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April 16, 1985 (2 of 2)

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 4/12/85 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: C.O.B. TODAY, 4/12/85

SUBJECT: REMARKS: DROPBY AT CONFERENCE ON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY
(4/12 - 10:00 a.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	OGLESBY <i>none</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
REGAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS <i>none</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEAVER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
STOCKMAN <i>-none</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SVAHN <i>att'd</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BUCHANAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHEW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	VERSTANDIG	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING <i>none</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WHITTLESEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FRIEDERSDORF <i>none</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HICKEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	DANIELS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HICKS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ELLIOTT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
KINGON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
McFARLANE <i>att'd</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide any edits directly to Ben Elliott by c.o.b. today, with an information copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

David L. Chew
 Staff Secretary
 Ext. 2702

(Noonan/BE)
April 12, 1985
10:00 a.m.

Received SS

1985 APR 12 AM 10:40

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DROPBY AT CONFERENCE ON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY
TUESDAY, APRIL 16, 1985

Thank you very much.

I am deeply honored to address this conference. I know that a good many of you have come a long way to be here today, and I know you have given greatly of your time, energy and concern. And I can only hope, as you do, that those now suffering around the world for their beliefs will draw renewed courage from your work.

The history of religion and its impact on civilization cannot be summarized in a few days, never mind minutes. But one of the great shared characteristics of all religions is the distinction they draw between the temporal world and the spiritual world. All religions, in effect, echo the words of the gospel of St. Matthew: "Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's, and unto God the things which are God's." What this injunction teaches us is that the individual cannot be entirely subordinate to the state, that there exists a whole other realm, an almost mysterious realm of individual thought and action which is sacred, and which is totally beyond and outside of state control.

This idea has been central to the development of human rights. Only in an intellectual climate which distinguishes between the City of God and the City of Man -- and which explicitly affirms the independence of God's realm, and forbids any infringement by the state on its prerogatives -- only in such

a climate could the idea of individual human rights take root, grow, and eventually flourish.

We see this climate in all democracies, and in our own political tradition. The founders of our republic rooted their democratic commitment in the belief that all men "are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights." And so they created a system of government whose avowed purpose was -- and is -- the protection of those God-given rights.

But, as all of you know only too well, there are many political regimes today that completely reject the notion that a man or a woman can have a greater loyalty to God than to the state. Marx's central insight, when he was creating his political system, was that religious belief would subvert his intentions. Under Marxism, the ruling party was to claim for itself the attributes which religious faith ascribes to God alone. Under Marxism, the state was to be the final arbiter of truth, justice, and morality. And so Marx declared religion an enemy of the people -- a drug, an opiate of the masses. And Lenin said, "Religion and communism are incompatible in theory as well as in practice . . . We must fight religion."

All of this illustrates a truth that I believe must be re-understood: atheism is not an incidental element of communism, not just part of the package -- it is the package.

In countries which have fallen under communist rule, it is often the church which forms the most powerful barrier against a completely totalitarian system. And so, totalitarian regimes

always seek either to destroy the church or, when that is impossible, to subvert it.

For the former, we have the Soviet Union, where the church was immediately attacked by the communist revolution. This was not done without considerable craftiness. The Soviets, bowing to Western "squeemishness" about the denial of liberties, often characterized their actions as merely defensive.

In 1945, Josef Stalin met with Harry Hopkins, who had been sent by Harry Truman to discuss various East/West problems. In the middle of a talk about politics, Stalin interjected the following: In 1917, he said, the Russian communist party had proclaimed the right of religious freedom as part of their political program. But, he said, the churches of Russia had declared the Soviet government anathema, and had called on church members to resist the call of the Red Army. Now what could we do, said Stalin, but declare war on the church. He assured Hopkins, however, that World War Two had ended the church-state antagonism and now freedom of religion could be granted to the church.

Well, this, as you know, goes under the heading "The Big Lie." But it was told in a typically plaintive and put-upon manner, as if there was just no choice; try as we could to reason with those cruel and powerful priests, they just wouldn't stop attacking us and so we had to close their churches.

