord stood upon a wall made by a plumbline, with a plumbline in his hand.

8 And the LORD said unto me, Amos, what seest thou? And I said, A plumbline. Then said the LORD, Behold, I will set a plumbline in the midst of my people Israel: I will not again prosper by them any more:

9 And the high places of Isaac shall be desolate, and the sanctuaries of Israel shall be waste; and I will rise against the house of Jeroboam with the sword.

10 Then Am-â-zî-âh the priest of Beth-el said unto Jêr-ô-bo-âm king of Israel, saying, Amos saith, Conspired against thee in the midst of the congregation upon every head; and I will make it as the mourning of an only son, and the end thereof as a bitter day.

11 Behold, the days come, saith the Lord GOD, that I will send a famine in the land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the LORD:

12 And they shall wander from sea to sea, and from the north even to the east, they shall run to and fro to seek the word of the LORD, and shall not find it.

13 For that day shall the fair virgins and young women languish for thirst.

14 They that swear by the sin of Sâ-mâr-i-â, and say, Thy god, O Dan, liveth; and, The god of Bêr-she-bâ liveth; even they shall never rise up again.

el: for it is the king's chapel, and it is the king's court.

14 Then answered Amos, and said to Am-â-zî-âh, I was no prophet, neither was I a prophet's son; but I was an herdman, and a gatherer of sycamore fruit:

15 And the LORD took me as I followed the flock, and the LORD said unto me, Go, prophesy unto my people Israel.

16 Now therefore hear thou the word of the LORD: Thou sayest, Prophecy not against Israel, and drop not thy word against the house of Isaac.

17 Therefore thus saith the LORD; Thy wife shall be an harlot in the city, and thy sons and thy daughters shall fall by the sword, and thy land shall be divided by line; and thou shalt die in a polluted land: and Israel shall surely go into captivity forth of his land.

8 THUS hath the Lord GOD shewed unto me: and behold a basket of summer fruit.

2 And he said, Amos, what seest thou? And I said, A basket of summer fruit. Then said the LORD unto me, The end is come upon my people of Israel; I will not again pass by them any more.

3 And the songs of the temple shall be howlings in that day, saith the Lord GOD: there shall be many dead bodies in every place; they shall cast them forth with silence.

4 Hear this, O ye that swallow up the needy, even to make the poor of the land to fail,

5 Saying, When will the new moon be gone, that we may sell corn? and the sabbath, that we may set forth wheat, making the é-phâh small, and the shekel great, and falsifying the balances by deceit?

6 That we may buy the poor for silver, and the needy for a pair of shoes; yea, and sell the refuse of the wheat?

7 The LORD hath sworn by the excellency of Jacob, Surely I will never forget any of their works.

8 Shall not the land tremble for this, and every one mourn that dwelleth therein? and it shall be cast up wholly as a flood; and it shall be cast out and drowned as by the flood of Egypt.

9 And it shall come to pass in that day, saith the Lord GOD, that I will cause the sun to go down at noon, and I will darken the earth in the clear day:

10 And I will turn your feasts into mourning, and all your songs into lamentation; and I will bring up sackcloth upon all loins, and baldness upon every head; and I will make it as the mourning of an only son, and the end thereof as a bitter day.

11 Behold, the days come, saith the Lord GOD, that I will send a famine in the land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the LORD:

12 And they shall wander from sea to sea, and from the north even to the east, they shall run to and fro to seek the word of the LORD, and shall not find it.

13 For that day shall the fair virgins and young women languish for thirst.

14 They that swear by the sin of Sâ-mâr-i-â, and say, Thy god, O Dan, liveth; and, The god of Bêr-she-bâ liveth; even they shall never rise up again.

9 I SAW the Lord standing upon the altar; and he said, Smite the lintel of the door, that the posts may shake: and cut them in the head, all of them; and I will slay the last of them with the sword: he that fleeth of them shall not flee away, and he that escapeth of them shall not be delivered.

2 Though they dig into hell, thence shall mine hand take them; though they climb up to heaven, thence will I bring them down:

3 And though they hide themselves in the top of Carmel, I will search and take them out thence; and though they be hid from my sight in the bottom of the sea, thence will I command the serpent, and he shall bite them:

4 And though they go into captivity before their enemies, thence will I command the sword, and it shall slay them: and I will set mine eyes upon them for evil, and not for good.

5 And the Lord GOD of hosts is he that toucheth the land, and it shall melt, and all that dwell therein shall mourn: and it shall rise up wholly like a flood; and shall be drowned, as by the flood of Egypt.

6 It is he that buildeth his stories in the heaven, and hath founded his troop in the earth; he that calleth for the waters of the sea, and poureth them out upon the face of the earth: The LORD is his name.

