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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 1, 1981

Dear Bob:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your letter to President Reagan inviting him to address the 1982 convention of the National Association of Evangelicals.

Your convention would make an excellent forum for the President to speak. Therefore, I am recommending to the White House scheduling office that, if at all possible, the President attend.

If I can be of further assistance, please contact me.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth H. Dole
Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison

Robert P. Dugan
National Association of Evangelicals
1430 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

Draft for EHD sig.

- 1) Thanks for keeping me informed of your plans
- 2) By copy of this letter I am sending my recommendation to the scheduling office that if at all possible the Pres try to attend this meeting.

NOV 13 1981



NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
EVANGELICALS

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

*Walter - not to be
replied!*

November 11, 1981

The Honorable Elizabeth Hanford Dole
Assistant to the President for Public Liaison
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Elizabeth:

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

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

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

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

Faithfully yours,

Bob
Robert P. Dugan, Jr.
Director

■ NAE COMMISSIONS □ Christian Education Commission □ Commission on Chaplains
□ Evangelical Churchmen Commission □ Evangelical Social Action Commission □ Evangelism and Home Missions Association
□ Higher Education Commission □ Stewardship Commission □ Women's Fellowship ■ AFFILIATES
□ American Association of Evangelical Students □ Evangelical Foreign Missions Association
□ National Religious Broadcasters ■ SUBSIDIARY CORPORATIONS □ Encounter Ministries, Inc. □ World Relief Corporation
■ VICE AGENTS □ Evangelical Child Care Fund □ Chicago □ Evangelical Family Service □ New York, NY
□ Evangelical Purchasing Service □ Family Ministries, Cerritos, CA □ Universal Travel Service
■ NATIONAL OFFICE: 450 E. Gundersen Drive/P.O. Box 28/Wheaton, Illinois 60187/(312) 665-0500



NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
EVANGELICALS

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

November 11, 1981

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

Dear Mr. President:

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

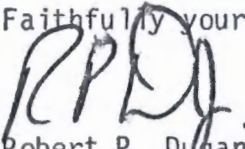
The National Association of Evangelicals warmly invites you to address its annual convention in March, 1982, at the Arlington Park Hilton Hotel in the Chicago suburb of Arlington Heights. It would be a high honor to have you challenge the 1200 evangelical leaders who will participate in that convention.

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

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

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

Faithfully yours,


Robert P. Dugan, Jr.
Director

RPDJr:pas1
Enclosure

■ NAE COMMISSIONS □ Christian Education Commission □ Commission on Chaplains
□ Evangelical Churchmen Commission □ Evangelical Social Action Commission □ Evangelism and Home Missions Association
□ Higher Education Commission □ Stewardship Commission □ Women's Fellowship ■ AFFILIATES
□ American Association of Evangelical Students □ Evangelical Foreign Missions Association
□ National Religious Broadcasters ■ SUBSIDIARY CORPORATIONS □ Encounter Ministries Inc. □ World Relief Corporation
■ SERVICE AGENCIES □ Evangelical Outreach Agency, Chicago □ Evangelical Family Service, Syracuse, NY
□ Evangelical Purchasing Service □ Family Ministries, Carmichael, CA □ Universal Travel Service
■ NATIONAL OFFICE: 1430 K STREET NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20005

Mainstream U.S. Evangelicals Surge in Protestant Influence

By KENNETH A. BRIGGS

Often overshadowed by fundamentalism and shunned by church liberals, the mainstream of evangelical Christians has emerged as the most powerful new force in American Protestantism.

The evangelicals, mostly moderate in theology and politics, have been growing in numbers for years. But now they are strengthening their own institutions and making deep inroads in the 50-year-

liberal leadership of the major Protestant denominations.

The signs of evangelical vitality are seen in the robustness of student movements, in the enthusiasm of lay people and in the clergy, which is equipped by education and outlook to bring the historic tenets of the Protestant faith to bear on 20th-century problems.

Another sign is a recent decision by the Harvard Divinity School, a pillar of Protestant liberalism, to establish a chair in evangelical studies. Other old-line seminaries are expanding in similar ways. The influence of leading evangelical publications has expanded and a large network of professional, educational and lay groups amplifies the evangelical voice.

Commitment to Christ

In essence, evangelicals stand between liberals and fundamentalists. They stress a personal commitment to Jesus, confidence in the Bible and enthusiasm for spreading the word and seeking converts. Evangelicals tend to hold in high importance the Second Coming of Christ, the saving act of Christ's death, the Virgin Birth and the physical Resurrection.

In comparison, liberals do not hold so uniformly to this set of beliefs and are less absolutist and literal-minded on questions of doctrine. While evangelicals share many beliefs with fundamentalists, and the lines sometimes blur, the fundamentalists tend to be more absolutist in their approach to Christian theology.

