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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 27, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: MORTON C. BLACKWELL

FROM:

Joyce Thomann

SUBJECT:

Telephone Call from FRW

Faith called this afternoon (5:20 p.m.) to tell you that the memo you prepared yesterday was very good.

At the request of Ken Duberstein, however, she does need some additional information before the memorandum goes forward. Specifically regarding the School Prayer portion of the memo:

Has the coalition made any progress regarding or persuading Orrin Hatch to withdraw his school prayer amendment?

Which of the two amendments does the coalition want brought up? The Hatch Amendment, or the revised one the President proposed on July 12, 1983?

There was another amendment in the Judiciary Committee on school prayer. What happened to it? Did it get reported out?

When do they want a School Prayer Amendment to go to the floor for a vote?

The memo which you sent to Faith yesterday should be revised to address these specific items.

:jet

9/28/83- Pook called.

Dr. Jimmy Draper is sending out a mailing/magazine headlined "Dr. Draper opposes the Hatch School Prayer Andt."

Paul will give you an advance copy today.

Reagan Looks to Religious Leaders For Continuing Support in 1984

He scored well with all religious groups in 1980. Now he is trying to demonstrate progress on their pet issues and soliciting their support for his policies.

BY DICK KIRSCHTEN

Politics and religion have always rubbed shoulders in this country, so much so that it has become a standard cynicism to refer to candidates who cloak themselves in God, the flag and motherhood

Liberal politics of the 1960s and 1970s saw politicians and clergy marching hand in hand to support civil rights or to protest the immorality of the Vietnam war. The 1980s, perhaps reflecting a change in the national mood, have produced the presidency of Ronald Reagan, who for years has marshaled moralistic arguments in support of conservative political causes.

Reagan's 1980 election victory was built in no small part upon support from conservative religious leaders. Protestant Evangelicals, including televised preachers such as the Rev. Jerry Falwell, were active on Reagan's behalf. Conservative Catholics were also a significant factor, as was the unusual defection of Jewish voters from the Democratic Party as represented in 1980 by President Carter.

As the Reagan White House looks toward the 1984 election, the President's religious allies are in the thick of the two-way traffic of interest-group politicking. In one lane, presidential aides scurry to demonstrate progress on issues such as tuition tax credits and school prayer in fulfillment of Reagan campaign promises. In the opposite lane, conservative religious leaders and organizations are being called upon to back Reagan in controversies ranging from his attempt to replace members of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission to his handling of the military situation in Central America.

The White House public liaison office, for example, has placed Morton C. Blackwell, a staffer with close ties to the religious New Right, in charge of its "outreach group on Central America." Black-

well was editor of *The New Right Journal*, now defunct, from 1973-79 and contributing editor of *Conservative Digest* from 1974-81.

On a recent list of 106 organizations briefed by Blackwell's group, about a fourth were religiously oriented. Many of the leaders courted for support of Reagan's Latin American policy were recruited from the grass-roots lobbying coalitions that work with the White House to advance such causes as opposition to abortion and pornography and support for the return of prayer to the public schools and tax breaks for parents who send their children to private schools.

These issues, sometimes referred to as the social agenda, are not the sort of pressing topics upon which national elections are likely to turn. For the most part, they involve perennial debates over whether government can or should legislate morality.

But when combined with Reagan's tough anti-Communist and pro-defense stands—positions applauded by the Catholic right and by Jewish "neoconservatives"—the social agenda becomes part of the glue that Republican strategists hope to use to keep their governing coalition intact.

LOOKING FOR VOTES

In the calculus of White House political operatives, Republicans normally can count on no more than 40 per cent of the national vote. To stay in power for four more years, then, the GOP must pick up 11 per cent of the vote at the margin.

According to A. James Reichley, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, Reagan's 1980 electoral coalition drew marginal votes from three religious blocs "outside the normal constituencies of the Republican Party."

Writing in The Brookings Review, keachley observed: "Catholic conserva-

tives often come from families that followed the usual tendency of urban Catholics to back local Democratic machines. Neoconservative Jews are in many cases converts from decidedly left-wing traditions. Southern Evangelicals, when they voted at all, generally conformed to their region's ancient loyalty to the Democrats."

No one knows precisely how many members of religious groups voted in any election, much less how they voted. Public opinion polls of voters offer an approximation, but results often vary from one survey to the next.

Nonetheless, some noteworthy shifts in religious patterns were observable in 1980. Among Protestants, Reagan showed surprising strength, especially in the South, as he held Carter's share of the vote below 40 per cent. In 1976, Carter, a born-again Baptist, had garnered an unusually high—for a Democrat—46 per cent of the Protestant vote, according to the study.

Among Catholics, Reagan drew an estimated 47 per cent of the vote in the three-candidate 1980 race—5 percentage points higher than President Ford's 1976 showing in a two-way contest. By contrast, Carter fell sharply from 57 per cent of the Catholic vote in 1976 to 46 per cent in 1980.

Among Jews, Carter, who had received an estimated 70 per cent of the vote in 1976, plummeted to less than 50 per cent in 1980. According to an analysis of seven voter polls conducted by Alan M. Fisher of California State University (Dominguez Hills). Reagan got a strong 34 per cent of the Jewish vote, but the biggest beneficiary of Carter's drop was independent candidate John B. Anderson, who netted 17 per cent of the Jewish vote while receiving only 7 per cent of the over-all vote. (See chart, next page.)

In polls by the Gallup Organization



Inc., fully 90 per cent of respondents identify themselves as Protestant (58 per cent), Catholic (30 per cent) or Jewish (2 per cent). The 1983 Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches (Abbington Press, Nashville, Tenn.) reports that about 138 million Americans, or 60 per cent of the population, are members of religions. Of these, 55.2 per cent are Protestant, 37 per cent are Catholic and 4.3 per cent are Jewish.

As the polls demonstrate, none of these groups votes monolithically. The political operatives in the Reagan White House, encouraged by their 1980 success, intend to work their various religious constituencies harder than ever in 1984.

White House strategists see Central America as an ideal issue for whipping up support among the faithful. Public liaison chief Faith Ryan Whittlesey, in a recent interview in The Washington Post, indicated that the White House thought it could win support for its foreign policy by appealing to religious loyalties. Her office has asserted that Nicaragua's leftist leaders have "persecuted Jews, Protestants and Catholics [and] booed and heckled the Pope.'

The President himself is keeping up his personal contacts with conservative religious leaders. Besides White House meetings and prayer breakfasts, Reagan has addressed such organizations as the National Religious Broadcasters and the National Association of Evangelicals.

Speaking to the Evangelicals in Orlando, Fla., last March, Reagan detailed his Administration's efforts to require parental notification

when teen-agers receive birth control assistance from clinics receiving federal aid; his support for constitutional amendments to restore school prayer and to reverse Supreme Court decisions permitting abortion; and his support for federal "infanticide" regulations to bar failure to care for handicapped infants.

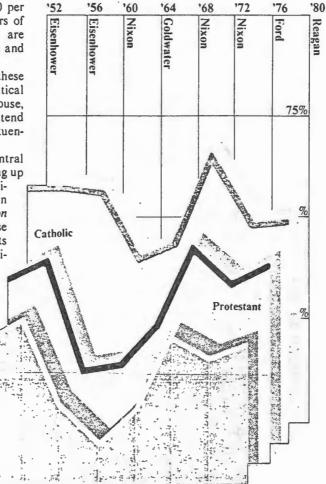
The President also set the record straight with respect to his views about the roles of church and state. "I think the items that we've discussed here today," he told the Evanglicals, "must be a key part of the nation's political agenda."

SHARPENING THE DEBATE

Reagan's lively political interest in conservative church groups does not necessarily signal a rightward shift in religious thought. The clergy, as evidenced by the nuclear freeze movement, is as much in the vanguard of the nation's liberal politics as ever.

The Religion Factor

(estimated Protestant, Catholic and Jewish vote for the Republican presidential candidate)



SOURCE: Gallup Organization Inc. (Protestant and Catholic): Alan M. Fisher (Jewish)

But now, within many of the churches, conservative voices are being raised in disagreement. While many religious leaders can be found denouncing Reagan's policy in Central America, the White House has discovered that there are plenty of church officials ready and willing to lend moral force to the other side of the debate.

Of keen interest to Reagan aides is the work of the Institute on Religion and Democracy, a small, neoconservative think tank that encourages dissent among churchgoers who are uneasy about the liberal views of the leaders of their congregations. The institute has been particularly critical of the National Council of Churches, the ecumenical umbrella for most of the nation's major Protestant and Eastern Orthodox denominations.

Penn Kemble, the institute's Washington spokesman, explained that the group came into being as a result of a backlash

against "the cultural drift of the '70s." Its adherents consist of churchgoers who became tired of condemnations of their country's role in international affairs. "The same tide of public opinion that was exploited by Ronald Reagan in 1980 gave rise to this organization," he said. "It was people seeking to reaffirm the validity of American democratic values.

"Our issue is democracy within the churches. We reject the moral superiority of those who hold influence in the church hierarchies."

Kemble acknowledged that the bipartisan institute has a strong interest in foreign policy that paralleled that of the Administration. "We reject the aid and support to Third World revolutionaries that has flowed from the relief efforts of the National Council of Churches," he

Earlier this year, the institute, which draws the bulk of its support from conservative foundations, made its bite felt in a big way. An article in Reader's Digest and a report on the CBS-TV's 60 Minutes, both based on the institute's research, took the council to task for supporting leftist causes. The CBS segment, filmed at a Meth-

odist church in Logansport, Ind., asserted that the council was using church donations to support "causes that seem closer to the Soviet-Cuban view of the world

than Logansport's."

The church council fought back, defending its policies in general while busily explaining its procedures to troubled members. "Our only bias is toward the gospel of Jesus Christ, not any political system," responded Rev. Randolph Nugent, head of the Methodist Board of Global Ministries. He added, "Jesus Christ and the gospel do have a bias toward the poor."

The Rev. Dean M. Kelley, the council's director for religious and civil liberty, said: "We have 32 members, all of them religious denominations, and none of them has left the fold. As long as they think the council is doing what it ought to be doing and keep paying the bills, we'll continue to do our work.

OUTSPOKEN BISHOPS

The tensions between leadership and laity that spark debate-and provide pools for both liberal and conservative politicians to fish in-are by no means exclusive to the Protestant sects. The Catholic church demonstrated its capacity for controversy this year when its bishops issued a pastoral letter calling for an immediate bilateral halt to the nuclear arms race coupled with deep cuts in the nuclear arsenals of the United States and the Soviet Union.

The pastoral letter, which the Administration unsuccessfully tried to head off or soften, was a central event in the national political debate over arms control. In the end, the bishops issued a plea for "civility and charity." They acknowledged "the range of strongly held opinion in the Catholic community on questions of fact and judgment concerning issues of war and peace. We urge mutual respect among individuals and groups in the Church as this letter is analyzed and discussed."

Blackwell, at the White House, said the bishops' stand on the nuclear freeze was not seen as a setback to the Reagan Administration's political standing with conservative Catholics. "There is a difference of opinion even among the Catholic bishops, not to mention the Catholic laity," he said.

The differences among the bishops, however, were not very great. The final version of the pastoral letter was approved, 238-9. On other issues, as well, the bishops have voiced discomfort with the policies of the Administration.

On July 22, the bishops stated their strong opposition to "any form of U.S. military intervention in Central America." The conference's president, Archbishop John R. Roach of St. Paul and Minneapolis, describing the situation as "critical," reiterated the Catholic leadership's call for "a diplomatic course of action for the United States as a means of addressing the war in El Salvador and a method of reversing the dangerous course of U.S.-Nicaraguan relations."

Roach argued that U.S. policy toward Nicaragua "has the effect of deepening internal crises in the country and escalating the dangers of war in the region." He condemned "a string of U.S. actions reaching from unrelentingly hostile policy rhetoric, through U.S. actions to prevent Nicaragua from obtaining credit and loans in international institutions to funding of covert activities on the Nicaraguan border."

But Reagan's penchant for bellicose confrontation with the Soviet Union and its allies is one of the qualities that helps him attract the votes of conservative

Catholics. "Largely Catholic, the conservatives view themselves as defenders of Christian tradition against the demonian challenge of international Communism," Reichley wrote.

Even on school prayer and tuition tax credits, the Catholic bishops have taken issue with Reagan. Last May, they held that any constitutional amendment addressing the issue of voluntary prayer in the public schools should also include provision for voluntary religious instruction. The school prayer amendment backed by Reagan was dismissed by the bishops as "mainly symbolic" and "not of sufficient value to justify the problems it might create."

Tuition tax credits, long a popular Catholic cause, have been eagerly supported by the bishops, but not without some criticism of the proposal that Reagan backs. Bishop James P. Lyke of Cleveland testified last year that the Administration's legislative proposal should include cash grants for families that pay no federal income tax.

Lyke, a black who grew up in a federal housing project on Chicago's south side, said that his mother had washed church laundry to pay his tuition after withdrawing him from an overcrowded public school and enrolling him in a Catholic

[on abortion] in 10 years." The record of that vote, a conference news release noted, "will be a valuable resource in future debates."

THE JEWISH VOTE

For a group that constitutes such a small proportion of the population, Jews carry surprising weight in the equation of religious-interest politics. "Jews are still concentrated in populous states with large electoral college votes, and their political influence is amplified by their high turnout, their campaign contributions and their other political activity," noted California State University's

Over the years, Jews have traditionally delivered heavy pluralities to Democratic presidential candidates. But in 1980, detecting a strong disillusionment with President Carter among Jews, the Republicans made an unusually strong pitch for the Jewish vote. Many of Reagan's stands on issues involving the separation of church and state were not widely shared in the Jewish community, but his record of consistent support for Israel won him a receptive hearing, especially from the hawkish neoconservatives.

Nathan Perlmutter, national director of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation



White House staffer Morton C. Blackwell has been placed in charge of drumming up support for the President's Central American policies.



