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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"/>
Treasury	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Darman (For WH Staffing)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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"/>
Interior	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>BND</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Agriculture	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>BAKSHIAN</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Commerce	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Labor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HHS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HUD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Transportation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Energy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Education	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Counsellor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
OMB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CIA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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CEA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	CCCT/Gunn	<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.

s/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



DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH & HUMAN SERVICES

Office of the Secretary

Washington, D.C. 20201

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

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 ~~parental notification rules~~ the [so-called "squeal rule,"] is an illustration of this clash between the values of these elites^{ists} 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 ^{pills or} devices to ^{minor} underage ^{(under age 18).} teenage girls. Believe me, I ^{as many of you do} 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-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 ^{parental notification} ~~squeal~~ rule controversy. Hoping to silence ^{us} ~~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 ~~adolescent children~~ ^{adolescent children} ~~underage teenagers~~.

Well, I say we fight our battle in the courts, I say the rule ^{should} ~~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 ^{parental notification} ~~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 ^{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 elitists} 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 ^{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 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~~

* best full year data (1980) = 1,297,606 abortions

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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, ^{and we have to be the} 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 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.]~~

Complex theology?

There is sin, there is evil in this world and we are enjoined by scripture and the ~~Lord~~ ^{teachings of} 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 ~~our~~ ^{the} professional elites ^{lets} 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 Yem^ean 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~~ *us who profess our belief in God's supremacy.* 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

Page 10
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.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: March 3, 1983 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 FRIDAY
March 4, 1983

SUBJECT: DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS
Tuesday, March 8, 1983

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	GERGEN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MEESE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HARPER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	JENKINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEAVER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MURPHY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
STOCKMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CLARK	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WHITTLESEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/> P	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SS	WILLIAMSON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	VON DAMM	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FELDSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BRADY/SPEAKES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FULLER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>Bakshian</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

Remarks:

Please forward comments/edits directly to Aram Bakshian, with a copy to my office, by 2:00 tomorrow, March 4.

Thank you.

Richard G. Darman
Assistant to the President
(x2702)

Response:

(DOLAN/RR)

MARCH 8, 1983
2:30 PM
ORLANDO, FLORIDA

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 HUMBLY 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. ALREADY THIS SESSION, THERE IS GROWING BIPARTISAN SUPPORT FOR THE AMENDMENT AND I AM 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.

insert → 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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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

March 4, 1983

5:00 p.m.

Tony Dolan,

Attached, per our telecon, is my personal markup of pages 13-15 of the draft Presidential address to the Evangelicals. As I indicated to you, my markup at this time has no official status. I will be forwarding it up the line within the NSC for further review.



Sven Kraemer

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 ^(too often) today ^{as in many aspects of} 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 ^(unstrategic) in the forties and fifties ^{and which now proposes 50 percent cuts in ballistic missiles and the elimination of an entire class of intermediate range nuclear missiles} for territorial gain ^{and that it was not} the West that intervened by ^{military} 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 forced labor, or wages} used chemical and ^{toxin} biological warfare in Afghanistan and Southeast Asia.

Surely, those historians will find in the councils of these ^(the Marxist-Leninists --) 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 ^{(as has Alexander Shubrenitsky) so much} surely historians will see there ~~the~~ 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 ^{proposals} 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~~ ^{Soviet buildup S/T} 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 ^{and to negotiate} ~~and to~~ real and verifiable reductions in the world's nuclear arsenals.

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

And we will never stop searching for a ^{genuine} ~~secure~~ peace. But we can assure none of these things America stands for through the so-called nuclear freeze solutions proposed by some. The truth is that a freeze now would be a very dangerous fraud. We do not want a craven peace; for that is merely the illusion of peace. The reality ~~of the modern world~~ ^{today} is that we must find peace through strength.

I would agree to a freeze if only we could freeze the Soviets global desires.

Nuclear Freeze - Insert

I have just described some of the contrasting ~~ing values and~~ ^{between} ~~historical record demonstrated by~~ the Soviet Union and the United States, especially during the last decade. It is in this light that we are pledged to assure strong deterrent forces which can preserve ~~the~~ ^{through strength} peace and protect the flowering of freedom. It is in this light that we must -- in the face of the continued Soviet military build-up -- modernize our too long neglected armed forces and must restore the margin of safety. It is in this light that we must work for real reductions -- at equal and verifiable levels -- in the world's nuclear arsenals.