7 Are ye not as children of the E-thi-ô-pi-âns unto me, O children of Israel? saith the LORD. Have not I brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt? and the Philistines from Caph-tôr, and the Syrians from Kir?

8 Behold, the eyes of the Lord GOD are upon the sinful kingdom, and I will destroy it from off the face of the earth; saying that I will not utterly destroy the house of Jacob, saith the LORD.

9 For, lo, I will command, and I will sift the house of Israel among all nations, like as corn is sifted in a sieve, yet shall not the least grain fall upon the earth.

10 All the sinners of my people shall die by the sword, which say, The evil shall not overtake nor prevent us.

11 In that day will I raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen, and close up the breaches thereof; and I will raise up his ruins, and I will build it as in the days of old:

12 That they may possess the remnant of E-dom, and of all the heathen, which are called by my name, saith the LORD that doeth this.

13 Behold, the days come, saith the LORD, that the plowman shall overtake the reaper, and the treader of grapes him that soweth seed; and the mountains shall drop sweet wine, and all the hills shall melt.

14 And I will bring again the captivity of my people of Israel, and they shall build the waste cities, and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and drink the wine thereof; they shall also make gardens, and eat the fruit of them.

15 And I will plant them upon their land, and they shall no more be pulled up out of their land which I have given them, saith the LORD thy God.

31 And the remnant that is escaped of the house of Judah shall again take root downward, and bear fruit upward.

32 For out of Jerusalem shall go forth a remnant, and they that escape out of mount Zion, the zeal of the LORD of hosts shall do this.

33 Therefore thus saith the LORD concerning the king of Assyria, He shall not come into this city, nor shoot an arrow there, nor come before it with shields, nor cast a bank against it.

34 By the way that he came, by the same shall he return, and shall not come into this city, saith the LORD.

35 For I will defend this city to save it for mine own sake, and for my servant David's sake.

36 Then the angel of the LORD went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians a hundred and fourscore and five thousand: and when they arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses.

37 ¶ So Sēn-nāch-ēr-ib king of Assyria departed, and went and returned, and dwelt at Nin-é-veh.

38 And it came to pass, as he was worshipping in the house of Nis-rōch his god, that A-drām-lēch and Shā-rē-zēr his sons smote him with the sword; and they escaped into the land of Ar-mē-ni-ā: and E-sār-hād-dōn his son reigned in his stead.

38 IN those days was Hēz-e-ki-āh sick unto death. And Isaiah the prophet the son of Amoz came unto him, and said unto him, Thus saith the LORD, Set thine house in order: for thou shalt die, and not live.

2 Then Hēz-e-ki-āh turned his face toward the wall, and prayed unto the LORD.

3 And said, Remember now, O LORD I beseech thee, how I have walked before thee in truth and with a perfect heart, and have done that which is good in thy sight. And Hēz-e-ki-āh wept sore.

4 ¶ Then came the word of the LORD to Isaiah, saying,

5 Go, and say to Hēz-e-ki-āh, Thus saith the LORD, the God of David thy father, I have heard thy prayer, I have seen thy tears: behold, I will add unto thy days fifteen years.

6 And I will deliver thee and this city out of the hand of the king of Assyria: and I will defend this city.

7 And this shall be a sign unto thee from the LORD, that the LORD will do this thing that he hath spoken.

8 Behold, I will bring again the shadow of the degrees, which is gone down in the sun dial of Ahaz, ten degrees backward. So the sun returned ten degrees, by which degrees it was gone down.

9 ¶ The writing of Hēz-e-ki-āh king of Judah, when he had been sick, and was recovered of his sickness.

10 I said in the cutting off of my days, I shall go to the gates of the grave. I am deprived of the residue of my years.

11 I said, I shall not see the LORD, even the LORD, in the land of the living: I shall behold man no more with the inhabitants of the world.

12 Mine age is departed, and is removed from me as a shepherd's tent. I have cut off like a weaver my life: he will cut me off with pining

sickness from day even to night wilt thou make an end of me.

13 I reckoned till morning, that, as a lion, so will he break all my bones: from day even to night wilt thou make an end of me.

14 Like a crane or a swallow, so did I chatter. I did mourn as a dove. mine eyes fail with looking upward: O LORD, I am oppressed undertake for me.

15 What shall I say? he hath both spoken unto me, and himself hath done it: I shall go softly all my years in the bitterness of my soul.

16 O LORD, by these things men live, and in all these things is the life of my spirit: so wilt thou recover me, and make me to live.

17 Behold, for peace I had great bitterness. but thou hast in love to my soul delivered it from the pit of corruption: for thou hast cast all my sins behind thy back.

18 For the grave cannot praise thee, death can not celebrate thee: they that go down into the pit cannot hope for thy truth.