Penn Kemble, Washington spokesman for the neoconservative Institute on Religion and Democracy, acknowledges that his bipartisan institute has a strong interest in foreign policy that parallels that of the Reagan Administration.

school. Referring to those who would not stand to benefit from a tax credit, he argued, "These families are the very poor who are in the most need of help.

On at least one issue, Reagan and the Catholic bishops are in lockstep: the effort to reverse the Supreme Court's 1973 decision legalizing abortion under some circumstances. Although a "pro-life" constitutional amendment fell 17 votes short of the required two-thirds majority in the Senate on June 28, the bishops counted it "a distinct step forward" to have forced "the Senate's first clear vote League, whose estimate that Reagan won almost 40 per cent of the Jewish vote in 1980 may be a bit high, said in an interview that the disagreements with Reagan were on matters of lesser priority.

"Most Jewish organizations frown upon prayers in the schools and tuition tax credits," Perlmutter said. "Most Jewish groups that have spoken to the issue are for free choice on abortion. Jews have maintained their constancy of opposition to the blending of church and state. But nonetheless, responsive to other issues, Jewish votes went to a Republican candi-

Pass the Plate on the Way to the Polls

The Rev. Jerry Falwell stresses that his Moral Majority Inc., "made up of millions of Americans, including 72,000 ministers, priests and rabbis," is not a political party and does not endorse political candidates.

Falwell does, however, consider the Moral Majority to be a political organization, and, as such, it has plenty of enthusiastic friends in the White House of Ronald Reagan, who seems quite likely to be a political candidate again in 1984.



Rev. Jerry Falwell

One of those fans is Morton C. Blackwell, a special assistant to the President in charge of maintaining smooth relations with groups such as the Moral Majority. On the eve of a presidential election year, it is not unusual to find the fancy of a White House aide turning to subjects like voter registration.

In a recent conversation, Blackwell spoke admiringly of the voter registration exploits of Falwell, which are widely believed to have reaped great benefit for Reagan in 1980 and are very likely to be employed for the same purpose in 1984. He recalled that late in 1979, Falwell asked everyone in his Thomas Road Baptist Church in Lynchburg, Va., to stand up if they were 18 or older.

"He they told them: "You

"He then told them: 'You are in the House of the Lord, and I expect you to be honest," Blackwell said. "If you are registered to vote at your current address, sit down. If not, remain standing."

"Falwell then had information on where and how to register passed out to the roughly half of his congregation that,

had remained standing. From the pulpit, he said, 'I don't think I should tell you how to vote, but I do think I should tell you that it is your Christian duty to register and vote.' He then warned them that the same exercise would be repeated at the following Sunday's service, and the Sunday after that and the Sunday after that.

"Then he packaged that technique and sent it to thousands of pastors across the country, many of whom employed it in their churches. I have seen estimates that this effort alone resulted in anywhere from two million to five million new voter registrations."

date in numbers not recently matched."

The most striking thing about the Jewish vote in 1980 was not how much of it Reagan won but how little Carter received. "For the first time since 1924, a Democratic candidate for President did not poll 50 per cent of the Jewish vote," Perlmutter said.

In spite of Carter's outspoken support for Soviet dissidents and his engineering of the Camp David accord between Israel and Egypt, his Middle East policies were less popular among Jews than those of any President since Eisenhower, according to Fisher's assessment. Arms sales to Saudi Arabia, overtures to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) by United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young and Billy Carter's graceless relations with Libyan businessmen all contributed to Carter's loss of Jewish support. He still won the Jewish vote. however, amassing 47 per cent to Reagan's 34 per cent.

Having shown sympathy to the Reagan cause in 1980, however, Jewish lobbyists have good entree at the White House today. Often, their interests and those of the Administration coincide.

Perlmutter, for example, met recently with White House chief of staff James A. Baker III to plan strategy for seeking Senate confirmation of three controversial Reagan nominees to the Civil Rights Commission. The commission has been highly critical of the Administration's op-

position to various desegregation remedies, including affirmative action hiring plans that appear to set racial quotas.

Although current affirmative action programs try to assure a fair share of employment opportunity for groups that once suffered from discrimination, many. Jews point out that quota systems have been used in the past to limit opportunities for minorities. All three of Reagan's civil rights nominees share the Administration's aversion to quotas.

However, there is division within the Jewish community on this issue. Some prominent Jews have joined civil rights leaders who are strenuously trying to block the confirmation of Reagan's nominees on the ground that the White House is attempting to assert improper control over an independent commission. The Religious Action Center of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations recently issued a statement opposing Reagan's action, signed by black, Hispanic and Jewish leaders. Among the 30 signers were 13 Jews, four of them rabbis.

This, however, did not deter Perlmutter from adamantly justifying his support of Reagan's position. "I've spent a lifetime fighting racial quotas and fighting racism," he said. "I haven't grown more conservative because I'm fighting racial quotas today. Many of us feel that we are being consistent, that it is the ground under us that has moved to the left."

David A. Brody, the anti-defamation

league's Washington representative, also has been involved in supplying the White House with information about PLO ties to the leftist Sandinist regime in Nicaragua and in airing charges of anti-Semitic actions taken by the Nicaraguan regime.

That information has been seized upon by the White House public liaison office for use in its outreach briefings to explain the basis of the Administration's policy of covert aid to anti-Sandinist rebels. Rabbi Morton M. Rosenthal, Latin affairs director for the league, spoke at a July 20 White House briefing, as did Isaac Stavisky, an exiled member of the Nicaraguan Jewish community.

Reagan also addressed the meeting. and the league issued a press release the next day quoting him as follows: "The results of the self-proclaimed blood unity between the Sandinistas and the PLO are evident for all the world to see and arc an evil echo of history. Virtually the entire Jewish community of Nicaragua has been frightened into exile. Their synagogue, which had its doors scorched by Sandinista supporters in 1978, has since been confiscated.... Please share the truth that Communism in Central America means not only the loss of political freedom but of religious freedom as well."

KEEPING THE FAITH

During his first two years in office, President Reagan came under frequent criticism from the right for not vigorously advancing the social agenda.

Among those content to see such issues as abortion and school prayer remain dormant, there is a feeling that the President's conservative religious followers will be disillusioned. Perlmutter, for example, said, "Politically, it's no secret that for all of the President's supportive rhetoric, there has not been the kind of purposefulness in the pursuit of these ends as one saw on Reaganomics or on the MX missile."

Kelley of the National Council of Churches echoed that sentiment. "President Reagan hasn't really expended a great deal of political capital to advance these causes," he said. "He gives them a certain amount of lip service and makes speeches about them. And, as election time nears, he has to make a somewhat greater effort to convince that constituency that he is really serving their inter-

"But I predicted at the time that he was elected that they would get the same sort of service that the Evangelicals got from Jimmy Carter. They supported him because they thought he was a fervent Evangelical, which I dare say he is, but it didn't produce much in the way of political results, for them or for him.'

The White House's Blackwell, however, insists that Reagan is not repeating the Carter pattern. "All indications show that Carter had a clear margin with the fundamentalist Protestants in 1976," he said, "and he lost them over four years, carrying only one state—Georgia—in the South in 1980."

Blackwell said the Administration would be able to demonstrate progress, if not success, on all of the social issues upon which Reagan campaigned in 1980. The abortion amendment has proceeded to a floor vote in the Senate, and school prayer and tuition tax credits also are expected to come up for Senate votes before the end of the year.

He noted that the White House had been working closely with grass-roots coalitions that support the social agenda and had produced results that have surprised their opponents. Church leaders were brought to Washington for a strategy meeting with Reagan on July 12, two days before the Senate Judiciary Committee was to vote on the school prayer amendments. At that gathering, Reagan consolidated support by accepting a revision barring government-written prayers, supported by the Southern Baptist Con-

"The evening after our meeting," Blackwell recounted, "experts on Capitol Hill were telling us that we would never get the 10 votes necessary to get school prayer out of the 18-member Judiciary Committee. I told them, 'We'll just see."

Over the next 48 hours, "our various networks went to work," Blackwell said. One aspect of that work was the regular broadcast of television evangelist Pat Robertson on the day following the White House meeting, "He gave a little civics lecture on how the legislative process works. He made his position on school prayer very clear, but then he urged his audience, 'Whether you are for it or against it, you should communicate your view to your Senator."

Blackwell said that "hundreds and hundreds of telephone calls came into nearly every office." On July 14, the Judiciary Committee voted, 14-3, to send the President's school prayer amendment and a so-called silent prayer proposal to the floor without recommendation. Blackwell said he considered it "a 90 per cent victory" to simply get the measures to the floor, where each Senator could be required to take a public stand on the issue. Citing a public opinion survey on support for the concept, Blackwell said, "There are not very many Senators who are going to want to go home and tell 84 per cent of the churchgoers in their state that they are against little children having the right to prayer."



Catholic Bishop James P. Lyke says the President's tuition tax credit proposal should include cash grants for families.

If the amendment is approved by the Senate, Blackwell said, the White House will pursue a discharge petition strategy in the House, where school prayer appears to be bottled up in the Judiciary Committee.

Blackwell also said that plans were already in the works to try to bring the tuition tax credit legislation, which has been approved by the Senate Finance Committee, to a floor vote as an amendment to a "suitable House-passed revenue bill." In this way, the White House hopes to get around the Democratic-controlled House's reluctance to initiate action on the measure.

Blackwell also noted that a White House working group had been formed to respond to concerns raised by an "antipornography coalition," largely made up of religious leaders, that met with the President on March 28.

Cal Thomas, vice president for communications for Falwell's Moral Majority Inc., said in an interview that his organization was well satisfied with the White House's legislative efforts.

"We're issue oriented, not candidate oriented," Thomas said, "but obviously Jerry [Falwell] believes that Reagan embodies the issues that are of concern to us. So with that definition, I don't think there is any question but that Falwell is going to be behind the President if he seeks reelection." (See box, p. 1730.)

Reichley notes that the Moral Majority and other elements of the Reagan coalition have been organized with "more political sophistication and less insularity" than previous fundamentalist movements. "The religious New Right," he said, "has taken care to avoid overt racism and has formed alliances with some Catholics, on the abortion issue, and Jews, through support for Israel."

In American politics, religious issues



Nathan Perlmutter, national director of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, says that Reagan did unusually well among Jewish voters in 1980 because Jews' disagreements with Reagan were usually on matters of low priority.

and religious groupings have long been seized upon as convenient ways to identify and woo potential voting blocs. Religious leaders have never hesitated to plunge into the marketplace of political ideas with the goal of advancing their own visions of improving public morality.

But at the same time, most studies and surveys indicate that the majority of American voters, whatever their religious attachments, generally feel free to vote quite independently of the church or political leaders who try to capture their support as members of a bloc or group.



National HONOR and PRAYER Fellowship, Inc. P.O. Box 5805, Clearwater, Florida 33518 • (813) 442-2522



James Madison, one of the framers of the U.S. Constitution, explained the nature of the American republic..."We have staked the whole future of the American civilization not upon the power of government, far from it! We have staked the future of all of our political institutions upon the capacity of each and all of us to govern ourselves, to control ourselves, and to sustain ourselves according to the Ten Commandments of God."

On February 3, 1983 President Ronald W. Reagan proclaimed 1983 as the YEAR OF THE BIBLE signifying the importance of the Bible upon our nation and his administration.

Benjamin Franklin made the statement during the Constitutional Convention of 1787, that "we have not hitherto one thought of humbly applying to the Father of lights to illuminate our understanding. In the beginning of the contest with Great Britain, when we were sensible to danger, we had daily prayers in this room for divine protection. Our prayers, were heard, and they were graciously answered...,do we imagine that we no longer need His assistance? I have lived sir, a long time, and the longer I live, the more convincing proof I see of this truth - that God governs the affairs of men, and if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without His notice, is it probable an empire can rise without his aid?

We have been assured sir, in the sacred writing that except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it. I firmly believe this."

On May 5, 1983 President Ronald W. Reagan proclaimed a National Day of Prayer. It has often been said that "those who pray together stay together." Therefore, we the people of the United States and those of the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate who believe in the principles of truth and the power of prayer do submit a resolution that a room be made available for a chapel in the White House, and:

WHEREAS, Many of the founding fathers of America felt that the principles of truth and the power of prayer were essential to making America great, and;

WHEREAS, The founding fathers of America found it imperative to seek wisdom and guidance from one greater than they, and;

WHEREAS, The founding fathers of America staked the future of the American civilization not upon the power of government, but upon the Word of God and prayer, and;

WHEREAS, Chapel and Chaplains have been used in many places of government such as in the U.S. House, the U.S. Senate, the military, hospitals and many prisons for the past 200 years, and;

WHEREAS, in 1982 the U.S. Congress proclaimed the Bible to be the Word of God, and;

WHEREAS, the U.S. Supreme Court made the decision in July of 1983 to continue the use of chapels and chaplains in government, and;

WHEREAS, On February 3, 1983, President Ronald W. Reagan proclaimed 1983 as the YEAR OF THE BIBLE, and;

WHEREAS, a chapel and chaplain have never been made available to the many White House personnel.

Resolved therefore by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in congress assembled, that the President is authorized and requested to designate a room in the White House as a place for a chapel to be used by all White House personnel and by all incoming administrations and to be furnished by the voluntary contributions of the citizens of the United States.

10/27/23 - MCB I returned the WASHINGTON declare a National Day BEE Mortan Date 10.26 Time 3:22 WHILE YOU WERE OUT M_ TTANA Am TTElay Area Code Number Extension PLEASE CALL TELEPHONED WILL CALL AGAIN CALLED TO SEE YOU WANTS TO SEE YOU URGENT RETURNED YOUR CALL **EFFICIENCY®** Killed in America

LUTHER COLLEGE DECORAH, IOWA 52101

January 26, 1984

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

Dear Mr. Blackwell:

I thank you for taking the time to talk with our group from Luther. Your talk was extremely fascinating from both an institutional and a personal perspective. And it was really exciting to talk with you one day and read about you in the Post the following day. I realize it must have been particularly busy for you at the time of our arrival, and I appreciate your willingness still to meet and talk with us.