Evangelicals look about them and say that if liberals have lapsed into agnosticism and doubt, then fundamentalists have erred toward closed-mindedness.

Some experts believe that the evangelicals could take the leadership of Protestantism.

But the outcome depends on whether evangelicals can overcome their internal splits and grasp the opportunity. Many evangelical leaders see a great need for fence-mending so that the theological and political moderates, who are in the overwhelming majority among evangelicals, can advance at a time when fundamentalists remain a beleaguered minority and liberals continue in a prolonged slump.

This readjustment of the nation's Protestant religious balance fixes on the quest for a "middle way" between fundamentalism and liberalism.

At least 40 million Protestants in the United States consider themselves religious conservatives. Though the moderate evangelicals are divided from fundamentalists on basic views, they are often incorrectly lumped together under the mantle of conservatism.

"The nonevangelical world would throw us into one big pot," said Dr. Marvin Wilson, professor of Biblical and theological studies at Gordon College in Wenham, Mass., a center of moderation. "The nuances aren't coming through."

Hope for Change for the Better

Evangelicalism was the hallmark of 19th-century Protestantism. It was a blend of Reformation doctrine, exuberance for the democratic ethos and hope that people and societies could change for the better under God's will. Evangelicals today maintain that they are on this historical trunk line.

Since the 1980 elections, when fundamentalists such as the Rev. Jerry Falwell put effort and money into a campaign to influence voters, the moderates have felt an increased need to press their own cause. Many evangelicals and fundamentalists have made vigorous efforts to define themselves as separate from each other. Relations have become strained.

Even before this, however, the moderate tide was rising as education and worldly success became more widespread among evangelicals. Leaders of liberal church groups, among them Bishop James Armstrong, president of the National Council of Churches, have indicated the importance of the trend by calling for steps to close the gap with the evangelicals.

"Far more mutuality is being acknowledged," said Bishop Armstrong, the United Methodist Bishop of Indiana. "There are responsible persons on both sides and we need to pay attention to each other and to listen."

Moderate evangelicalism burst on the public scene in 1976 when, as a Presidential candidate, Jimmy Carter defined himself as a "born again" Christian, focusing attention on his denomination, the Southern Baptist Convention.

But the evangelical tradition embraces many doctrines and attitudes. It is open to science, emphasizes rational faith and looks fervently to history, particularly the themes of the Reformation.

Dr. Timothy Smith, a church historian at Johns Hopkins University, believes there are 12 streams of evangelicals. Among them are Pentecostals, members of transplanted European ethnic churches, and Baptists, in addition to the millions of conservatives in the liberal denominations. "Fundamentalism," Dr. Smith noted in an article written in conjunction with Cullen Murphy in a recent issue of the Woodrow Wilson Quarterly, "is merely a subculture within 'mainstream' evangelicalism, a relatively young and extreme movement within an older moderate one."

In the view of many moderates, the fundamentalists tried to take over the evangelical reins in the last decade but suffered losses that left them weakened and dispirited.

Hatfield a Prominent Figure

Meanwhile, bitterness lingered from the Scopes Trial in 1925, which pitted the two wings, liberal and fundamental, against each other over the issue of evolution. Until recently, this hostility obscured the distinctiveness of the moderates and their rise in the years since World War II.

Prominent moderates include Senator Mark O. Hatfield, Republican of Oregon, who has helped instill a social conscience in the movement; the former Presidential candidate John B. Anderson; Dr. David Hubbard, president of Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena, Calif.; Prof. Richard Lovelace, a Presbyterian theology professor at Gordon-Conwell Seminary in Wenham, Mass., and Dr. Ronald Sider, a theologian at Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary in Philadelphia.

Supported by a variety of institutions, among them Wheaton College in Illinois, Fuller in Pasadena, several strong "parachurch" youth and service organizations, evangelicalism has adherents dispersed among thousands of local churches. Increasingly, they share the belief that the pursuit of social justice is a central part of the Christian mission.

Senator Hatfield said he had been encouraged by "the increasing awareness of social ministry" among evangelicals, adding, "For a long time we were so busy proclaiming the Gospel that there was no time to be concerned about people." In many areas of evangelical church life, attention has turned to problems such as poverty and the arms race, once addressed almost exclusively by liberals.

'A Collision Course' Feared

Political activism by fundamentalists has created religious conflicts over these social issues.

"At first I thought we were on a collision course," Senator Hatfield said, referring to the tensions between moderates and fundamentalists, but he added that he had "high hopes" that some bridges could be built.

While most moderates consider the Scriptures the highest authority on matters of faith, they show relatively little taste for defending every passage as literal truth. On these and other matters, change has brought about disagreements.

"It is not a closed system," said Dr. Arthur Holmes, chairman of the philosophy department at Wheaton College. "It is a heritage stemming from mainstream Protestantism which has maintained the authority of Scripture. There's room to move around."