But we can assure neither deterrence, nor freedom, nor meaningful and stabilizing reductions through the so-called nuclear freeze resolutions being proposed by some. The truth is that a freeze now would be a very dangerous fraud.

^{WP} A freeze at current levels of weapons would ^{remove any incentive for the Soviets to negotiate seriously in Geneva and} virtually end our chances to achieve the major arms reductions which we have proposed ^{instead they would achieve their} and on which we are currently negotiating with the ^{objectives through the freeze} Soviet Union in Geneva.

-- A freeze would reward the Soviet Union for its enormous and unparalleled military build-up and would codify the significant advantages they have obtained in a number of strategic areas.

~~A freeze~~ would prevent the essential and long-overdue modernization of US and allied defenses and would leave our aging forces increasingly vulnerable.

And a honest
 -- ~~to~~ freeze, ~~to be verifiable~~, would require ~~very~~ extensive prior negotiations on the systems and numbers to be limited and on the measures to ensure effective verification and compliance. *But* such a major effort would divert us completely from our current negotiation on achieving substantial reductions, *(The kind of freeze that has been suggested) and would be virtually impossible to verify.*

I believe it must be plain to every single American, indeed to all ⁱⁿ the world who want, as I do, effectively to reduce the arsenals and risks of war, that a freeze at current levels of arms involves dangerous illusions which grievously damage the cause of peace, of freedom, and of genuine arms control.

This Administration's far-reaching arms reductions proposals left the freeze proposals in the dust a long time ago. Even the Soviet Union has, in the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) proposed reductions in current arsenals.

Would it really be wise, or moral, to abandon the serious Geneva reductions negotiations in favor of a freeze at current high levels? Should we really be removing the incentive for the Soviet Union to negotiate reductions to far lower and equal levels of arms?

I certainly believe not, as I am sure you believe not. And I am sure the American people don't believe it either. Indeed, I believe that support of the US reductions proposals in Geneva, and support of our modernization programs can be the greatest lever for assuring security and peace and for providing the Soviet Union with an incentive verifiably to reduce, yes, to reduce, not freeze, the current arsenals and risks of war.

FOR BAKSHIAN
Pyji
Adela

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"/>
Treasury	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Darman (For WH Staffing)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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"/>
Interior	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Jenkins	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Agriculture	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>BND</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Commerce	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>BAKSHIAN</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Labor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HHS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HUD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Transportation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Energy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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CEA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	CCCT/Gunn	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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OSTP	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	CCFA/Boggs	<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.

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

5/26/83
5252

(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.

(Dolan/AB)
March 3, 1983
4:00 p.m.

research change
OK for
Staffing
MPC 3/3 pm

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.]

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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." ^{q*} 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} parental consent before government provided birth control devices to underage teenagers. ^{clinics to notify parents that they have} ~~consent before government~~ ^{girls} provided birth control devices to underage teenagers. 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^gsecularist 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. X

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. X

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} ~~deficits~~ 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. X

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 ^ffirst X

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. X

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. X

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} 50's and ^{sixties} 60's. 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. X

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

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 ~~meeting~~ 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

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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.

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X

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 some day pass the Congress -- and you and I must never rest until it does.

X
X

X

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.

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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

X

adopt legislation that will protect the right of all children, including the disabled or handicapped to the right to life. X

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. X

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. X

Another study of 2000 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. X
X
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^g 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^o as the theologians would put it, ^o the doctrine of sin. X
X
X

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 ^o like any other human entity ^o our Nation ^o too ^o has a legacy of evil with which it must deal. X

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 1000 new investigators to extend that task force model to ~~twelve~~ 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 ^{to} 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 ~~40's~~ ^(Forties) and ~~50's~~ ^(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 ~~s~~ ^r 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. X

Whitaker 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." X

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." X

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: X

"He giveth power to the faint, and to them that have no might, he increased their strength . . . but they that wait upon X

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.