I hope that your work with conservatives continues well in the future. I admire your commitment and efforts.

Sincerely,

John Moeller

John Moeller

Wasnit T. Paine a parapheteer?

press corps today.

O'Malleu's testimony of more - and unidentified — KGB agents in the local media casts a cloud on the Washington press corps. Given the recent unmasking of KGB accredited reporter media agents in France, Sweden and North Africa, this can hardly be dismissed with any scorn.

"How delicious must have been for a Red under the bed to deride Joe McCarthy for looking for Reds under the bed."

But O'Malley's testimony casts some degree of suspicion on thousands of U.S. journalists. And Florida's Rep. C.W. (Bill) Young, when asked why he thinks O'Malley won't be specific, replied:

"It may have to do with protecting sources. But I think the FBI may be afraid of the media. The Bureau has taken a lot of lumps.'

Young is a seven-term Republican congressman from St. Petersburg who is a

member of the House Committee on I Intelligence.

Young held a news conference in December to release the Intelligence committee's document Soviet Active Measures, and to introduce to the media, a formerly accredited Russian newsman in Japan, Maj. Stanislav Levchenko of the

Maj. Levchenko is the highest ranking KGB officer involved in "Active Measures" who has ever defected to the West. (Active Measures is an intelligence category which includes all operations intended to effect policy change in a targeted nation.)

Those reporters who did attend this news conference concentrated on asking questions about the nuclear freeze campaign, which, Young kept telling them, began after Levchenko defected.

By striking contrast to the Big U.S. Media decision to make this a non-event in the U.S., the Japanese media were not only fascinated, but they allowed the Japanese public to share their knowledge as well. (Rep. Young, at the Levchenko news conference, kept asking "Don't the American people have a right to know this information?'

The scandal of Soviet spies in the Washington press corps is all the more frustrating because very little effective action can be taken against them if they merely distort the news.

They could be into mild trouble for failing to register as foreign agents. But only if they begin dealing in classified material can they be prosecuted for espionage.

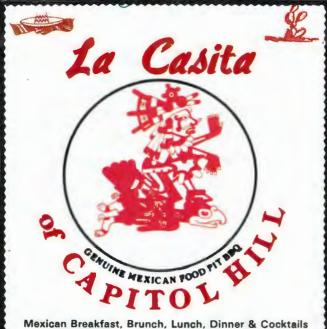
If the FBI invokes the Foreign Agents Registration Act, it can be very embarrassing if the charges prove true and any media organization fails to discharge a Soviet spy in its employ. But the FBI is apparently more inclined to keep them under surveilance and possibly catch them and their control officers, in actual espionage.

This may be appropriate strategy in counterintelligence. But it surely has a frightening effect upon the dissemination of news in the United States — where, as the FBI and CIA know from experience, the media have a wesome power.

Until the top leaders of Big Media are willing to put national security and accuracy ahead of both profit, as well as labor peace with a liberal-dominated press corps, not much is liable to change - until the first major Soviet spy is caught and exposed in their midst.

Until then, the American public should not only take the Big Media with a large grain of salt — but with the realization that America's Fourth Estate salad may often be served with Russian dressing.

- Lester Kinsolving



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Moral Theology

The Wrong Rev. Ronald Reagan

The President has virtually given up going to church — in favor of such astounding ecclesiastical pronouncements as balancing-the-budget-with-the-Ten-Commandments. Who is responsible for this, the "Squeal Rule" and the "Monstrosity Preservation Policy"?



nflation, interest rates and gasoline prices are all down - way down from where they were during the Jimmy Carter Administration.

Housing starts, automobile sales and the stock market have all been going up - on Wall Street, way, way up.

The tragic rate of unemployment is beginning to show its first sign of falling. And unless the House Democratic leadership is successful in its apparent effort to sabotage it, the United States may be on the way to an effective rearmament, in a race where being Number Two means you can try as hard as you want, but have no more hope than Afghanistan.

President Reagan, despite his being savaged each and every day by such Big Liberal Media as the Washington Post, continues to charm nearly everybody who is not an occupational or ideological Reagan-hater.

The American people as a whole surely (and for good cause) trust Reagan more than they do the Big Media. And they like him ever so much more.

With all these things going for him, it may be reasonably asked why in God's name Mr. Reagan persists in his absolutely astounding advocacy of absurd sex ethics and incredible moral theology.

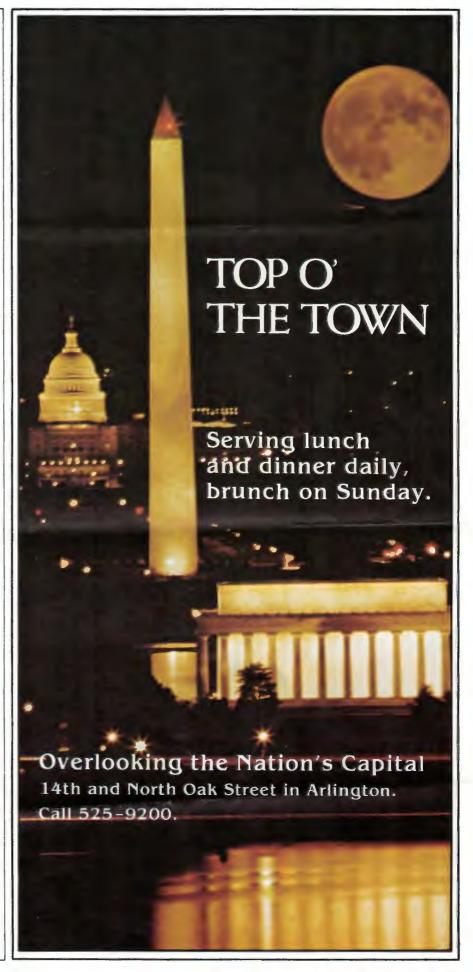
It began early this year, when Mr. Reagan told the National Religious Broadcasters: "Has anyone stopped to consider that we might come closer to balancing the budget, if all of us simply tried to live up to the Ten Commandments and the Golden Rule?"

Aside from whichever White House speechwriter wrote this, we can think of no one at all (in either American history or possibly even Moses) who ever before considered this particular theory of what might be termed ecclesiastical economics.

Certainly Larry Speakes hasn't. For when asked about this during a daily White House news briefing — specifically about how President Reagan is going about trying to live up to the Fourth Commandment — this Presidential spokesman was quite clearly uninformed as to what the Fourth Commandment is.

(Whether Keeping The Sabbath Holy is, in your faith, Saturday or Sunday, Ronald Reagan, who always attended church before he was inaugurated, did not darken a single church door for nearly a year prior to this Easter, when he appeared in church on a surprise visit. And when inquirers about this are told by White Housers that it is due to security considerations, they should ask immediately what security did that Boston allmale bar have, into which Our Leader strode unscheduled in order to hoist a giant stein of beer?)

Two days after promulgating The (Continued on page 41)





Ronald Reagan Balance-The-Budget-With-The-Ten-Commandments Doctrine, he was at it again. At the National Prayer Breakfast, the President proclaimed 1983 "The Year of The Bible."

Highly entertaining reactions can be obtained from skittish spokesmen at the White House, the State Department and the Pentagon — by simply quoting these pious pronouncements from the Commander-In-Chief and asking specifically how these organizations of the Reagan Administration are going to observe "The Year of The Bible.

(Larry Speakes offered to meet me at 7:00 a.m. for Bible reading — but I learned from authoritative sources on his staff that he arrives at 7:30 a.m.)

Hardly hours after "The Year of The Bible," Our Leader appeared before the National Conservative Political Action Conference where he declared that "If the unborn child is a living entity," then it has the right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.'

Being unable to ask the President any questions about this in-utero bill of rights, (and at the last Presidential news conference, being told by Larry Speakes that I was one reporter the President would NOT recognize for any question — an historic first), I sought out and found one of Mr. Reagan's most ardent supporters,

the President of the American Conservative Union, Rep. Mickey Edwards, Republican of Oklahoma.

I asked the affable Edwards how he believes that an embryo, which is attached to the wall of the uterus, goes about "pursuing happiness."

CONGRESSMAN EDWARDS: I don't know. Maybe they have interuterine ping



Also present at this conference was the man who may be responsible for a great deal of all of our President's Holy Balderdash: White House Special Assistant to The President (For Religious Liaison) Morton Blackwell.

Mr. Blackwell was, prior to his Elevation by Presidential Appointment, a very congenial pamphleteer; who published a periodical called The Right Report.

Currently, however, Mort refuses to return phone calls, or to reply to letters, or even to say anything to inquiring reporters when he makes public appearances. This even applies to inquiring clergy.

For under the tutelage of Mort and without benefit of clergy, other than occasional visitors such as Doctors Billy ("I saw no repression in Russia") Graham and Jerry Falwell, the President has been pushing the disastrously embarrassing and judicially flawed teenage contraceptive-use "Squeal Rule."

For the Great Communicator who promised to "get the government off our backs" to now inject government into teen age ovaries is one of the more glorious triumphs of the Far Righteous.

Under this Squeal Rule, all teenagers using prescription contraceptives from any government financed clinic must be reported to their parents.

(Continued on next page)



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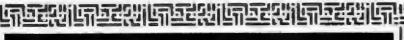
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Since no boys we have ever heard of use any prescription contraceptives such as IUDs, diaphragms, or pills, this is a violation of the 14th Amendment's right to equal protection. On the other hand, since the U.S. Navy's 6,000 17 year-old sailors and Marines can obtain U.S. Government-financed condoms from the Navy's medics, why is Commander-In-Chief Reagan not as concerned about notifying the parents of these young boys?

And what about the newest vistas of parental control? In Alburquerque, for example, they have developed a way to sentence drunk drivers to spend nights at home, rather than going to jail. It is an eletronic ankle bracelet, which activates a central locater downtown if the wearer goes further than 100 yards from his

We are not suggesting that the Reagan Administration will develop an electronic bracelet for another part of the body, in order that parents keep track of sexually active young boys. Even Senator Jeremiah Denton would probably disapprove of that. But what about electronic chastity belts?

On April 23, 1982, then Congressman Margaret Heckler of Massachusetts signed a letter to the Department of Health and Human Services which suggested that the Squeal Rule might result in an unprecendented wave of unplanned parenthood:

"We fear that enactment of such a regulation would discourage many young people from utilizing these services and would result in a dramatic increase in the number of teenage pregnancies.'

Only ten months later, however, this very same Margaret Heckler did what the Boston Herald reported as "An About Face On The Squeal Rule." She put her conscience in cold storage - for an \$80,000. job.

And by an overwhelming majority almost unanimously — the United States Senate approved the nomination of this political chameleon.

One of Secretary Heckler's more awesome reponsibilities will be the controlling of a right-to-life zealot named Everett Koop, who is the Surgeon General.

Dr. Koop, prior to his becoming surgeon general, aquired something of a national reputation as a traveling evangelist of anti-abortion. In this cause he exhibited a film of tombstones for aborted fetuses. But, from reports, he exhibited no such monuments for any of those who perished through being spontaneously miscarried.

Surgeon General Koop is now a bulwark for what might as well be termed The Ronald Reagan Monstrosity Preservation Policy.

Anyone who has ever seen an infant hydrocephalic, or microcephalic, or even more horribly deformed product of birth, can understand why these tragedies are generally known as monstrosities.

I can recall quite vividly seeing a 14 year-old hydrocephalic whose head was six times the size of the rest of his body, and whose entire life had consisted of lying on a bed and gurgling.

A microcephalic has a head that is so tiny as to preclude any sort of functioning brain. And some other products of birth are so horribly deformed that physicians and nurses - out of mercy and a need to spare the mother an extreme trauma do their best to keep such a sight from the mother.

Often doctors have allowed such monstrosities to die, simply by refusing to prolong the existence of such grossly deformed and subhuman creatures.

Fortunately, a Federal Court order has set aside this hospital Squeal Rule, requiring posting in delivery rooms a warning that "Discriminatory failure to feed and care for handicapped infants in this facility is prohibited by Federal law," and along with this,

How about enhancing parental control with electronic chastity belts?

a toll-free number for the convenience of any informers.

The deliberate cultivation of an embryo when there is substantial risk of creating a monstrosity is surely blasphemy in the sight of God. From the standpoint of belief in either the goodness or creativity of the Almighty, cultivation of monstrosities - or their enforced preservation after birth — is the most outrageous misuse of what should be a holy vocation of parenthood. It is a replacement of the obligation to worship God with all one's mind with a blind and fanatic breedolatry.

The Reagan-Koop Monstrosity Preservation Policy is surely the antithesis of most of the marriage laws of the church and state. For these laws strive assiduously to avoid the same genetic horrors which Surgeon General Koop wants to preserve at all cost.

President Reagan, who once signed into law one of the nation's most liberal abortion bills, has changed his mind once on this issue. He might possibly change again.

Possibly he could begin going back to church, regularly, and getting out of the moral clutches of Mr. Blackwell. He might even be inspired to conclude that God gave us both brains and sexual organs in the hope that we would use the former at least at much as we use the latter.

-Lester Kinsolving





Taxation

LYNDA BIRD ROBB

The Governor's Wife and

Should the George Mason University Foundation take on WEEL's operating

"I don't think that amount is any of the public's business" said John Barr, who added:

"I don't think that figure will interest the public one iota."

r. Barr is the president of a corporation whose leading shareholder is Claudia T. Johnson of Stonewall, Texas, Mrs. Johnson owns

30,096 shares, or 24.7 percent of the stock of this corporation. An additional 31,456 shares, or 42% more, are owned by Mrs. Johnson's two daughters, Lynda and Luci.

Such information might, as Mr. Barr claims, not be of interest to the public except for certain facts:

* Claudia T. Johnson is much better known to the world as "Lady Bird," widow of a President of the United States

- and her 30,000 shares are worth \$1,504,800.

* Her daughter is much better known to the world as Lynda Bird Robb, the First Lady of the State of Virginia — and her 25,000 shares are worth \$1,286,400.