Well, history has taught us that you can bulldoze a church but you can't extinguish all that is good in every human heart. And so, in spite of the dangers involved there are Christians

throughout the communist world, and Muslims, and Jews, who continue to practice their faith. Some of them have been imprisoned for their courage.

There is the late Valery Marchenko, who died in a Soviet prison hospital a few short months ago. He was 37 years old, a scholar and a Christian who, at his most recent trial, said that all of his life he had tried to "serve goodness" which he considered to be his "Christian duty." There is Father Gleb Yakunin, who was recently sent to Siberia for 5 years of internal exile. He is another prisoner of faith. And Vladislav Rakay, recently jailed for helping to distribute bibles in Czechoslovakia. These are only a few of many.

Dr. Ernest Gordon, the President of an organization named CREED -- Christian Rescue Effort for the Emancipation of Dissidents -- noted that on a recent trip to Eastern Europe, he spoke with a priest who had spent 10 years in prison. The priest asked him to deliver a message to the West: there is a war going on; it is not nuclear but spiritual. The fallout of the atheistic explosion is everywhere. But Dr. Gordon added, "Although the fallout may be everywhere, we are reminded that God too is everywhere and not even tyrannies can keep him out."

We in the United States have protested this terrible abuse of people who are nothing less than heroes of the century. Most recently, when Congressional leaders met in Moscow with Premier Gorbachev, House Minority leader Bob Michel brought along a list of Baltic and Ukrainian prisoners of conscience. And the Council on Soviet Jewry was magnificent in making sure that the

congressional delegation did not leave without extensive data on persecuted Jews in the Soviet Union.

Religious persecution, of course, is not confined to Europe. We see it in Iran, whose leaders have declared virtual war on the Bahais. We see it in Afghanistan, where the Soviets have moved against the Mujahadeen. And we see a variation on how to abuse religious freedom in the Sandinista regime of Nicaragua.

In Nicaragua, the Sandinista regime is faced with a politically active church that -- although it supported the revolution -- is now considered a major obstacle to complete totalitarian control. And so the Sandinistas are actively attempting to discredit and split the church hierarchy. One area to be watched, by the way: the Sandinistas, like all communist regimes, are injecting their ideology into the educational system and have begun widespread literacy campaigns to indoctrinate children and adults. But the Catholic Church is fighting to maintain autonomy and keep this indoctrination out of church-run schools.

This has not been resolved. Cuba solved the problem by closing all private schools, including religious schools. So did Ethiopia.

The general state of religious liberty in Nicaragua is suggested by testimony from various sources, including refugees. We recently learned of a pastor of the Evangelical Church in a Nicaraguan town who told the Freedom Fighters that the Sandinistas had threatened to send the 3,000 members of his church to relocation camps. The pastor and his church members

are now hiding out in caves and temporary settlements in the countryside.

May I interject here that stories like this are the reason we are asking Congress for aid to help the Freedom Fighters, and to help the victims of the Sandinista regime.

The Sandinistas also harassed Jews. Two Nicaraguan refugees, Sarita and Oscar Kellerman, have told of the firebombing of their synagogue by the Sandinistas -- and how they wrote on the synagogue and the Kellerman's home the words, "Jews -- Out of Nicaragua."

When I think of Nicaragua these days, it occurs to me anew that you can judge any new government, any new regime, by whether or not it allows religion to flourish. If it doesn't, you can be sure it is an enemy of mankind -- for it is attempting to ban what is most beautiful in the human heart.

But we must not feel despair, because it is not appropriate to the times. We are living in a dramatic age. Throughout the world, the machinery of the state is being used as never before against religious freedom -- but at the same time, throughout the world, new groups of believers keep springing up. Points of light flash out in the darkness, and God is honored once again. Perhaps this is the greatest irony of the communist experiment: the very pressure they apply seems to create the force, friction, and heat that allow deep belief to once again burst into flame.

I believe that the most essential element of our defense of freedom is our insistence on speaking out for the cause of religious liberty. I would like to see this country rededicate

itself wholeheartedly to this cause. I join you in your desire that the Protestant churches of America, the Catholic Church, and the Jewish organizations remember the members of their flock who are in prison or in jeopardy in other countries.