19 The living, the living, he shall praise thee, as I do this day: the father to the children shall make known thy truth.

20 The LORD was ready to save me therefore we will sing my songs to the stringed instruments all the days of our life in the house of the LORD.

21 For Isaiah had said, Let them take a lump of tigs, and lay it for a plaister upon the boil, and he shall recover.

22 Hēz-e-ki-āh also had said, What is the sign that I shall go up to the house of the LORD?

39 AT that time Mēr-ō-dāch-bāl-ā-dān, the son of Bāl-ā-dān, king of Babylon, sent letters and a present to Hēz-e-ki-āh: for he had heard that he had been sick, and was recovered.

2 And Hēz-e-ki-āh was glad of them, and shewed them the house of his precious things, the silver, and the gold, and the spices, and the precious ointment, and all the house of his armour, and all that was found in his treasures: there was nothing in his house, nor in all his dominion, that Hēz-e-ki-āh shewed them not.

3 ¶ Then came Isaiah the prophet unto king Hēz-e-ki-āh, and said unto him, What said these men? and from whence came they unto thee? And Hēz-e-ki-āh said, They are come from a far country unto me, even from Babylon.

4 Then said he, What have they seen in thine house? and Hēz-e-ki-āh answered, All that is mine house have they seen: there is nothing among my treasures that I have not shewed them.

5 Then said Isaiah to Hēz-e-ki-āh, Hear the word of the LORD of hosts:

6 Behold, the days come, that all that is in thine house, and that which thy fathers have laid up in store until this day, shall be carried to Babylon: nothing shall be left, saith the LORD.

7 And of thy sons that shall issue from thee which thou shalt beget, shall they take away, and they shall be eunuchs in the palace of the king of Babylon.

8 Then said Hēz-e-ki-āh to Isaiah, Good is the word of the LORD which thou hast spoken: for thou saidst moreover, For there shall be peace and truth in my days.

40 COMFORT ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God.

2 Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem, and cry unto her, that her warfare is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned: for she hath received of the LORD's hand double for all her sins.

3 * The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the LORD, make straight in the desert a highway for our God.

4 Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low: and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain:

5 And the glory of the LORD shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together: for the mouth of the LORD hath spoken it.

6 The voice said, Cry. And he said, What shall I cry? All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof is as the flower of the field:

7 The grass withereth, the flower fadeth: because the spirit of the LORD bloweth upon it: surely the people is grass.

8 The grass withereth, the flower fadeth: but the word of our God shall stand for ever.

9 * O Zion, that bringest good tidings, get thee up into the high mountain; O Jerusalem, that bringest good tidings, lift up thy voice with strength; lift it up, be not afraid; say unto the cities of Judah, Behold your God!

10 Behold, the Lord GOD will come with strong hand, and his arm shall rule for him: behold, his reward is with him, and his work before him.

11 He shall feed his flock like a shepherd: he shall gather the lambs with his arm, and carry them in his bosom, and shall gently lead those that are with young.

12 ¶ Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meted out heaven with the span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance?

13 Who hath directed the Spirit of the LORD, or being his counsellor hath taught him?

14 With whom took he counsel, and who instructed him, and taught him in the path of judgment, and taught him knowledge, and shewed him the way of understanding?

15 Behold, the nations are as a drop of a bucket, and are counted as the small dust of the balance: behold, he taketh up the isles as a very little thing.

16 And Lēb-ā-nōn is not sufficient to burn, nor the beasts thereof sufficient for a burnt offering.

17 All nations before him are as nothing; and they are counted to him less than nothing, and vanity.

18 To whom then will ye liken God? or what likeness will ye compare unto him?

19 The workman melteth a graven image, and the goldsmith spreadeth it over with gold, and he covereth it with silver chains.

20 He that is so impoverished that he hath no chooseth a tree that will not rot; he putteth unto him a cunning workman to prepare an image, that shall not be moved.

21 Have ye not known? have ye not heard? hath not been told you from the beginning? have ye understood from the foundations of the earth?

22 He that sitteth upon the circle of the earth, and the inhabitants thereof are as grass:

hoppers; that stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain, and spreadeth them out as a tent to dwell in:

23 That bringeth the princes to nothing; he maketh the judges of the earth as vanity.

24 Yea, they shall not be planted; yea, they shall not be sown; yea, their stock shall not take root in the earth: and he shall also blow upon them, and they shall wither, and the whirlwind shall take them away as stubble.

25 To whom then will ye liken me, or shall I be equal? saith the Holy One.

26 Lift up your eyes on high, and behold who hath created these things, that bringeth out their host by number: he calleth them all by names by the greatness of his might, for that he is strong in power; nor one faileth.

27 Why sayest thou, O Jacob, and speakest, O Israel, My way is hid from the LORD, and my judgment is passed over from my God?