* Mr. Barr is President of the LBJ Co. of Austin. And in order to try to avoid a \$912,000 loss, the LBJ Co., has recently decided to donate one of its properties,

Since capitalism is nothing but the economic dimension of liberty, its survival requires that the citizens understand, cherish and abide by the principles of liberty. We believe those principles include:

- ~ Personal integrity
- ~ Lawfulness
- ~ Economic self-reliance
- ~ Respect for property
- A decent regard for one's neighbor
- ~ A commitment to the sanctity of the family

When any of these principles is widely disregarded, the free society is eroded and the viability of capitalism diminished. Persuasion At Work reports on statements and events judged to be destructive of those principles and thus a threat to both liberty and capitalism.

Persuasion At Work

Vol. V, No. 2

February 1982

SECULAR HUMANISM: RIGHT-WING BOGEYMAN, OR THREAT TO HUMAN PROGRESS?

Readers of this newsletter are familiar with our effort to alert the business community to the activities of organizations and publications which operate outside the usual notice of business leaders, but which nevertheless have a profound influence on productivity and profitability. This month, we present a broadly focused essay by Allan Carlson offering essential background for understanding the extensive religious ferment, on both the right and left, that has been given sharp new visibility by the Moral Majority's day in the sun. As we observed earlier (Persuasion At Work, September 1981), this "religionization of politics" may well determine the agenda of public issues for the 1980's. Next month, we will be reporting on several new organizations and publications that bring fresh intellectual vitality and theological support to traditional American economic, political and cultural values.

John A. Howard, President

Over the past few years, the "secular humanism" controversy has become thoroughly muddled in a linguistic and historical swamp. Numerous conservatives, particularly the so-called New Right, have attributed rapidly growing levels of crime, drug abuse, sexual promiscuity, pornography and other indices of social decay to the spread of secular

humanism. The rhetoric is usually strong. "Humanism is satanic in origin," one commentator states. "The blood of the martyrs in the twentieth century has been shed in the struggle against the forces of humanistic systems and ideologies," declares another.1 Conspiracy theories also abound. One minister has suggested that 275,000 humanists "have infiltrated [the United States] until every department of our country is controlled by the humanists."2 The signers of Secular Humanist Manifestoes I and II are frequently cited as the militant core of this campaign. Author Claire Chambers has suggested that the Sex Information and Education Council of the United States (SIECUS), founded in 1964, represents an organized humanistic "conspiracy against Christianity and Civilization" that goes even deeper than the threat of communism.3

In dismissing such charges, the liberal media has recently developed a twofold response. On the one hand, they suggest that the whole controversy is much ado about nothing. According to Charles Krauthammer in *The New Republic*, the Right's focus on humanism suggests a "paranoia," a "potentially dangerous" reaction to a broadly caused and apparently irreversible "decline in religious values." The principal organization of avowed secular humanists in the United States, the American Humanist Association, is described as a small band of semicranks who have wandered into "the same

political wilderness as the militant vegetarians and agrarian anarchists." Their magazine, the Humanist, "shares the same intellectual marginality," according to Krauthammer, while the 1973 Humanist Manifesto II is dismissed as "the creed one might expect of a socially conscious, passionately naive microbiology major." Newsweek magazine describes the "secular humanist" hullabaloo as a classic case of "the paranoid style in American politics," where fundamentalists "seem to have created a conspiracy where none actually exists."

On the other hand, the same sources tend to argue that Western "secularism" has in fact been the source of human progress, with religious intolerance its primary opponent. For example, Newsweek equates secular humanism with "the root values of Western culture and the tradition of Christian humanism that lies at its core," while the religious fundamentalists are cast as "rejecting the entire Western tradition."

Behind all this rhetorical smoke, what is the controversy actually about? Is it merely cranks battling cranks? Or are more profound principles involved? Is there a conspiracy? What relevance does the clash hold for the economic and cultural environment affecting the American business community?

A Fundamental Clash

Let's first get our terms straight. In a pure sense, the current "secular humanism" imbroglio is only the most recent expression of a fundamental philosophical chasm that has marked Western civilization for over 500 years. Simply put, our civilization has harbored two distinct views of humankind and the universe which are incapable of reconciliation.

On the one hand, there are the believers in revealed religion. For them, a transcendent God has repeatedly stepped into human history. Fundamental law and moral standards are seen as God-given, eternal and unchanging. History, it is true, suggests varying interpretations and sometimes bloody differences among believers over what messages have in fact been sent from God. Yet there has been a consistent agreement that all human activities are ultimately subject to judgment by the Supreme Being. In addition, those who hold to this world view understand human nature to be corrupt and sinful, a concept that Christians label "original sin." Evil is understood to reside to some degree within every human being. Left alone, men and women will destroy themselves.

On the other hand, there are the partisans of what we now call secular humanism. For these persons, God may or may not exist. In either case, He has been irrelevant to the human condition. As a result, law and moral standards are seen as human creations, responsive to tradition, social change and contemporary needs. The advocates of this world view place their faith in science, human reason and human intervention as the source of solutions to all social problems. They understand human nature to be either neutral — "a blank slate" — or essentially good, while their equivalent of "evil" is understood to be the result of improper social and institutional relationships. On a bolder note, many humanists argue that man can strive for perfection.

In one sense, this conflict is as old as revealed religion itself. Turning to the book of Genesis, we find the serpent tempting Eve with the forbidden fruit, stating that "God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil." This understanding of the "fallen nature" of man contrasts obedience to God's command with humankind's striving to be equal to — and independent of — God, thereby casting Eve as the first secular humanist.

More directly, the intellectual history of Western civilization can be understood as the shifting focus of conflict between these two world views. Western Christian civilization, which emerged above the ruins of the Greco-Roman world, rested on a God-centered theological structure first systematized by Saint Augustine in the fifth century, A.D., and brought to fruition in the work of Thomas Aguinas and Dante Alighieri eight centuries later. What historians call the Renaissance, however, represented "essentially a new birth of secularism."7 Starting in the 1300's, it embodied a revived study of the pre-Christian Greek and Roman texts and a concentration on the material world, nature, the exaltation of human life and the efficacy of human reason. When the Church itself began to internalize this man-centered, mildly secularized intellectual movement, it was the reformers - Luther and Calvin who demanded a rejection of "that clever harlot," human reason, and a return to a life focused on the Word of God and exhibiting faithfulness to His revealed will. The so-called Counter Reformation -Roman Catholicism's attempt to blunt the Protestant rebellion - also represented an effort to purge humanistic tendencies within the Church and return it to God's revealed truth. Finally, in the eighteenth century, the intellectual movement known as the

Enlightenment reasserted the humanistic world view in an increasingly secularized and successful fashion. It was joined by the triumph of the scientific method, which seemed to limit "truth" to those matters that could be proven through impartial, natural evidence.

In this century, the conflict between "revealed religion" and "secular humanism" has also involved the most profound thinkers of our age. In his 1957 essay, Why I Am Not a Christian, philosopher Bertrand Russell declared "all the great religions of the world . . . both untrue and harmful" and charged that faith in revealed truth left young minds "stunted" and "filled with fanatical hostility." Biologist Julian Huxley, in a wartime address to the British nation. termed scientific humanism "a spur to effort by reminding man that he is now the sole trustee for any further progress to be made by life." John Dewey, whose influence on American philosophy and educational theory has been almost incalculable, rejected revealed religion out of hand, arguing instead that "There is but one sure road of access to truth — the road of patient, cooperative [scientific] inquiry operating by means of observation, experiment, record and controlled reflection." In place of religious doctrine, he advocated a common humanistic faith involving allegiance to "ideal ends" which "the human will" considered "worthy of controlling our desires and choices."10

One finds equally extraordinary people on the other side of this century's debate. Poet T. S. Eliot saw the Western world facing a choice between the formation of a new Christian culture or the acceptance of a pagan one. And it was adherence to revealed truth, he insisted, which differentiated the former from the latter. "[1]t is only by returning to the eternal source of truth," Eliot wrote, "that we can hope for any social organisation which will not, to its ultimate destruction, ignore some essential aspect of reality."11 Alexandr Solzhenitsyn, in his 1978 address at Harvard University, made a similar point. "The humanistic way of thinking" did not admit the intrinsic evil in man, he asserted. The Renaissance, while historically "inevitable," had started Western civilization on "the dangerous trend of worshipping man and his material needs." When the United States was founded, he noted, freedom was still "given to the individual conditionally, in the assumption of his constant religious responsibility." Yet such limitations had eroded with the spread of "an autonomous, irreligious humanistic consciousness." As a result, "a total emancipation occurred from the moral heritage of Christian centuries with

their great reserves of mercy and sacrifice." Only recovery of the concept of "a Supreme Complete Entity" and "the voluntary nurturing in ourselves of freely accepted and serene self-restraint," Solzhenit-syn concluded, could redeem humankind from the twentieth century's moral poverty.¹²

It seems fair to conclude that the "secularhumanism" controversy involves more than cranks battling cranks.

American Culture in Transition

Until some time in the early twentieth century, the United States could still be fairly labeled a Judeo-Christian nation. A primary purpose of our educational system, for example, remained the training of young people in a God-given set of values designed to guide human behavior towards enriching and spiritually fulfilling ends. Laws governing marriage and the family in virtually every state presumed the Judeo-Christian ideal of a monogamous heterosexual union, involving a lifetime marital commitment, procreation as an essential element in the relationship, and a sex-determined division of labor within the family.¹³

Such examples could be multiplied a hundredfold. Indeed, the tensions and strains generated by recent efforts to transform an American cultural structure resting on Judeo-Christian principles into a structure resting on the humanistic world view undergird the most emotional public debates of our time. These range from disagreements over which philosophy should govern public education to the abortion controversy, from disagreements on how to combat crime to the debate over vouchers for religious schools. In every case, such controversies can be logically reduced to unbridgeable differences about the nature of man, the source of truth, the existence of evil and the reality of God. Put simply, the "secular humanism" debate — the conflict between belief and unbelief — retains the labels given it by the early nineteenth-century German poet, Goethe, as "the real, the deepest, the sole theme of the world and of history to which all other themes are subordinate."

Some recent commentators, it is true, have tended to oversimplify both the issues involved and the identities of the contemporary protagonists. For example, there is (in this author's judgment) no "humanist conspiracy" to take over the nation, in the accepted meaning of that phrase. The reality is that self-declared secular humanists — ranging from the

early American disciples of Karl Marx, Charles Darwin and Sigmund Freud to such diverse twentiethcentury figures as John Dewey, sex educator Mary Calderone, psychologist Carl Rogers, economist Gunnar Myrdal, feminist Betty Friedan and psychologist B. F. Skinner — have successfully managed through the free competition of ideas to win dominance over most of this nation's intellectual centers and have largely reshaped the American public education system and numerous other cultural structures in line with their world view. For the most part, it has been a fair fight. Many "mainline" Christian and Jewish apologists, their own faith worn thin and their intellectual traditions largely exhausted, succumbed with little more than a whimper. Elsewhere, the humanists secured this fundamental reorientation through arguments appealing more effectively to human pride and intellect than those of their remaining opponents. In a free society, the situation can be reversed only through a similar process of intellectual and spiritual conversion.

Should Business Care?

What relevance does this intricate, divisive, even explosive, debate hold for American business? In a word: enormous.

First, secular humanism manifests an intrinsic tendency toward socialism and anticapitalism. This linkage is not another "right-wing fantasy," but rather a truth that flows from the basic assumptions behind the humanistic world view. No less a personage than John Dewey frankly states that both religion and economic laissez faire reflect "a common tendency," namely the denial "of the possibility of radical intervention of [human] intelligence in the conduct of human life."14 Christian belief in the existence of evil and in the direct accountability of each individual for his own actions before God corresponds with capitalism's insistence on strong limits to coercive state manipulation of society and its demand for personal responsibility. This stands in contrast to the humanist's belief that imperfect social conditions cause personal misconduct and that society as a whole is ultimately accountable for individual failures. Such views easily translate into the need for massive government social engineering guided by human reason to set things right. As Dewey puts it, faith in the supernatural "stands in the way of using the means that are in our power to make radical changes" in social relations. [Emphasis added.] He insists that a choice must be made

between "a continued and even more systematic laissez faire depreciation of [human] intelligence" by Christianity and "conscious and organized effort" to turn human knowledge toward "larger human purposes," the unvarying socialist goal.¹⁵

Solzhenitsyn makes essentially the same point, finding a common foundation underlying both socialism and "eroded humanism"; namely boundless materialism, freedom from religion and religious responsibility and concentration on social structures through an allegedly scientific approach. He adds that "the current of materialism which is farthest to the left, and is hence the most consistent, always proves to be the stronger, more attractive, and victorious." For this reason, Solzhenitsyn concludes, Western secular humanism must ultimately succumb to its communistic philosophical cousin. 16

Second, secular humanism has proven to have no effective defense against nihilism and amorality. At their best, the basic secular-humanist texts offer an attractive and ennobling vision of human potential. And it is undeniable that many strong and courageous individuals have sacrificed their energy and lives to advance that vision in concrete ways. Yet it is increasingly clear that a free society composed of millions of individuals cannot exist without a strong basis of commonly held values and that secular humanism is incapable of providing that basis. Dewey the humanist had faith that there was "at least enough impulse toward justice, kindliness, and order" among mankind that when these sentiments were mobilized to action, "disorder, cruelty, and oppression" could be reduced.17 Yet an aging Charles Darwin came to understand better the fragility of his secular faith. "A man who has no . . . belief in the existence of a personal God or a future existence with retribution and rewards," he wrote in his Autobiography, "can have for his rule of life . . . only to follow those impulses and instincts which are the strongest or which seem to him the best ones." Under such a rubric, human interaction is quickly reduced to the law of the jungle, as we have witnessed in the horrors of the Jewish Holocaust, the Stalinist purges and Cambodia's self-inflicted genocide. As the Russian novelist Dostoyevsky once put it, "If there is no God, everything is permitted."