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itself wholeheartedly to this cause. I join you in your desire that the Protestant churches of America, the Catholic Church, and the Jewish organizations remember the members of their flock who are in prison or in jeopardy in other countries.

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Thank you. God bless all of you.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 12, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT

FROM: JOHN A. SVAHN

JAS

SUBJECT: Remarks: Dropby at Conference on Religious Liberty

We have one comment. At the bottom of page 3 and the top of page 4, we refer to Christians, Muslims and Jews as continuing to practice their faith in the communist world. You might wish to add "and others," since there are probably other religious represented in the communist world.

cc: Dave Chew

OFFICE OF POLICY DEVELOPMENT

MEMORANDUM

4/12

3:30 today

DATE: _____ DUE BY: _____

REMARKS: DROPBY AT CONFERENCE ON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

SUBJECT: _____

ACTION REQUIRED:

JAS memo to Elliott w/ CC: Chew.

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
SVAHN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SIMMONS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
PORTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ANDERSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SWEET	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BLED SOE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WALTERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ADMINISTRATION/	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DAVIS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	JOHNSTON		
DRIGGS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TURNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GALEBACH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	OTHER		
HAYS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOBBS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
LI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
McALLISTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
McCAFFREY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ROPER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

☐ John A. Svahn
Assistant to the President
for Policy Development
(x6515)

☐ Roger B. Porter
Director
Office of Policy Development
(x6515)

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REGAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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CHEW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	VERSTANDIG	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WHITTLESEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FRIEDERSDORF	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HICKEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	DANIELS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HICKS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ELLIOTT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
KINGON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
McFARLANE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide any edits directly to Ben Elliott by c.o.b. today, with an information copy to my office. Thank you.


RESPONSE:

David L. Chew
Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 12, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
DIRECTOR, PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS 
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Remarks: Dropby at Conference on
Religious Liberty

Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced remarks,
and finds no objection to them from a legal perspective.

cc: David L. Chew

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(4/12 - 10:00 a.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	OGLESBY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
REGAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEAVER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
STOCKMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SVAHN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BUCHANAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHEW	<input type="checkbox"/> P	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SS	VERSTANDIG	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WHITTLESEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FRIEDERSDORF	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HICKEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	DANIELS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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KINGON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
McFARLANE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide any edits directly to Ben Elliott by c.o.b. today, with an information copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

No edit.

U. Rogers

David L. Chew
Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702




EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

April 15, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR: BEN ELLIOTT

FROM: AL KEET 

SUBJECT: Dropby at Conference on Religious Liberty,
Tuesday, April 16, 1985

We have reviewed the remarks and have no comments.

cc: David Chew
DOSG

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

April 15, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT

FROM: ROBERT M. KIMMITT *Boh*

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks for the Conference on
Religious Liberty, April 16, 1:30 p.m.

Per your request, the NSC has reviewed and approved, as amended, the proposed Presidential remarks to the Conference on Religious Liberty on Tuesday, April 16, at 1:30 p.m.

Attachment

Tab A Proposed Presidential Remarks

cc: David Chew

(Noonan/BE)

April 12, 1985

10:00 a.m.

Received SS

1985 APR 12 11:10:40

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DROPBY AT CONFERENCE ON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY
TUESDAY, APRIL 16, 1985

Thank you very much.

I am deeply honored to address this conference. I know that a good many of you have come a long way to be here today, and I know you have given greatly of your time, energy and concern. And I can only hope, as you do, that those now suffering around the world for their beliefs will draw renewed courage from your work.

The history of religion and its impact on civilization cannot be summarized in a few days, never mind minutes. But one of the great shared characteristics of all religions is the distinction they draw between the temporal world and the spiritual world. All religions, in effect, echo the words of the gospel of St. Matthew: "Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's, and unto God the things which are God's." What this injunction teaches us is that the individual cannot be entirely subordinate to the state, that there exists a whole other realm, an almost mysterious realm of individual thought and action which is sacred, and which is totally beyond and outside of state control.

This idea has been central to the development of human rights. Only in an intellectual climate which distinguishes between the City of God and the City of Man -- and which explicitly affirms the independence of God's realm, and forbids any infringement by the state on its prerogatives -- only in such

a climate could the idea of individual human rights take root, grow, and eventually flourish.