28 * Hast thou not known? hast thou not heard, that the everlasting God, the LORD, the Creator of the ends of the earth, fainteth not, neither is weary? there is no searching of his understanding.

29 He giveth power to the faint, and to them that have no might he increaseth strength.

30 Even the youths shall faint and be weary, and the young men shall utterly fall.

31 But they that wait upon the LORD shall renew their strength, they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary; and they shall walk, and not faint.

41 KEEP silence before me, O islands; and let the people renew their strength: let them come near; then let them speak: let us come near together to judgment.

2 Who raised up the righteous man from the east, called him to his foot, gave the nations before him, and made him rule over kings? he gave them as the dust to his sword, and as driven stubble to his bow.

3 He pursued them, and passed safely; even by the way that he had not gone with his feet.

4 Who hath wrought and done it, calling the generations from the beginning? I the LORD, the first, and with the last; I am he.

5 The isles saw it, and feared; the ends of the earth were afraid, drew near, and came.

6 They helped every one his neighbour; and every one said to his brother, Be of good courage.

7 So the carpenter encouraged the goldsmith, and he that smotheth with the hammer him that sodereth; and he fastened it with nails, that it should not be moved.

8 But thou, Israel, art my servant, Jacob whom I have chosen, the seed of Abraham my friend.

9 Thou whom I have taken from the ends of the earth, and called thee from the chief men thereof, and said unto thee, Thou art my servant; I have chosen thee, and not cast thee away.

10 * Fear thou not; for I am with thee; be not dismayed; for I am thy God: I will strengthen thee; yea, I will help thee; yea, I will uphold thee with the right hand of my righteousness.

11 Behold, all they that were incensed against thee shall be as nothing; and they that strive with thee shall perish.



LET
FREEDOM
RING
AGAIN

*A BICENTENNIAL
CHALLENGE*

The American Historic
and Cultural Society, Inc.
Washington, D.C.

that. They flocked to Notre Dame to play under Rockne; and when his players were behind at the end of the first half, they often proceeded to pull the game out of the fire because "We can't let 'Rock' down."

The Uses of Adversity: Millions of Americans are now seriously concerned about the great concentration of power in the Federal government. And in the light of recent dis-

*Of all the dispositions and habits
which lead to political prosperity, religion
and morality are indispensable supports.*

George Washington

closures of misbehavior on the part of some men in public office and the people's reaction to them, some may well ask, "Is our society now in the process of disruption? Are we losing our precious heritage of freedom?"

But those Americans who fear we have passed the point of no return have not read history. Full of foreboding, they fail to see that this period of adversity has its value, its blessings. Only common sense can come to the rescue, but adversity can stimulate this needed quality. For it is an observed fact that the "art of becoming" consists of acts of

*The ground of liberty is to be
gained by inches; we must be contented
to secure what we can get, from
time to time, and eternally press
forward for what is yet to get.*

Thomas Jefferson

overcoming. Without obstacles, rising to higher levels is out of the question. Adversities now facing us may serve as stepping stones, as blessings in disguise.

Regenerative forces are always at work in any society even though they may be outmatched, for a time, by the forces of decay. There is always a saving remnant at work, as the Old Testament says. Periods of vice and corruption are followed by the return of strength and honor.

If these are times of adversity, then surely this is a time for higher faith in freedom. Adversity, rather than discouraging us, should strengthen our resolve to prevail.

Freedom Is Every Citizen's Business: That the preservation of freedom is the business of every citizen has been recognized again and again, but never more simply or more eloquently than by Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes.

"We have in this country," he said, "but one security. You may think that the Constitution is your security — it is nothing but a piece of paper. You may think that the statutes are your security — they are nothing but words in a book. You may think that the elaborate mechanism of government is your security — it is nothing at all, unless you have sound and uncorrupted public opinion to give life to your Constitution, to give vitality to your statutes, and to make efficient your government machinery."

There is little doubt that the "sound and uncorrupted" principles of the American people have been largely responsible for America's achievement and rise to power.

Of all the foreign investigators who have sought an explanation, Alexis de Tocqueville, writing in the early 19th century, came close to the right answer.

"I sought for the greatness and genius of America in fertile fields and boundless forests; it was not there. I sought for it in her free schools and her institutions of learning; it was not there. I sought for it in her matchless Constitution and democratic congress; it was not there. Not until I went to the churches of America and found them aflame with righteousness did I understand the greatness and genius of America. America is great because America is good. When America ceases to be good, America will cease to be great."

Aflame with righteousness! We cannot envision a good society that doesn't consist of a righteous people. But this is not the only magic word. A striving for intellectual excellence, a will to overcome obstacles, an energetic enthusiasm turned inward to self-improvement, an abounding adven-