So long as the vast majority of Americans still accepted the heritage of God-ordained differences between good and evil, our society could endure both the evildoers on its margins and the intellectuals who argued that distinctions between good and evil

were mere cultural choices. Today, the secularist creed has spread to the point where tens of millions believe themselves — or any other person or social collective — incompetent to make value judgments, demanding only that they be left free to choose their own value system. Individual morality has been correspondingly reduced to a matter of therapy, or the alleviation of personal guilt. In consequence, our increasingly relativized society is left unarmed against the brutality of undisciplined and destructive conduct. In such an environment, capitalism — with its roots in private property, lawfulness and self-restraint — simply cannot survive.

Third, continued scientific and technological progress may necessitate a return to Judeo-Christian truth. A conviction held by all confirmed secularists is that it was their predecessors who led the battle for scientific knowledge and progress in the Western world against the superstitions and irrationality of the Christian world view. Conversely, they argue that a resurgence of religious values would again bring science to its knees.

In fact, the exact opposites appear to be true. In his remarkable book, The Road of Science and the Ways to God, scientist and theologian Stanley Jaki forcefully argues that the triumph of science in the Western world occurred because and only because Christian theism — the concept of a personal, rational, provident Creator God who ordered a unified and singular universe on understandable principles — allowed Western scientists to avoid the "blind alleys" that had cut short scientific inquiry in ancient Greece, India, China and the Islamic world. Jaki insists that all great creative advances in science, from Copernicus to Newton to Einstein, have been made within "a cultural matrix" assuming this Creator God and using a methodology closely related to the medieval search for the "proofs" of Divine existence in the natural world.18

At the same time, Judeo-Christian ethics provided the necessary brake on the inevitable excesses of the scientific method. Science itself can claim no inborn source of ethics. And science unrestrained is

capable of any outrage. Reflecting on these two propositions, seventeenth-century scientist Francis Bacon voiced the hope that the West's new knowledge would be "governed by sound reason and true religion." The aging nineteenth-century secularist, Herbert Spencer, finally acknowledged in his Autobiography that "a cult of some sort . . . is a constituent in every society which has made any progress," suggesting that "the control exercised over man's conduct by theological beliefs and priestly agency" was indispensable. In 1937 the president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Edward Conklin, admitted that "as in former centuries, it is left largely to religious bodies to defend freedom of thought and conscience while great scientific organizations stand mute."19

In sum, Judeo-Christian truth appears to have both generated and restrained modern science, thereby laying the foundation for all subsequent material and technological progress. In an age when science has placed both the means of mass annihilation and the very secrets of life in the hands of man, the restraining influence of revealed truth seems to be needed more than ever.

Capitalism and Western Religion

Overall, it is clear that the relationship between Western religion and democratic capitalism is far more complex than most contemporary theologians or economists would admit. Rather than mutually independent or antagonistic developments, Judeo-Christian mores and capitalism have proven to be history's most effective cultural-economic duality for improving humankind's social and material circumstances. Both parts of this symbiosis have been weakened or adulterated through relentless attacks by their ideological opponents, oftentimes involving those who profess allegiance to the other half of the duality. Yet since the two social forces serve best when in tandem, each would appear to have a critical stake in the revitalization of the other.

-Allan Carlson

Footnotes

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³Claire Chambers, *The SIECUS Circle: A Humanist Revolution* (Belmont, Massachusetts: Western Islands, 1977), pp. 138-39.

⁴Krauthammer, "The Humanist Phantom," pp. 23-25. ⁵"The Right's New Bogyman," Newsweek, 6 July 1981, p. 48.

*Ibid., p. 50.

⁷From: John Dewey, *A Common Faith* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1934), p. 64.

*Bertrand Russell, Why I Am Not a Christian, edited by Paul Edwards (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1957), pp. v-vii.

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1960), p. 202.

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11T. S. Eliot, "The Idea of a Christian Society," in *Christianity and Culture* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, & World, 1949), pp. 10, 47, 50.

¹²Ronald Berman, editor, Solzhenitsyn at Harvard (Washington, D.C.: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1980), pp. 3-20.

¹³See: Lenore J. Weitzman, "Legal Regulation of Marriage: Tradition and Change," *California Law Review* 62 (October 1974), pp. 1164-1277.

¹⁴Dewey, A Common Faith, p. 78.

15 Ibid, pp. 80, 82.

16 Solzhenitsyn At Harvard, p. 18.

¹⁷Dewey, A Common Faith, p. 47.

¹⁸Stanley L. Jaki, *The Road of Science and the Ways to God* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1978), pp. 11, 34-46, 321-27.

¹⁹Quotes found in Jaki, op. cit., pp. 300, 306-07.

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GREATER CLEARWAYER CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

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Clearwater Mall Office: Intersection U.S. 19 and Highway 60



December 27, 1979

STATEMENT OF POSITION

The Board of Governors of the Greater Clearwater Chamber of Commerce, having as one of its objectives to discover and correct abuses which prevent the promotion of business, professional expansion and community growth, feel that the presence of the Church of Scientology in the City of Clearwater is harmful to the overall image of our city, and that its past performance locally and nationally is cause for investigations by grand juries, congress and other appropriate agencies.

We take this stand, recognizing that this organization moved into Clearwater under false pretenses and has been the center of turmoil in Clearwater for the past four and one-half years. The organization's own documents on file in U.S. District Court in Washington show:

- --that the organization's move to Clearwater under the banner of United Churches of Florida was designed to conceal the true identity of the organization, to continue the organization's ongoing objective to avoid the payment of taxes, and the objective was to "take control" of the City
- --Nine members of the organization, including the wife of the founder, have been convicted of criminal actions and sentenced to prison terms. Members of the organization carried out numerous covert operations against governmental agencies, and indicated plans to destroy personal and professional reputations of local citizens
- --Scientologists, representing the group's security office, infiltrated local governmental agencies, businesses, news media and the Chamber itself. The apparent purpose of these acts was to gather information and steal documents that could aid in the group's attempt to control Clearwater



Greater Clearwater Chamber of Commerce Statement of Position Page Two

--Scientologists attempted to interfere with the free election process by viciously slandering the former Mayor of Clearwater and plotted to destroy the reputations of other community leaders

Therefore, we, the Board of Governors of the Greater Clearwater Chamber of Commerce, have determined that, because of the recent indictments of church leaders and the large amount of national publicity caused by their actions, this group is hindering further business, professional and community growth, and we appeal for appropriate investigative action and prosecution by all law enforcement bodies.

We recognize the right of any organization to live and co-exist in our community, as long as that organization is law abiding. Documents released by the Federal court in Washington show that the Scientologists are not law abiding. Because of this and because of Scientologists' announced effort to "take control" of our city, we believe they should not be welcome to remain here.

It is our hope that the people of the City of Clearwater understand that our policy statement is not intended to incite violence or to deprive any individual of his civil rights. We urge the individuals within our community to remain peaceful and to support appropriate governmental agencies acting on our behalf.

GREATER CLEARWATER CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

BY:

ohn E. Ricketson, President

THE DANGER OF SCIENTOLOGY

A true story of a victim of Scientology

BY TERRY PRUEHER

BEFORE SCIENTOLOGY

Before I joined Scientology I was a healthy, happy, normal human being trying to succeed.

In June, 1962, I graduated from Marquette University as a Mechanical Engineer. At Marquette I won an athletic scholarship and three letter awards for wrestling. In September, 1962, I began working toward an MBA Degree at Marquette night school.

In June, 1962, I began work as a Production Engineer at the Delco Electronics Division of General Motors. During my five years of employment there, I received seven raises and survived seven layoffs. I liked the company and I believe the company liked me.

INTRODUCTION TO SCIENTOLOGY

In August, 1966, I was introduced to Scientology by my best friend at work, Leo Barrett. He told me many things about Scientology that were untrue, but I didn't find out until twelve years later. At the time he was my best friend and I had no reason to doubt him.

He told me that L. Ron Hubbard, the founder of Scientology, was a Nuclear Engineer with a Ph.D degree. He said that Hubbard was a Navy hero during World War II and claimed that the popular movie, "Mister Roberts" was actually a story about L. Ron Hubbard's adventures in the U.S. Navy. He also said that Hubbard was an extensively decorated commander during World War II. According to Leo, Hubbard was wounded and twice pronounced dead during World War II, but fully recovered through the use of Scientology techniques to end up with a perfect score on Navy mental and physical examinations. Leo also said that Hubbard had an audience with the Pope of the Roman Catholic Church who strongly approved of Scientology.

Since Leo made L. Ron Hubbard sound so terrific, I decided to buy and read two Scientology books, <u>Dianetics--The Modern Science of Mental Health</u>, and <u>Science of Survival</u>. The preface to the Dianetics book was written by an MD, Dr. Winter, who strongly endorsed Scientology. I was really impressed by the books because they promised better mental and physical health, increased IQ, quicker reaction time, more ability and success in

life, and better human relations. I was led to believe that Scientology was a new branch of psychology. I did not know it was a religion until 1968.

It was from these books that I learned about the state of "Clear", which was the goal of Scientology. In the books, L. Ron Hubbard claimed that anyone who reached the state of Clear through Scientology training and processing would have the following qualities: He would be completely free of psychosomatic illnesses, neuroses, psychoses, repressions, compulsions, and delusions. He would have increased intelligence and reaction time. He would know his basic purpose in life and would be very happy realizing it. A Clear is a completely self-realized person. This all sounded terrific to me!

In September 1966, Leo Barrett introduced me to Maurice Lerud, a Scientology Auditor from Chicago, Illinois. Maurice told me about a new Scientology term, "Suppressive Person". Scientology claims that a Suppressive Person is a merchant of chaos and fear like Adolph Hitler. They are so covert that they influence the subconscious mind of their victims without being discovered. After Maurice described a Suppressive Person, I was filled with fear and suspicion.

Later, Leo Barrett and Maurice Lerud convinced me that my boss at work, Jim Dammen, was really a Suppressive Person. It is very easy to blame all your troubles and bad feelings on another person, and it does give you emotional relief even though it may not be true in reality. Maurice checked this out on the E-Meter, which is something like a lie detector. Scientology claims that the E-Meter is almost infallible. The E-Meter check verified that Jim Dammen was suppressive to me. I couldn't figure this out because my boss at work had been good to me. However, I did feel better when they convinced me that he was the cause of my troubles.

In October 1966, I paid for and was processed on Scientology Grades 0-IV by Maurice Lerud. I felt much better after this processing until I went back to work. Then my Scientology implanted fear of Jim Dammen, my boss, made me feel worse.

In December 1966, I quit my job at Delco Electronics and flew to Washington, D.C. for more training and processing at the Scientology organization there. My reasons for quitting were: my fear of Jim Dammen, the fact that Leo Barrett quit and went to Washington, D.C., and the fact that Leo and Maurice told me I could

supplement my income and make thousands of dollars a month if I learned to be a Scientology Auditor. They also said I would triple my income.

HOMOSEXUAL CLEARS

After a year of expensive training in Scientology, I had to work for them as an Auditor for about \$25.00 per week because I was no longer able to hold down an engineering job for any length of time. This was mainly due to the Scientology implanted fear that my boss was a Suppressive Person.

In November 1968, I went to Detroit, Michigan to work for the Scientology Organization as an Auditor. While I was looking for an apartment, Bill Long, one of the chief executives and also a Clear in Scientology said that I could stay in his quarters above the Church of Scientology until I found a place of my own.

I trusted and admired Bill Long because he was an executive and had achieved the state of Clear in Scientology. One night while I was staying with him, I found out he was a homosexual. This really shocked and surprised me. He tried to seduce me. When I refused, he said that everyone was a homosexual in their past lives. I did not agree. When he tried to attack me, I pushed him away and went elsewhere for the night.

I reported this to the Scientology Ethics Officer, but nothing was ever done about it.

Later, in Detroit, another Clear, Alex Soroka, told me that John McMaster, the world's first Clear who had just made a world-wide speaking tour for Scientology, turned out to be a homosexual. He said when L. Ron Hubbard found out about it, he kicked him out of Scientology for good.

I began to strongly doubt that the state of Clear was everything that Hubbard said it was. Two of the earliest Clears turned out to be homosexuals. Hubbard claimed that homosexuals are severely mentally ill. Hubbard also claims that it is impossible for a Clear to be mentally ill. This is a real contradiction.

UNKEPT PROMISES

In March 1969, Fred Fairchild, Executive Director of the Detroit Church of Scientology, made the following promise to the Auditors there. He said that any Auditor who processed one person that payed the Church of Scientology on the new Triple Grade processes would receive the Triple Grades himself as payment. The value of the Triple Grade process was over \$1,000.00.

In April 1969, I processed three paying persons through the Triple Grades as an Auditor. I did more than my share to keep my part of the agreement. However, Fred Fairchild never kept his part of the agreement that he promised. He still owes me over \$1,000 of Scientology processing.

Marge Boling did start to process me on the Triple Grades. However, under the direction of Fred Fairchild, she stopped my processing in the middle of a moment of heavy emotional loss. This was supposed to be against the policy of Scientology. When I stood up for my rights to the Ethics Officer of Scientology about this matter, he declared me a Suppressive Person.

EXPULSION FROM SCIENTOLOGY

In November 1973, I was informed by the Ethics Officer that I was declared a Suppressive Person and he gave me a Writ of Expulsion which formally kicked me out of the Church of Scientology.

I was also presented with a "Freeloader Bill" for \$1,000 for the training and processing I received when I worked for the Church of Scientology in Detroit, Michigan. Since I was promised these services free as payment for my work at the Church of Scientology in Detroit, Michigan, I did not pay the bill.

The Ethics Officer told me that I must make amends for my overts (sins) against the Church of Scientology. He demanded a written confession. I felt this could be used for blackmail purposes. When I only wrote 20 overts, the Ethics Officer demanded at least 300 overts in my confession. So I went back to my apartment and wrote 300 overts from my alleged past lives. I was forced to make up overts like, "blowing up a planet" and "destroying a civilization". The Ethics Officer accepted this. I believe that this is a form of mental torture and brainwashing used by Scientology Ethics.