We see this climate in all democracies, and in our own political tradition. The founders of our republic rooted their democratic commitment in the belief that all men "are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights." And so they created a system of government whose avowed purpose was -- and is -- the protection of those God-given rights.

But, as all of you know only too well, there are many political regimes today that completely reject the notion that a man or a woman can have a greater loyalty to God than to the state. Marx's ^{seared} central insight, when he was creating his political system, ^{was} that religious belief would subvert his ^{convictions} intentions. ^{As developed by Lenin,} ~~Under Marxism~~ the ruling party ~~was to~~ claim for itself the attributes which religious faith ascribes to God alone. ^{Under the Soviet system, the state has become} ~~Under Marxism, the state was to be~~ the final arbiter of truth, justice, and morality. And so Marx declared religion an enemy of the people -- a drug, an opiate of the masses. And Lenin said, "Religion and communism are incompatible in theory as well as in practice . . . We must fight religion."

All of this illustrates a truth that I believe must be re-understood: atheism is not an incidental element of communism, not just part of the package -- it ^{is an integral component of} ~~is~~ the package, ^{as the Soviet ideologists themselves affirm.}

In countries which have fallen under communist rule, it is often the church which forms the most powerful barrier against ^{the} ~~a~~ completely totalitarian system. And so, totalitarian regimes ^{imposition of a}

always seek either to destroy the church or, when that is impossible, to subvert it.

a high priority was placed on the eradication of the influence of organized religion.

In the ~~former~~ Soviet Union, where the church was immediately attacked by the communist revolution,

~~not done without considerable swiftness.~~ The Soviets ~~having to~~ *however,* often characterized their actions as merely defensive.

In 1945, Josef Stalin met with Harry Hopkins, who had been sent by Harry Truman to discuss various East/West problems. In the middle of a talk about politics, Stalin interjected the following: In 1917, he said, the Russian communist party had proclaimed the right of religious freedom as part of their political program. But, he said, the churches of Russia had declared the Soviet government anathema, and had called on church members to resist the call of the Red Army. Now what could we do, said Stalin, but declare war on the church. He assured Hopkins, however, that World War Two had ended the church-state antagonism and now freedom of religion could be granted.

But, it is

debatable ~~Well, this, as you know, goes under the heading "The Big Lie." But it was told in a typically plaintive and put-upon manner, as if there was just no choice; try as we could to reason with these cruel and powerful priests, they just wouldn't stop attacking us and so we had to close their churches.~~

Well, history has taught us that you can bulldoze a church but you can't extinguish all that is good in every human heart. And so, in spite of the dangers involved there are Christians

obvious to all that in actual practice the right of religious worship in the USSR is severely limited.

throughout the communist world, and Muslims, and Jews, who continue to practice their faith. Some of them have been imprisoned for their courage.

There is the late Valery Marchenko, who died in a Soviet prison hospital a few short months ago. He was 37 years old, a scholar and a Christian who, at his most recent trial, said that all of his life he had tried to "serve goodness" which he considered to be his "Christian duty." There is Father Gleb Yakunin, who was recently sent to Siberia for 5 years of internal exile. He is another prisoner of faith. And Vladislav Rakay, recently jailed for helping to distribute bibles in Czechoslovakia. These are only a few of many.

Dr. Ernest Gordon, the President of an organization named CREED -- Christian Rescue Effort for the Emancipation of Dissidents -- noted that on a recent trip to Eastern Europe, he spoke with a priest who had spent 10 years in prison. The priest asked him to deliver a message to the West: there is a war going on; it is not nuclear but spiritual. ~~The fallout of the atheistic explosion is everywhere.~~ But Dr. Gordon added, "Although the fallout may be everywhere, we are reminded that God too is everywhere and not even tyrannies can keep him out."

We in the United States have protested this terrible abuse of people who are nothing less than heroes of the century. Most recently, when Congressional leaders met in Moscow with ~~Premier~~ General Secretary Gorbachev, House Minority leader Bob Michel brought along a list of Baltic and Ukrainian prisoners of conscience. And the Council on Soviet Jewry was magnificent in making sure that the

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congressional delegation did not leave without extensive data on ^{against} ~~persecuted~~ Jews in the Soviet Union. ^{repression}

Religious persecution, of course, is not confined to Europe.

