

President's Backup Copy:

Address to the

National Association of Evangelicals

March 8, 1983



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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.

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INSERT FOR EVANGELICALS SPEECH

AND WE WILL NEVER STOP SEARCHING FOR A GENUINE 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 IS THAT WE MUST FIND PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH,

I WOULD AGREE TO A FREEZE IF ONLY WE COULD FREEZE THE SOVIETS' GLOBAL DESIRES, A FREEZE AT CURRENT LEVELS OF WEAPONS WOULD REMOVE ANY INCENTIVE FOR THE SOVIETS TO NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY IN GENEVA & VIRTUALLY END OUR CHANCES TO ACHIEVE THE MAJOR ARMS REDUCTIONS WHICH WE HAVE PROPOSED.

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INSTEAD, THEY WOULD ACHIEVE THEIR OBJECTIVES THROUGH THE FREEZE.

A FREEZE WOULD REWARD THE SOVIET UNION FOR ITS ENORMOUS & UNPARALLELED MILITARY BUILD-UP. IT WOULD PREVENT THE ESSENTIAL & LONG-OVERDUE MODERNIZATION OF U.S. & ALLIED DEFENSES & WOULD LEAVE OUR AGING FORCES INCREASINGLY VULNERABLE.

AND AN HONEST FREEZE WOULD REQUIRE EXTENSIVE PRIOR NEGOTIATIONS ON THE SYSTEMS & NUMBERS TO BE LIMITED & ON THE MEASURES TO ENSURE EFFECTIVE VERIFICATION & COMPLIANCE. AND THE KIND OF A FREEZE THAT HAS BEEN SUGGESTED WOULD BE VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE TO VERIFY. SUCH A MAJOR EFFORT WOULD DIVERT US COMPLETELY FROM OUR CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS ON ACHIEVING SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS.

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 on cards)*

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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Change your world
The answer is to love. We have it
with our power to begin to build
it again - We can do it - "Let's
together, what no one church could do
alone"