The Ethics Officer told me that to get back into Scientology I had to do four more things: (1) Pay the \$1,000 "Freeloader Bill", (2) Complete a retraining program in Scientology at my own expense, (3) Have the Church parking lot paved at my own expense, and (4) Have the Church building painted at my own expense. Since I believed this was extortion (making a threat for money), I did not agree to do these things.

Then I tried to appeal my case to L. Ron Hubbard. There is a mail box in every Church of Scientology with a sign that says, "You can always write to Ron". However, after I dropped my appeal to Ron in the mailbox, it was returned to me by Scientology with the statement, "Suppressive Persons cannot write to Ron". This was a real contradiction. I believe that Scientology is guilty of mail tampering.

The Scientology policy on Suppressive Persons states that they are "Fair Game". They may be deprived of property by any means by any Scientologist without any discipline of the Scientologist. They may be tricked, sued, or lied to, or destroyed. L. Ron Hubbard, the source of this policy, must believe he has a right to kill, steal and lie in the name of Scientology. This made me sick. I feared for my life and property.

AFTER SCIENTOLOGY

Shortly after I saw the Scientology Ethics Officer for the last time, I was robbed of about \$3,000 of my personal possessions. I have reason to believe that some of the robbers were Scientologists in view of the "Fair Game" policy they have.

In May 1974, my boss at work told me that he found out someone had a contract on my life...they had paid \$5,000 to have me killed. At first I thought he was joking, but he repeatedly said he was not joking. Then I remembered the "Fair Game" policy. I have no way of proving it, but I really believe that Scientology was behind this.

In June 1974, I quit my job and had a nervous breakdown. I went to the hospital in St. Petersburg, Florida for two weeks. In a way, Scientology nearly destroyed me. Because of Scientology, I lost my Engineering profession, \$3,000 worth of my person property, the girl that I wanted to marry, at least \$200,000 in lost wages, and finally, my mental health.

The recovery from my mental illness was a long, slow, painful process. In October 1979, I began three years of psychotherapy with Clinical Psychologist, Charles Geeslin, in Clearwater, Florida. This really helped because I have now completely recovered. Presently I am going to the University of South Florida working toward a Masters Degree in Management and a Professional Mechanical Engineer's license. I am an "A" student. I am also writing a book called The Danger of Scientology that will be on the market next summer.

In January 1980, I tried to file a \$2 million lawsuit against Scientology. However, my lawyer said that although I had good grounds for a lawsuit, the four-year statute of limitations had run out. I was just not able to put my case together before than because of my mental illness.

THE TRUTH ABOUT L. RON HUBBARD

Scientologists claim that L. Ron Hubbard was an Engineer is false. According to the <u>St. Petersburg Times</u>, L. Ron Hubbard flunked out of Nuclear Engineering at George Washington University and never received a degree in it.

Scientologists claim that L. Ron Hubbard was a Navy hero during World War II is false. According to the St. Petersburg Times, U.S. Navy records show that Hubbard was never wounded or extensively decorated. He was, however, a Lieutenant in the Navy.

Scientologists claim that Hubbard was twice pronounced dead and recovered through the use of Scientology principles to the point where he received perfect scores on mental and physical tests is false. According to the St. Petersburg Times, shortly after Hubbard was discharged from the Navy, he wrote to the Veterans Administration seeking psychiatric help. In divorce proceedings, he ex-wife claimed that he was a Paranoid Schizophrenic.

I believe that L. Ron Hubbard is a Paranoid Schizophrenic who sells his delusions of persecution and granduer to over five million Scientologists around the world. What he says may be emotionally true, but not true in reality. According to Dr. Winter, M.D., who wrote the preface to Hubbard's Dianetics book, Scientology leads to psychosis.

The moral of this story is: Don't waste your time and money on Scientology unless you are a masochist!



Family Policy Insights

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TAX-EXEMPTION FOR PRIVATE SCHOOLS

I. HISTORY

In 1970, the Internal Revenue Service instituted a policy of denying tax-exempt status to schools which practice racial discrimination. Presently there are over 100 schools which are denied tax exemption because of racial discrimination. The IRS policy was upheld in 1981 by a federal appeals court in Richmond, Virginia in the case of Bob Jones University and Goldsborough Christian Schools, Inc. The IRS based its policy on a particular understanding of the "congressional purpose" of the federal tax exemptions. That purpose, the IRS held, is to aid or reward non-profit institutions which further some "fundamental national policy" or public good.

On January 8, 1982, the Department of the Treasury announced that it would no longer deny tax exemption to schools which practice racial discrimination, because, in fact, the Treasury and the IRS do not have the authority to deny tax-exemptions on that basis. Deputy Treasury Secretary R.T. McNamar, stated that "before the government gets into the business of deciding which organizations are worthy of tax exemptions and which are not, we want Congress to fully consider the implications of such a course." McNamar explained, "Whether or not the Treasury Department...agrees with the position of the IRS in particular cases is not the issue. The question is whether the IRS is required to decide...whether private organizations conform with fundamental national policies."

On the same day, the Justice Department asked that the Supreme Court throw out the lower court ruling against Bob Jones University and Goldsborough Christian Schools and regard as moot their present case before the high court. Only months before, the Justice Department had looked forward to the Supreme Court decision as the "definitive decision" which would "dispel uncertainty" about the authority of the IRS. On January 8th, Department officials said that they had reread the congressional debates on the tax law and had found "nothing in the legislative history to permit denial of tax exemptions because of racial discrimination."

Four days later, on January 12th, the White House announced that President Reagan would submit to Congress proposed legislation which would, "for the first time, give the Secretary of the Treasury and the Internal Revenue Service express authority to deny tax-exempt status to private, non-profit educational organizations with racially discriminator, policies." In a January 18th letter to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House, President Reagan stated that the recent action of the Treasury

Department "reflects my own belief that agencies such as the IRS should not be permitted, even with the best of intentions and to further goals I strongly endorse, to govern by administrative fiat by exercising powers that the Constitution assigns to the Congress."

Section I of the President's bill would amend section 501 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, to deny tax-exemptions to organizations maintaining schools with racially discriminatory policies:

- "(1) IN GENERAL. -- An organization that normally maintains a regular faculty and curriculum (other than an exclusively religious curriculum) and normally has a regularly enrolled body of students in attendence at the place where its educational activities are regularly carried on shall not be deemed to be described in subsection (c)(3), and shall not be exempt from tax under subsection (a), if such organization has a racially discriminatory policy.
- "(2) DEFINITIONS. -- For the purposes of this subsection --
 - "(i) An organization has a 'racially discriminatory policy' if it refuses to admit students of all races to the rights, privileges, programs, and activities generally accorded or made available to students by that organization, or if the organization refuses to administer its educational policies, admissions policies, scholarship and loan programs, athletic programs, or other programs administered by such organization in a manner that does not discriminate on the basis of race. The term 'racially discriminatory policy' does not include an admissions policy of a school, or a program of religious training or worship of a school, that is limited, or grants preferences or priorities, to members of a particular religious organization or belief, provided, that no such policy, program, preference, or priority is based upon race or upon a belief that requires discrimination on the basis of race.
 - "(ii) The term 'race' shall include color or national origin."

II. OPPOSITION TO POLICY CHANGE

The Treasury Department decision was seen by many as a direct assault on the Civil Rights movement, reflecting, as was stated by Norman Chachkin of Lawvers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, the "true beliefs" of the Reagan Administration. Several civil rights organizations argued that the government is required by the Constitution to deny exemptions to discriminatory organizations. To allow tax exemptions for such organizations, they say, would be a clear case of subsidizing racial discrimination with taxpayers money.

The Justice Department brief to the Supreme Court in the Bob Jones University case defended the IRS policy, explaining that the policy, "derives from the federal government's commitment to the eradication of racial discrimination manifested both in the Constitution and in many federal statutes and the national policy prohibiting public subsidy of racially discriminatory educational institutions, whether public or private."

Rep. James R. Jones, Chairman of the House Budget Committee called the Treasury Department decision "terrible," explaining that "it sets back this country many years; it reverses the policies of Democratic and Republican Presidents alike. If the law isn't there already, then Congress should step in and reassert that the nation's commitment to nondiscrimination is there."

III. CONSERVATIVE'S ARGUMENTS

The IRS policy implemented in 1970 was based on three assumptions: 1) tax-exemptions are a kind of government subsidy, 2) tax-exemptions are granted in order to aid organizations which further "fundamental national policy" or the public good, 3) an agency of the federal government other than Congress has the authority to decide what is national policy and which organizations are acting in opposition to national policy.

The President, the Treasury and the Department of Justice have denied the third assumption, but have said nothing to refute the first two. On the contrary, legislation such as that offered by the President is thought by many to imply agreement with the IRS on its first two principles, and it is about the principles, not about the general purpose of the President's bill, that many conservatives have grave reservations.

To say that tax exemptions are a kind of government subsidy is to speak as if all earnings belong first to the government and second to the one who earns, as if government supports the people rather than people support the government. Do we consider all tax breaks in this light? If a man lists deductions for his dependents, and therefore pays less tax than another, do we say that this man is subsidized by the government? If one man earns less than another and therefore pays less tax, is he being supported by the government? Or is it rather the case that he supports the government, but to a degree which Congress has judged is proportionate to his circumstances?

Second, to say that the purpose of tax exemption to non-profit religious educational, scientific and charitable organizations is to reward or aid non-profit institutions that are furthering public policy would seem to bring us into trouble with the First Amendment. Religious organizations are named separately from educational or charitable organizations, and therefore it seems that the Congress intended to exempt religious organizations as religious, not simply as educational or charitable. Indeed, application of the tax laws seems to confirm this, yet Congress does not, in fact, make judgments about whether a religion is furthering the public good, nor do we believe that it is competent to do so.

Conservatives argue that tax-exemptions are not rewards to organizations which further national policy nor are tax benefits subsidies from the federal government. Rather, as the purpose of taxation is to support the government from those activities which "make money," tax-exemptions are a recognition of those activities which, by their nature, are not intended to yield profit. One is (or ought to be) taxed from his profit, not from the very means necessary to sustain existence. Yet non-profit organizations, by definition, do not have this "extra" which can be taken from them. (There are laws to insure that they don't.) Indeed, far from making a profit, most non-profit organizations cannot break even, but for the donations of others who, at least with respect to their gift, are also engaged in a non-profit activity. For this reason, gifts to non-profit organizations are tax deductible.

These are the general reasons why conservatives would oppose President Reagan's bill, or any bill like it, which would deny tax exemption to a school whose policies run contrary to national policy. Such legislation seems to be based on principles which are not only false, but carry the potential to do great harm. Conservatives do not want tax-exemptions and other tax benefits to be viewed as subsidies. Nor do they want the government to make judgments as to which religious, educational and charitable organizations further national policy. Yet, if legislation to deny tax-exempt status to racially discriminatory schools is not grounded upon these two principles, upon what is it grounded?

IV. PARTICULAR OBJECTIONS TO THE ADMINISTRATION PROPOSAL

Beyond the general objections, there are several aspects of the President's proposed legislation which private school supporters believe to be particularly dangerous. First, and most important, is that this legislation is silent on the question of "burden of proof." Regulations proposed by the IRS in 1978 would require schools to prove by clear and convincing evidence that they are not guilty of racial discrimination. With this new legislation behind them, the IRS is certain to argue that it cannot, for both practical and legal reasons, be expected to carry the burden of proof. Further, entitlement to tax benefits has traditionally been left to the taxpayer. Yet, private school supporters counter that, though the final burden of persuasion rests on the taxpayer, the initial burden of production must be on the government to show a prima-facie (apparent) case of misconduct. Secondly, on a practical level, it would be gravely unjust to expect a non-profit organization to produce the thousands of dollars necessary to carry on a law suit in order to prove that they do not discriminate. A small school which does not, in fact, discriminate could be easily and legally ruined in a very short time.

Also unclear in the proposed legislation is whether the practice of racial discrimination will be determined by judging the <u>intent</u> of the particular school or by judging the <u>effect</u>, that is, the actual racial composition of the student body. Use of the "effects test" which is easier for the IRS, will, practically speaking, entail not only the lack of racial discrimination but for many schools, it will require affirmative action, a requirement which is not intended by the bill.

A third problem with the proposed legislation concerns the liability of the churches which operate schools. Though the White House has stated that the legislation would affect only schools, and not the churches themselves, the bill itself refers not to schools, but to the organizations which operate schools. Therefore, a church might, in fact, lose its tax exemption because of a violation by the school. Further, the bill prohibits discrimination in "other programs administered by such organization," without specifying that the prohibition is limited to school functions. Therefore a church which operates a non-discriminatory school could lose its own exemption by limiting its membership to a single race.

Section 4 of the bill states that, "The amendments made by this Act shall apply after July 9, 1970. This ex post facto application of the proposed legislation is considered by many to be unconstitutional. At the very least, they argue, it is unfair to require 12 years of back taxes from schools which have acted on the good faith belief that they were protected by the First Amendment.

Finally, the definition of discrimination is not limited to admission procedures, but requires that all programs be administered "in a manner which does not discriminate on the basis of race." Such a provision leaves private schools open to excesses which have characterized the federal bureaucracy in the past. It is viewed by church-related schools as fostering the kind entanglement between government and religion which is prohibited by the First Amendment.