We see it in Iran, whose leaders have declared virtual war on the Bahais. We see it in Afghanistan, where the Soviets ^{military occupiers have} ~~have moved~~ ^{resorted to increasingly cruel measures against the proud, Moslem people of that country.} ~~against the Mujahadeen.~~ And we see a variation on how to abuse religious freedom in the Sandinista regime of Nicaragua.

In Nicaragua, the Sandinista regime is faced with a politically active church that -- although it supported the revolution -- is now considered a major obstacle to complete totalitarian control. And so the Sandinistas are actively attempting to discredit and split the church hierarchy. One area to be watched, by the way: the Sandinistas, like all communist regimes, are injecting their ideology into the educational system and have begun widespread ~~library~~ campaigns to indoctrinate children and adults. But the Catholic Church is fighting to maintain autonomy and keep this indoctrination out of church-run schools.

~~_____~~ This has not been resolved. Cuba solved the problem by closing all private schools, including religious schools. So did Ethiopia.

The general state of religious liberty in Nicaragua is suggested by testimony from various sources, including refugees. We recently learned of a pastor of the Evangelical Church in a Nicaraguan town who told the Freedom Fighters that the Sandinistas had threatened to send the 3,000 members of his church to relocation camps. The pastor and his church members

are now hiding out in caves and temporary settlements in the countryside.

May I interject here that stories like this are the reason we are asking Congress for aid to help the Freedom Fighters, and to help the victims of the Sandinista regime.

The Sandinistas also harassed Jews. Two Nicaraguan refugees, Sarita and Oscar Kellerman, have told of the firebombing of their synagogue by the Sandinistas -- and how they wrote on the synagogue and the Kellerman's home the words, "Jews -- Out of Nicaragua."

When I think of Nicaragua these days, it occurs to me anew that you can judge any new government, any new regime, by whether or not it allows religion to flourish. If it doesn't, you can be sure it is an enemy of mankind -- for it is attempting to ban what is most beautiful in the human heart.

But we must not feel despair, because it is not appropriate to the times. We are living in a dramatic age. Throughout the world, the machinery of the state is being used as never before against religious freedom -- but at the same time, throughout the world, new groups of believers keep springing up. Points of light flash out in the darkness, and God is honored once again. Perhaps this is the greatest irony of the communist experiment: the very pressure they apply seems to create the force, friction, and heat that allow deep belief to once again burst into flame.

I believe that the most essential element of our defense of freedom is our insistence on speaking out for the cause of religious liberty. I would like to see this country rededicate

itself wholeheartedly to this cause. - I join you in your desire that the Protestant churches of America, the Catholic Church, and the Jewish organizations remember the members of their flock who are in prison or in jeopardy in other countries.

We are our brothers' keepers, all of us. And I hope the message will go forth, from this conference to prisoners of conscience throughout the world: "Take heart, you have not been forgotten. We, your brothers and sisters in God, have made your cause our cause, and we vow never to relent until you have regained the freedom that is your birthright as a child of God."

Thank you. God bless all of you.

(Noonan/BE)
April 12, 1985
10:00 a.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DROBY AT CONFERENCE ON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY
TUESDAY, APRIL 16, 1985

Thank you very much.

I am deeply honored to address this conference. I know that a good many of you have come a long way to be here today, and I know you have given greatly of your time, energy and concern. And I can only hope, as you do, that those now suffering around the world for their beliefs will draw renewed courage from your work.

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But, as all of you know only too well, there are many political regimes today that completely reject the notion that a man or a woman can have a greater loyalty to God than to the state. Marx's central insight, when he was creating his political system, was that religious belief would subvert his intentions. Under Marxism, the ruling party was to claim for itself the attributes which religious faith ascribes to God alone. Under Marxism, the state was to be the final arbiter of truth, justice, and morality. And so Marx declared religion an enemy of the people -- a drug, an opiate of the masses. And Lenin said, "Religion and communism are incompatible in theory as well as in practice . . . We must fight religion."