'Willy-Nilly Into Mainstream'

The College Church of Wheaton illustrates the character of the moderates. Under the guidance of the Rev. Kent Hughes, a former Quaker, the church membership has swelled 48 percent in three years, to 1,200, and this year raised nearly \$600,000, half of which went for missions outside the church. Most of the newcomers are couples in their early 30's and there are congregants with Ph.D.'s. Mr. Hughes says the suburban Chicago congregants are "very heterogeneous" and prefer "strong Biblical teaching combined with a bit of liturgy."

Dr. Martin E. Marty, the church historian at the University of Chicago, wrote in a book, "The Public Church," "To such evangelicals, it must be said that evangelicalism has, willy-nilly, moved into the mainstream."

Growth has come from a base of economic resources as evangelicals attain greater affluence; from booming publishing houses such as Word in Waco, Tex., and Zondervan in Grand Rapids, Mich., and from the high quality of a lengthening list of evangelical colleges.

Christianity Today, an evangelical journal with a weekly circulation of 140,000, is now by far the nation's most widely read religious periodical. Five recently formed associations bring evangelicals together around such specialties as science, law and psychology. And a group of new scholarly journals, including Christian Scholars Review and Theological Students Fellowship Bulletin, have provided media for the development of evangelical thought.

"We want a dialogue with the wider world," said Dr. Marvin Wilson. "Fundamentalism is closed, but we want to be on the same level as scholars in any field."

file
NAE

The impact is felt in the old denominations such as the Presbyterian and Methodist churches, where more and more ministers and lay people identify themselves as evangelicals organized to achieve their religious and political goals. It is also revealed in the growing populations of church groups such as Southern Baptists that are evangelical by definition.

Popularity on College Campuses

As liberalism has fallen into general disfavor, evangelical fortunes have soared. On college campuses, moderate evangelical groups such as Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship attract by far the most students to religion; in providing models for church growth, they are showing similar initiative, and in the foreign mission field they are notably leading the way. Moreover, future generations of evangelical leaders are

being trained at the nation's top seminaries.

Leaders of the mainstream denominations have begun to take notice. Top liberal seminaries such as Princeton, Yale, Union and Harvard have enrolled increasing numbers of evangelicals and have begun hiring faculty members from similar backgrounds.

Dr. George Rupp, dean of Harvard Divinity School, regards the proposed new Harvard chair, which some have suggested be named for the Rev. Billy Graham, the evangelical, as an important barometer of the recognition that moderates are receiving. "I'm very much in favor of this professorship," Dr. Rupp said. "There ought to be an evangelical representative on our faculty."

A 'Significant Factor'

The Rev. Richard G. Hutcheson, a Southern Presbyterian who studied the implications of this trend on mainstream denominations, concluded that "moderate evangelicals are a very significant factor that mainstream Protestantism must accommodate."

But neither Mr. Hutcheson nor other analysts predict smooth transition. "I see tensions accelerating in the mainstream denominations," said Dr. Donald Bloesch, a leading Presbyterian evangelical theologian who teaches at the University of Dubuque's Theological Seminary in Iowa. "The liberal establishment will be fighting back."

"As the moderate voice gets stronger," Dr. Bloesch said, "I predict even more tension."

The pace appears more rapid on the West Coast. Fuller Seminary, founded in 1946 by the popular radio evangelist Charles Fuller, is not only one of the nation's largest theological schools but also, in the opinion of many church experts, the most influential.

60% Go Into Parish Work In State

At least 60 percent of Fuller's graduates enter parish work in California, by far the largest number going into the ministries of the United Presbyterian and American Baptist churches. California's Presbyterian churches, among others, are now heavily weighted in an evangelical direction. Gordon-Conwell is becoming a similar factor in New England.

Talks between liberal Harvard and neighboring Gordon-Conwell have begun. Last semester Harvard's best known liberal theologian, Dr. Harvey Cox, taught a course on "Evangelicalism and Social Action" with Dr. Stephen Mott of Gordon-Conwell.

Union Theological Seminary in New York City has likewise taken an interest in evangelical professors and has initiated dialogue with Gordon-Conwell. Dr. Donald Shriver, president of Union, said, "I invited them partly because I'm uncomfortable not talking with people who are part of the church." Among the benefits of the contact, Dr. Shriver said, was that "evangelicals call us back to being faithful to theological tasks and spiritual dimensions of our lives."

Liberals have likewise been impressed by social activism among evangelicals. Led by moderates, Evangelicals for Social Action was begun in 1978 and now has 20 chapters with a mailing list of 3,500. High on the list of concerns are such issues as disarmament, justice for the poor, ecology and human rights. Most of the moderates oppose abortion but tend to support a woman's right to free choice. In the past, activism on most of these fronts was the task of liberals. Now many moderates are leading.