V. CRITICISMS BY WILLIAM BENTLY BALL

In a January 27 letter to Edwin Meese, William Bentley Ball, the Pennsylvania lawyer who has won renown for successfully defending private schools from excessive government intervention, made further criticism of the proposed legislation. His criticisms were accompanied by the text of a bill which he believes will protect religious as well as racial civil rights. The text of Mr. Ball's criticisms follows:

ADMINISTRATION DRAFT BILL OF JANUARY 18, 1982

(j) (1) IN GENERAL. Confusion will be created by the limitation, "other than an exclusively religious curriculum." A number of important recent decisions hold that fundamentalists and Catholic schools are exclusively religious and that nothing in them can actually be described as secular. See, e.g., Lemon v. Kurtzman, 403 U.S. 602 (1971); McCormick v. Hirsch, 460 F. Supp. 1337 (M.D.Pa. 1978); Catholic Bishop of Chicago v. NLRB, 559 F. 2d 1112 (7th Cir. 1977), aff'd 440 U.S. 490 (1979); State of Ohio v. Whisner, 351 N.E. 2d 750 (1976). Fundamentalist Christians consistently testify that their curriculum (even in subjects such as mathematics) is taught from religious perspective and is religious in purpose. The trial records in these cases show this well. I believe that your draftsman did not intend this to create an exemption for religious schools, but that point is sure to result in litigation if left unattended to.

(j) (2) DEFINITIONS

"(i) An organization has a 'racially discriminatory policy' if it refuses to admit students of all races to the rights, privileges, programs, and activities generally accorded or made available to students by that organization. . ."

Here, again, a serious loophole has been left. Under that wording, an organization does <u>not</u> have a "racially discriminatory policy" if it refuses to <u>admit to enrollment</u> a child on account of that child's race. The only bar in the above quoted language is to the exclusion of "students" (people already enrolled).

Beyond this, instead of referring to the usual (and useful) phrasing in civil rights legislation, "on account of race," the above language employs a novel "all races" phrasing.

It is conceivable that a school could exclude a child of a particular race from some activity but not on account of that child's race. Suppose that a school, for health reasons, forbade the participation of all newly arrived Vietnamese children in a vaccination program; or that a Catholic school, for religious reasons, forbade Protestant black students to receive Communion; taken literally (and "literally" is the name of the game in much litigation today) the draft language would label either such school as having a "racially discriminatory policy."

Further: the draft language's term, "refuses," lands us in a quagmire. "Refuses" how often? Once? Frequently? Suppose a school of one of those many so-called "national" parishes (Catholic), so familiar in New York, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, etc., is an Italian national parish and always refuses to permit children of Slovak (or other non-Italian descent) permission to join in a Columbus Day pageant? I was harshly critical of the 1978-1979 IRS Proposed Revenue Procedures for their use of such very loose terms as "refuses". When you combine that with the myriad individual "rights, privileges, programs, and activities", you have a statue which is unmanageable except through an all-embracing program of governmental surveillance. In a moment I will comment upon the constitutionally unique situation which such surveillance produces in the case of religious schools.

In fine, this first part of the bill, relating to admissions to programs, activities, etc., does not aid the black child who wants to get admitted, and is totally harmful to the religious school.

"....or if the organization refuses to administer its educational policies, admissions policies, scholarships and loan program, athletic programs, or other programs administered by such organization in a manner that does not discriminate on the basis of race."

This language is subject to the same major objection which is raised by the above part of the definition section insofar as it employs the vague term, "refuses." But in addition, this part of the definition embraces the extremely broad terms, "administer," "manner" and "discriminate." Who is to judge, and how will it be judged, whether a school shall be denied tax-exempt status under that language? We are again faced with the whole problem of myriad acts and omissions which someone may allege to be a discrimination in manner of administration.

Those religious schools which would become subject to IRS oversight by virtue of these requirements occupy a unique position constitutionally. They are, in the words of the First Amendment, an "exercise of religion," and have been so recognized on numerous occasions by the Supreme Court. See, e.g., Lemon v. Kurtzman, 403 U.S. 602, 616 (1971) (the schools are "an integral part of the religious mission" of their sponsoring churches); Meek v. Pittenger, 421 U.S. 349, 366 (1975) (their religious mission is "the only reason for the schools' existence"); and NLRB v. Catholic Bishop of Chicago, 440 U.S. 490, 503 (1979) (wherein the Court pointed to "the admitted and obvious fact that the raison d'etre" of the schools is "the propagation of religious faith"). These religious organisms are not remotely analogous, for constitutional purposes, to any secular entity, whether that entity be business, industrial, educational or philanthropic.

This special constitutional status brings with it heightened protection for the schools from government direction, control or supervision, whether such direction is intended or not. As the Supreme Court has recognized, even a "regulation neutral on its face may, in its application, nonetheless offend the constitutional requirement" for governmental respect for the free exercise of religion. Wisconsin v. Yoder, 406 U.S. 205, 220 (1972). No basis may be found in the First Amendment or in the holdings of the Supreme Court for the mistaken notion that the Religion Clauses protect religious "belief" but not religious "action." To begin with, the Clauses protect the "free exercise of religion," not the freedom merely to believe (it is on the basis of the belief/action dichotomy that the Soviet Union lays claim to being protective of religious freedom.) Further, the

courts have always extended protection to actions of religious significance: the refusal to attend school beyond the 8th grade, Yoder, supra; the defrocking of a bishop, Serbian Orthodox Diocese v. Milivojevich, 426 U.S. 696 (1979); the maintaining of schools, Catholic Bishop of Chicago v. NLRB, 559 F. 2d 1112 (7th Cir. 1977).

Not only would free exercise violations necessarily attend IRS intervention into these church ministries, the very existence of the potentially entangling (and therefore illicit) relationship between church and state which the bill would create would violate express Supreme Court rulings. The Court has held that church-state separation must be certain, and that the introduction of any "element of governmental evaluation and standards," such as a "social welfare yardstick", into the government's relationship with a church or religious entity constitutes forbidden "excessive entanglement" between the two. Walz v. Tax Commission, 397 U.S. 664, 674 (1970). The Court has made plain its view that, in order to be violative of the "entanglement" prohibition, a government requirement need not even produce burdensome results:

"It is not only the conclusions that may be reached. . . which may impinge on rights guaranteed by the Religion Clauses, but the <u>very process of inquiry</u> leading to findings and conclusions." <u>NLRB v. Catholic Bishop</u>, <u>supra</u>, at 502 (emphasis supplied).

Your bill, while laudably attempting to protect most religious schools, regretably falls short of the mark. The regulatory scheme which the bill would authorize is far too invasive of areas of purely religious concern, and sweeps far too broadly to overcome either the Court's prohibition as to excessive entanglements, or its similar prohibition on legislative restrictions which are not drawn with "narrow specificity." Keyishian v. Board of Regents, 385 U.S. 589, 604 (1967).

It is not sufficient that the Congress, instead of IRS, be the party imposing the regulatory scheme. All along, we have complained of two things: (1) that Congress did not authorize IRS to impose its nondiscrimination regulations; and (2) that the very requirements which IRS has imposed are wrong. These requirements are not made right by simply transferring those loosely worded provisions into statute. The right statute is needed, or the schools will suffer.

The Foundation

Newsletter of the Foundation of Universal Unity

Vol. 1 No. 2

New Home for Headquarters

Sunrise Ranch provides expansive facilities

George Emery has often mentioned that if he were to write a book about his life he would entitle it "When I Needed Them the Most," in honor of the many significant individuals who assisted him in his growth. This statement of appreciation is now also applicable to the Foundation in its present stage of unfoldment. As our body has moved through its fledgling growth and come to recognize the practical and necessary requirements for its right function, a clearer picture of what is presently needed has emerged. And where our needs were the greatest the provision appeared!



Alan Hammond (standing) with Rick Lathrop at the new Foundation office

Recognizing the great interest from people around the world in the experience of unity and in the tone being sounded by the Foundation, we have placed a priority on reaching those interested to let them know of our presence. We have done this by sponsoring speaking tours by the Emerys, by establishing and supporting councils around the world and by maintaining a central office facility to handle the administration of these activities. This has required funds for travel expenses, for printing and postage, and for salaries to cover staff living expenses. While up to this point we have been able to handle these ongoing expenses and reduce by one



Mack Fontenot with "Fred," the Sunrise Ranch computer

half our original loan covering the Emerys' Pacific Rim tour, it became obvious that a more practical approach to handling our affairs was possible.

This possibility took form in an offer to move our central office to Sunrise Ranch, which has improved in very practical ways our ability to function. Office space and secretarial assistance is being provided to the Foundation, increasing economy. Rick and Linda Lathrop were also invited to live on the Ranch. Since Rick is the Foundation's Administrator, this move has enhanced our operating efficiency. With the Emerys residing at Sunrise their meetings with Rick require traveling only 20 yards rather than 20 miles!

Beyond these expense-reducing benefits, our previously dreamed-of access to a computer is now at hand. We are able to computerize our mailing procedure and our accounting with the help of the Sunrise accounting department. To complement this ideal situation we have full use of a complete graphics department and print shop.

Up to now our Foundation Board of Directors included Michael Cecil and Bill Bahan, individuals living at opposite ends of the continent and long distances from our headquarters. As part of this overall change Michael and Bill have asked to be represented on the board by Alan Hammond and Mack Fontenot, both residents of Sunrise Ranch. Mack will function as Treasurer of the Foundation board, utilizing his professional financial expertise, and Alan will be functioning as President of the board. (An article introducing Alan appears later in this issue.) While Michael and Bill will no longer serve as directors of the Foundation, their support and interest in its activities remain and will find outlet through membership on the International Board of Advisors. Alan will of course be close at hand for consultation and is already bringing much to the Foundation from his wealth of experience.

The overall effect of this delightful unfoldment is a more efficient, contained and organized vehicle of coordination for the Foundation. After years of world traveling George and Joelle finally have a settled, stable home base. And now so does the Foundation headquarters. The Emerys' new home phone number is (303) 667-9111. Rick Lathrop can be reached at the office through (303) 667-0599. We look forward to sharing in the ongoing effects of this movement forward.



George and Joelle in their new home

Thinking Globally, Acting Locally

HUC Updates



Ninth International Human Unity Conference

We have recently received a large supply of promotional literature for the Conference including invitations, programs, registration cards and posters. All are available from our office. The four-day conference program will feature panel discussion led by presidents of the present and previous Conferences, relating to the theme "The Human Being of the New Era." The subjects for these discussions and the discussion leaders are as follows: Intra-uterine Life and Birth - Yogi Bhaian; Education and Intellectual Development-Domingo Dias Porta; Nutrition, Health and Family-Reinhart Ruge; Professional and Individual Development-Dr. José Manuel Estrada; Development in Collectivity - Anita Montero de Campion; Personal Philosophy and Spiritual Experience-George and Joelle Emery; and Self-Realization and Universal Integration-Telesforo and Ligia de Linares.

In preparation for the Conference local discussion group nuclei are being formed to search "for new values that permit the formation of the human being of the new era." Papers outlining the results of these considerations are being called for by the Conference Central Committee for possible publishing. For individuals or councils interested in supporting the Conference in this way, further information is available from our office.

Tenth International Human Unity Conference

The coordinating committee for the 10th HUC continues to meet in England bringing forth exciting possibilities for the 1983 event. A number of themes for the Conference are being considered, including "Agreement in Action" and "A Transcendent Nation." The possibility of an evening event in central London the last day of the Conference, Saturday, July 30, is under consideration in order to share the experience at Warwick University with many others.

Present fund-raising ideas emerging from the committee include a celebrity quotes booklet on the subject of human unity, local fund-raising dinners and marketing globes, kites, Frisbees, pencils, T-shirts and seed packets. The response to and interest in the Conference in England and Europe is high,

The Whole Health Institute

A connection has developed between the Whole Health Institute and the Foundation's Visionary-Action Council on Health. This has resulted in the Council's adoption of Healing Currents, published by the Whole Health Institute, as the Council's official newsletter.

The Whole Health Institute is not just another new facility but rather spearheads a new direction, a new attitude, and reflects a new consciousness of what constitutes health and wholeness. The Institute was born through an evolving process that began many years ago. The work of a few dedicated men and women over the years has resulted in a worldwide network of health professionals including medical doctors, psychiatrists, chiropractors, dentists, nurses, therapists, nutritionists and others in related fields ranging from exercise to stress management.

The Institute is a facility where the paramount concern is to offer orientation and new direction to health and wholeness. Rather than an exclusive system it is inclusive of all forms of healing.

The faculty of the Whole Health Institute offers week-long seminars in the art of healing. The Institute is located at Lake Rest Hotel in Livingston Manor, N.Y. Set in the Catskill Mountains, it is about a two-and-a-half-hour drive from Manhattan. Whole Health Institute seminars are held world-wide. For information about the Institute contact: Dr. Elaine Gagné

Whole Health Institute P.O. Box 357 Livingston Manor NY 12758

Planetary Initiative for the World We Choose



News of the diverse and expanding activities of the Planetary Initiative is coming to us through reports from local councils and from issue #2 of *The Initiator*, the Planetary Initiative newsletter. A number of councils have found in the vehicle of the Planetary Initiative an excellent means to assist others in personal and planetary transformation, and several are now assisting in the training of discussion leaders for Issues Exploration Groups.

George and Joelle Emery are now members of the Coordinating Council of the Planetary Initiative along with Bill Bahan. Work has begun on a film for Planetary Initiative based on Donald Keys' new book, Earth at Omega. Donald recently met with nearly forty high-level, change-oriented business executives in New York City to invite them to explore avenues of participation in the global project.

The Planetary Initiative Organizing Manual (\$2.50), copies of issues 1, 2 and 3 (when available) of *The Initiator* (\$.25 each), the basic flyer (\$.05), and the Discussion Leader's Guide for Issues Exploration Groups (\$3.00 each) are now available. These all may be ordered from Planetary Initiative, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York NY 10017, U.S.A., phone (212) 490-2766. Please include 25% of costs for postage. Discounts are available on quantity orders.

International Health Foundation

On March 26, 45 people from around the U.S. and Canada gathered at Rainbow Farm in Indiana for a three-day Steering Committee meeting of the International Health Foundation. Joining directors Ken and Sherry Carey were many friends old and new. A variety of health professionals attended: doctors, dentists, nurses and many who are not directly involved in the healing arts but know they have healing to offer their worlds.