All of this illustrates a truth that I believe must be re-understood: atheism is not an incidental element of communism, not just part of the package -- it is the package.

In countries which have fallen under communist rule, it is often the church which forms the most powerful barrier against a completely totalitarian system. And so, totalitarian regimes

always seek either to destroy the church or, when that is impossible, to subvert it.

For the former, we have the Soviet Union, where the church was immediately attacked by the communist revolution. This was not done without considerable craftiness. The Soviets, bowing to Western "squeemishness" about the denial of liberties, often characterized their actions as merely defensive.

In 1945, Josef Stalin met with Harry Hopkins, who had been sent by Harry Truman to discuss various East/West problems. In the middle of a talk about politics, Stalin interjected the following: In 1917, he said, the Russian communist party had proclaimed the right of religious freedom as part of their political program. But, he said, the churches of Russia had declared the Soviet government anathema, and had called on church members to resist the call of the Red Army. Now what could we do, said Stalin, but declare war on the church. He assured Hopkins, however, that World War Two had ended the church-state antagonism and now freedom of religion could be granted to the church.

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Well, history has taught us that you can bulldoze a church but you can't extinguish all that is good in every human heart. And so, in spite of the dangers involved there are Christians

throughout the communist world, and Muslims, and Jews, who continue to practice their faith. Some of them have been imprisoned for their courage.

There is the late Valery Marchenko, who died in a Soviet prison hospital a few short months ago. He was 37 years old, a scholar and a Christian who, at his most recent trial, said that all of his life he had tried to "serve goodness" which he considered to be his "Christian duty." There is Father Gleb Yakunin, who was recently sent to Siberia for 5 years of internal exile. He is another prisoner of faith. And Vladislav Rakay, recently jailed for helping to distribute bibles in Czechoslovakia. These are only a few of many.

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In Nicaragua, the Sandinista regime is faced with a politically active church that -- although it supported the revolution -- is now considered a major obstacle to complete totalitarian control. And so the Sandinistas are actively attempting to discredit and split the church hierarchy. One area to be watched, by the way: the Sandinistas, like all communist regimes, are injecting their ideology into the educational system and have begun widespread literacy campaigns to indoctrinate children and adults. But the Catholic Church is fighting to maintain autonomy and keep this indoctrination out of church-run schools.

This has not been resolved. Cuba solved the problem by closing all private schools, including religious schools. So did Ethiopia.

The general state of religious liberty in Nicaragua is suggested by testimony from various sources, including refugees. We recently learned of a pastor of the Evangelical Church in a Nicaraguan town who told the Freedom Fighters that the Sandinistas had threatened to send the 3,000 members of his church to relocation camps. The pastor and his church members

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When I think of Nicaragua these days, it occurs to me anew that you can judge any new government, any new regime, by whether or not it allows religion to flourish. If it doesn't, you can be sure it is an enemy of mankind -- for it is attempting to ban what is most beautiful in the human heart.

But we must not feel despair, because it is not appropriate to the times. We are living in a dramatic age. Throughout the world, the machinery of the state is being used as never before against religious freedom -- but at the same time, throughout the world, new groups of believers keep springing up. Points of light flash out in the darkness, and God is honored once again. Perhaps this is the greatest irony of the communist experiment: the very pressure they apply seems to create the force, friction, and heat that allow deep belief to once again burst into flame.

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itself wholeheartedly to this cause. I join you in your desire that the Protestant churches of America, the Catholic Church, and the Jewish organizations remember the members of their flock who are in prison or in jeopardy in other countries.

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(Noonan) ^{BE}
April 11, 1985
draft, 5:00 p.m.

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TUESDAY, APRIL 16, 1985

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~~Nicaragua, and they asked the Freedom Fighters to escort them to the border. But the Freedom Fighters had to refuse, because they simply could not afford to support 3,000 people, and all of their needs, during the trip.~~

← The pastor and his church members are now hiding out in caves and temporary settlements in the countryside.