Progress Toward Agenda Is Seen

Dr. Sider of Eastern Baptist Seminary said he believed evangelicals still tended to challenge society too little but asserted there had been progress toward an evangelical social agenda concerning justice, "a new conceptual agreement that it is what we should be doing."

In seeking greater roles, the evangelicals have problems with Biblical and theological squabbles among themselves and the old feud with fundamentalists.

"Evangelical leadership has come to the fore," said Dr. Carl F. H. Henry, evangelicalism's foremost theologian, who is a former president of the American Theological Society. "But it seems to me that unless the evangelical community, through dialogue and reflection, forges a public coalition before the end of the decade, then the evangelical egress into the public arena could be dissipated."

Dr. Henry, whose work "God, Revelation and Authority" has been a widely read evangelical theological volume, sees four challenges.

One is to settle the question of Biblical authority, which, he says, is a "shambles"; the second is to organize a solid political alternative to Mr. Falwell's fundamentalist Moral Majority; the third is to provide alternatives to the fundamentalist-dominated religious media, and the fourth is to offer a moderate approach to the question of divine creation that steers clear of the "creation science" view.

Conflict, Dr. Henry said, "could leave us worse than when we came out of the subculture."

'Variety of Opinions' Supported

Dr. Hubbard, president of Fuller, is among the many moderates who believe that evangelicals can acknowledge "a variety of opinions" and that further efforts must be made to produce sound scholarship.

While leadership appears to be the key to further progress, there is wide agreement that the movement has come a long way. "Evangelicalism looks as if it's shaping things spectacularly more than it was 20 years ago," Dr. Marsden said. "As an historian I don't see this as altogether surprising. After all, evangelicalism grew up in a democratic society and fits into the American mentality. It has shaped America at the same time. They have affinities for each other."

Executive order

Crime victims
task force

Crime

11/15 Roosevelt Hs
Loran Smith
Call Ellingwood
Larry Pratt

(DOLAN/RR)

MARCH 8, 1983
2:30 PM
ORLANDO, FLORIDA

file
NAE

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 WIPE 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 THEOLOGAINS WOULD PUT IT, THE DOCTRINE OF SIN.

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

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

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

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

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

I THINK THE REFUSAL OF MANY INFLUENTIAL PEOPLE TO ACCEPT THIS ELEMENTARY FACT OF SOVIET DOCTRINE ILLUSTRATES AN HISTORICAL RELUCTANCE TO SEE TOTALITARIAN POWERS FOR WHAT THEY ARE. WE SAW THIS PHENOMENON IN THE 1930'S; WE SEE IT TOO OFTEN TODAY. THIS DOES NOT MEAN WE SHOULD ISOLATE OURSELVES AND REFUSE TO SEEK AN UNDERSTANDING WITH THEM.

I INTEND TO DO EVERYTHING I CAN TO PERSUADE THEM OF OUR PEACEFUL INTENT; TO REMIND THEM THAT IT WAS THE WEST THAT REFUSED TO USE ITS NUCLEAR MONOPOLY IN THE FORTIES AND FIFTIES FOR TERRITORIAL GAIN AND WHICH NOW PROPOSES 50-PERCENT CUTS IN STRATEGIC BALLISTIC MISSILES AND THE ELIMINATION OF AN ENTIRE CLASS OF LAND-BASED, INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILES.

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

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

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next 2 pages*

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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PAGE 2

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.

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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(DOLAN/RR)

MARCH 8, 1983
2:30 PM
ORLANDO, FLORIDA

file
NAE

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 THEOLOGICIANS WOULD PUT IT, THE DOCTRINE OF SIN.

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

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

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

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

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

I THINK THE REFUSAL OF MANY INFLUENTIAL PEOPLE TO ACCEPT THIS ELEMENTARY FACT OF SOVIET DOCTRINE ILLUSTRATES AN HISTORICAL RELUCTANCE TO SEE TOTALITARIAN POWERS FOR WHAT THEY ARE. WE SAW THIS PHENOMENON IN THE 1930'S; WE SEE IT TOO OFTEN TODAY. THIS DOES NOT MEAN WE SHOULD ISOLATE OURSELVES AND REFUSE TO SEEK AN UNDERSTANDING WITH THEM.

I INTEND TO DO EVERYTHING I CAN TO PERSUADE THEM OF OUR PEACEFUL INTENT; TO REMIND THEM THAT IT WAS THE WEST THAT REFUSED TO USE ITS NUCLEAR MONOPOLY IN THE FORTIES AND FIFTIES FOR TERRITORIAL GAIN AND WHICH NOW PROPOSES 50-PERCENT CUTS IN STRATEGIC BALLISTIC MISSILES AND THE ELIMINATION OF AN ENTIRE CLASS OF LAND-BASED, INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILES.

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

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

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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.

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 SCREWTAPES 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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