The weekend's activities included update reports, open forums, discussion groups and



a movement session. We considered fundraising ideas, effective use of media and a promotional brochure. We also explored our vital interrelationships with the Planetary Initiative, the Whole Health Institute and the Foundation.

It was a creative, enjoyable time to look at many aspects of the project and develop a clear perspective of the varied ways we can offer healing and support to our worlds and world leaders.

Continued, last page

Thinking Globally, Acting Locally

Local Foundation CouncilsCouncil News

United States

Atlanta, Ga.—The second Foundation gathering here with 48 attending was hosted by 3HO at their ashram. The group participated in volleyball, Sufi dancing, dinner and music by 3HO and Sufi groups before the formal meeting led by council coordinator Laurence Laynes. Attending the event were individuals representing a wide variety of spiritual groups as well as awakening ones unaligned with any particular organization. There is a growing sense of friendship and closeness among the developing core of people and a sense of personal responsibility for the Foundation council.

Houston, Texas—Peter and Carolyn Rhodes with the Houston Council hosted a Texas area gathering at the Peaceable Kingdom facilities 75 miles northwest of Houston. This event provided a close-in time of friendship together for core council members from Houston, Austin and San Antonio to share their experiences and vision of Texas Foundation activities. Thanks to some rainy weather the staff of the facility had time to join in the gathering, which was a delight to all. Another meeting at Peaceable Kingdom is being planned.

Seattle, Wash.—The local council has joined with a number of other interested organizations to support the Planetary Festival in Seattle on June 27. Music and food of five continents will be featured along with considerations of the issues of employment, environment, energy and human growth. This celebration of the richness and power of the Puget Sound area will conclude with a Planetary Powwow. This event follows the visit of Donald Keys earlier in the year and the declaration of Seattle as a "Planetary City" by Mayor Charles Royer.

Canada

Vancouver, B.C.-On May 1 Vancouverites were treated to a forum entitled "Planetary Peace-A Shared Vision" sponsored by the Foundation. Speakers representing Planetary Initiative, Emissary Society, Hunger Project, International Health Foundation, Vancouver Council of Churches and other organizations participated. In preparing for this event an outstanding aspect of the speakers' experience was the willingness they shared to move together as one body. During the forum a lively, smooth interchange occurred and the audience was thrilled with this example of shared vision in action. Another public offering sponsored by the Council is a series of talks by educator Dr. John Waskom entitled "Actualizing Inherent Genius." Dr. Waskom will also be lecturing in Abbotsford, B.C., and Seattle, Wash., while in the area.

Edmonton, Alta.—"Handling Financial Pressure in the New Age" was the title of a workshop by Jim Miller sponsored by the local council. Topics included breaking current levels of restriction, symbolism of money, retiring from "the trap," and the economic value of your life energy. Jim passed around a \$1,000 bill, effectively demonstrating people's emotional involvement with money. Personal budget forms, questionnaires and a seven-step monthly program were shared with the audience and an invitation extended to reconvene in a month to review progress.

Kelowna, B.C.—Coordinator David Barnes reports on a very successful time with Kathi and Milenko Matanovic during their recent concert-lecture tour of British Columbia. About 100 people attended the concert and 50 were present the following evening for Milenko's lecture on planetary transformation. David has been traveling to smaller communities near Kelowna sharing videotapes of Marilyn Ferguson and the 1981 HUC with individuals interested in personal and social transformation. After nine months of operation a coordinating council of seven has organically emerged to enlarge the scope of Foundation activities.

Regional Council Spotlight: Southwest U.S.A.

David Reis, Foundation Regional Coordinator for the Southwest, draws on his experience as a Los Angeles Human Unity Council Coordinator and participant in the 1981 Human Unity Conference. David's resumé resembles that of a five-man entourage. He has been a nutritional consultant, initiated active youth groups in the L.A. area and participated in an enlightened business forum in L.A. He has also supported the Emissary intentional community at Glen Ivy near Corona for the last several years. This year has found him actively working to initiate and support Foundation councils in his area besides overseeing the local council in Los Angeles.

To encompass his regional area, David's travels have taken him to San Diego, Santa Barbara and San Francisco, Calif., Phoenix and Tucson, Ariz., where councils are in action. With his assistance, keen interest and expertise these councils are flourishing. San Diego has developed a solid core of people with genuine interest. Among other things, they have worked with the Planetary Initia-

Council Locations Around the World

United States

Arizona: Phoenix, Tucson; California: Los Altos, Los Angeles, San Diego, San Francisco, Santa Cruz; Colorado: Boulder, Colorado Springs, Denver, Durango, Ft. Collins, Glenwood Springs, Loveland; Florida: Bonita Springs, Ft. Meyers, Miami, Orlando, Pensacola; Georgia: Atlanta; Illinois: Chicago, Springfield; Indiana: Muncie; Kansas: Wichita; Maryland: Washington, D.C., area; Massachusetts: Hampden; Missouri: Mountain View, St. Louis; New Hampshire: Epping; New Jersey: Madison; New York: Garden City, Manhattan; Oregon: Ashland, Eugene, Grants Pass, Portland; Pennsylvania: Philadelphia area; Texas: Austin, Dallas, Houston, San Antonio; Utah: Salt Lake City; Virginia: Charlottesville; Washington: Bellingham, Seattle, Spokane, Tacoma, Yakima; Wisconsin: Madison, Milwaukee.

Canada

Alberta: Calgary, Edmonton; British Columbia: Aldergrove, Kamloops, Kelowna, 100 Mile House, Prince George, Quesnell, Vancouver, Victoria; Ontario: Barrie, Wardsville, Windsor; Quebec: Montreal.

Other Countries

Australia: Adelaide, Brisbane, Melbourne, Perth, Sydney; Brazil: Rio de Janeiro; Chile: Santiago; England: Cumbria, London, Oxford; Germany: Stuttgart; Hong Kong; Japan: Nagoya, Tokyo; Korea: Seoul; Mexico: Mexico City; New Zealand: Auckland; Nigeria: Lagos; Norway: Oslo; Singapore; South Africa: Cape Town, Durban, Johannesburg; Zimbabwe: Salisbury.

Addresses and phone numbers of the above Councils, as well as state and regional coordinators, are available from our office.

tive Council and the Holiday Project, an estsponsored event. Phoenix and Tucson are sponsoring morning breakfasts, evening potluck dinners, Health Council meetings, open houses, community days and public gatherings.

The Los Angeles area is promoting an "I'd Rather Be Where I Am" T-shirt that is fast catching on as a fund raiser. Monday night meetings build friendship among participants. Recently, council members were volunteer staff and presenters at the Body, Mind, Spirit Festival—conscious of the fact that the Foundation is not to be served but to serve people and organizations.

San Francisco has been a whirlwind of activity. David Ish, the local coordinator and a member of the Planetary Initiative Steering Committee, sponsored an event for the Initiative earlier this year. The council is also active in the International Health Project. Because of enthusiastic participation in all these events plus their weekly Circle of Friends meetings, Foundation activity is spreading into the Palo Alto and San Jose area.

From the Emerys

Founding Directors

We have found that, when moving in the current of life, the only constant thing is change! As we first conceived the Foundation, we saw great potential in it for creative service and vowed to let it unfold naturally without preconceived notions of what it should be. The changes which are described in this newsletter are indication of the continuing unfoldment of the cycles of maturing of the Foundation, allowing a strengthening of the substance we sensed when its formation began. We are particularly thankful for the opportunity of working with Alan Hammond after years of real affinity with him. We know that you share with us our deep joy at this time of consolidation and resulting expansion of our collective scope.

We are in the process of forming an International Board of Advisors consisting of various ones who have shown an interest in serving in this capacity. Individuals involved in transformative action who are supportive of the Foundation include Marilyn Ferguson, Jerry Jampolsky, Brooke Newell, Michael Cecil, Harold Vogt, Bill Bahan and Peter Caddy. Our love and gratitude to you all for your continuing support and interest in the Foundation.

Here is our upcoming itinerary:

June 1 Washington, D.C. June 2-4 New York City. June 5-New England area. (June 18-21: July 16 Philadelphia-Great Seal celebration.) July 17-19 Washington, D.C. (Conferences: World Future Society, Society for Int'l. Development, Assoc. for Humanistic Psychology. July 20-Sunrise Ranch. Aug. 9 Aug. 10-South America (HUC), Africa.

Travel Fund

November

This is an ongoing fund for the Emerys' travels. Councils and individuals are encouraged to consider this with respect to fund-raising activities.

Audio- and Videotapes

Talks by speakers at the 1981 Human Unity Conference, including Marilyn Ferguson, Donald Keys and Bill Bahan, are available on audio- and videotapes, as are talks describing Foundation activities and projects. Catalogs can be requested from local councils or the central office. A recent addition to the Foundation tape library is Alan Hammond's address to the Secondary Teachers' Association of Vancouver, which can be purchased for \$5 from our headquarters.

Foundation Sponsors Lims' Speaking Tour

This column spotlights individuals, organizations, lectures and tours actively associating with and carrying the tone of the Foundation.

Ken and Veronica Lim, coordinators of a number of intentional communities and groups in the southeastern U.S., are now on tour offering talks on "A New Look at Intentional Communities." Between April 3 and June 5 they will be traveling and speaking in Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma and Massachusetts. The spirit of their offering is represented by this statement appearing on their tour flyer: "A true intentional community is made up of people who are not trying to escape or retreat from life by doing something on their own, but of people interested in an invigorating approach to life, an approach that prepares each person to advance and offer creative energy into his community and beyond." Topics considered during their talks include: concern for the whole person, communities with a spiritual base, creative and performing arts, relationships, and the worth of work.

In addition to the Lims the Foundation now has access to other highly qualified speakers in a wide range of areas including those presently represented by Visionary-Action Councils. If there is interest in your vicinity to share in the tone of the Foundation in a specific subject area, write the Speakers' Bureau at our central office with your request for a speaker.

Our New Address

The Foundation of Universal Unity

5569 N. County Rd. 29 Loveland CO 80537 U.S.A. (303) 667-0599

Tenth HUC (Cont.)

and the event itself promises to bring the reality of the experience of human unity to many in that area and to Conference visitors from around the world.

The Foundation through the local councils intends to financially support the coordinating committee as well as offer direct assistance with George and Joelle's planned visit to Europe and Great Britain in the spring. The Foundation has already provided \$1,000 in seed money for the 10th HUC. \square

Alan Hammond

Alan Hammond was born and educated in England. After university he played soccer for Bristol City, a professional club. As an educator Alan taught in England, Canada and the U.S., counseled in Canadian penitentiaries and has been involved in educational psychology work for over ten years. He has provided a focus for innumerable symposia throughout the world on education, psychology, philosophy and holistic studies, and has co-authored the book *Spirit of Sunrise*. Alan is now in continuous demand as a lecturer in North America, Europe and southern Africa and has frequently appeared on radio and TV.

With his wife Jean, Alan has lived on Sunrise Ranch for the past ten years where he is primarily responsible for education and outreach programs. We are proud to welcome him as the new president of the Foundation's Board of Directors.

What is the Foundation of Universal Unity?

In this column we invite your thoughts and perceptions relative to the Foundation's principles and present purpose.

The Foundation of Universal Unity is primarily an attitude, an attitude born from an awareness that all human beings are connected with each other, with life, and with the source and sustaining power of all creation. This attitude manifests as the Foundation. It serves as the unifying principle by which people who genuinely embrace this attitude can meet in an atmosphere of true friendship and true connectedness to discover together what magic can be woven into the tapestries of their own lives and of those around them. In light of the intensity of the current times and the increasing need for balance and maturity, the Foundation is a sacred undertaking. This commitment to responsibility, however, is coupled with a joy and sense of wonder for all that is and can be. The Foundation is one of many tools on earth today for making our dreams come true.

Paul Luft
 Okanagan Mission, B.C., Canada

Subscriptions and Publications

Our present plans call for publication of this newsletter bimonthly beginning with this edition. Present subscribers will receive the next 11 issues. New subscribers will receive 12 issues for \$10.

You may wish to photocopy your newsletter and share it with friends, and encourage them to subscribe. For subscriptions: send \$10 to The Foundation Newsletter, 5569 N. County Rd. 29, Loveland CO 80537.

D.C. Press Corps Mostly Irreligious

By REV. LESTER KINSOLVING

Public Opinion magazine has published a revealing survey of 240 "media elite" in Washington. The survey conducted by S. Robert Lichter and Stanley Rothman included reporters, editors, columnists, bureau chiefs, news executives, anchormen and film editors.

The results should be of interest to the majority of U.S. citizens who belong to churches or synagogues. For among the results of this survey of the people who are central in reporting and commenting to the American public on the activities of Congress and the president are these.

▶92 percent do not regularly attend church or synagogue.

▶91 percent believe there is nothing morally wrong with homosexuality.

▶ 50 percent replied "none" when asked about religious affiliation. Anyone who has ever covered the daily news briefings at the White House with any degree of frequency can readily detect the same disdain of religion among the White House press corps.

For example:

▶ President Reagan has for years been known as a devout and regularly attending church member. From June until Feb. 21 he stopped attending services. He has not invited clergy to conduct services either in the White House (like President Nixon) or at Camp David (like President Carter). The White House press corps ignored this, almost entirely. So most of the American people are not aware of it.

▶ Public expressions of concern about the president by even top religious leaders, when asked about during daily press briefings, are usually treated as a joke — not only by almost all of the reporters, but by such presidential news secretaries as Larry Speakes.

Among the nation's large number of religious news media, only a handful have reporters who have been given accreditation to the White Heuse. And rarely, if ever, do they ask any questions. They prefer instead to sit in the rear, in silent respect of the regulars.

For anyone (like this writer) who persists in raising questions of religious news (and interest to millions of religious Americans) there is generally scorn and resentment from the regulars.

Ann Compton of ABC News, for example, in 1978 complained in print about my asking "human rights and religious questions" at the daily news briefings.

But no official at ABC News has ever explained why questions about religion and human rights are not always appropriate in the White House — especially the 1978 White House lived in by a Born Again Baptist who still attends Sunday School.