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The Sandinistas ~~are~~ ^{ed} also harassing Jews. Two Nicaraguan refugees, Sarita and Oscar Kellerman, have told of the firebombing of their synagogue by the Sandinistas -- and how they wrote on the synagogue and the Kellerman's home the words, "Jews -- Out of Nicaragua."

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(Noonan)
April 11, 1985
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Thank you. God bless all of you.

(Noonan)
April 11, 1985
draft, 5:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DROPBY AT CONFERENCE ON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY
TUESDAY, APRIL 16, 1985

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(Noonan)
April 11, 1985
draft, 3:30 p.m.

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April 11, 1985
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PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DROPBY AT CONFERENCE ON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY
TUESDAY, APRIL 16, 1985

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have come a long way to be here today, and ^{I know} ~~that all of~~ you have
given greatly of your time and energy and concern. ^{And I can} ~~I hope that~~
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But, as you know only too well, there are many political regimes today that completely reject the notion that a man or a woman can have a greater loyalty to God than to the state.

Marx's central insight, when he was creating his political system, was that ^{religious belief} ~~religion would be subversive of the state~~ ^{subvert his intentions}. ~~A~~ ^{Under Marxism} the Marxist ruling party ^{was to} ~~claim, for itself the~~ attributes of ~~omnipotence~~ which religious faith ascribes to God alone. ^{Under Marxism,} ~~The state is the~~ ^{was to be the} final arbiter of truth, justice, morality -- not God. ^{And so Marx} ~~The thing to do, he reasoned, was to~~ declare religion an enemy of the people -- a drug, an opiate for the masses. ^{And} ~~Lenin, of course, agreed, and said, "Religion and~~ communism are incompatible in theory as well as in practice. . . . We must fight religion." ^{All of this illustrates a truth that I believe must be re-understood.} ~~And that is why~~ atheism is not an incidental element of communism, not just part of the package. --

it is the package, ~~it is the core of communism~~. Remove religion and you remove the ground from which the state can be opposed. ~~The Poles of Warsaw intuitively know this -- which is why Lech Walesa marches behind a cross and Lenin understood that religious faith is ultimately subversive of the state -- because it says is faith in something larger than a mere political system.~~

In countries which have fallen under communist rule, it is often the church which forms the most powerful ^{barrier} bulwark against ~~a completely the consolidation of~~ a totalitarian system. And so, totalitarian regimes always seek either to destroy the church or, when that is impossible, to subvert it, ~~then to subvert it to undermine it, to divide it, to co opt parts of it, to corrupt it from within.~~

For the former, we have the Soviet Union, where the church was destroyed by the communist revolution. ^{This was not achieved} ~~It is often done with~~ without some craftiness. ^{bowing to western "squeemishness"} ~~considerable craftiness -- the complaint is often, "we had to do it, the church was attacking us."~~

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~~You no doubt know~~ of Father Gleb Yakunin, who was recently sent to Siberia for 5 years of internal exile. He is another prisoner of faith. And Vladislav Rakay, recently jailed for helping to distribute bibles in Czechoslovakia. ~~These are only a few of many.~~

Dr. Ernest Gordon, the President of an organization named CREED -- Christian Rescue Effort for the Emancipation of Dissidents -- noted that on a recent trip to Eastern Europe, he spoke with a priest who had spent 10 years in prison. The priest asked him to deliver a message to the West: there is a war going

on; it is not nuclear but spiritual. The fall-out of the atheistic explosion is everywhere. But Dr. Gordon added, "Although the fallout may be everywhere, we are reminded that God too is everywhere and not even tyrannies can keep him out."

We in the United States have protested this terrible abuse of people who are nothing less than heroes of this century. ^{You may know} ~~I am~~ happy to report ^{leaders} that when the ~~recent~~ ^{recently,} congressional ~~delegation~~ met in Moscow with ^{Premier} ~~Mr.~~ Gorbachov, ^{House} Minority leader Bob Michael brought along a list ^{of} Baltic and Ukrainian prisoners of conscience. ^{and} the Council on Soviet Jewry was ~~also~~ magnificent in making sure that the congressional delegation did not leave without extensive data ^a on persecuted Jews in the Soviet Union.

Religious persecution, of course, is not confined to Europe. We see it in Iran, whose leaders have ~~just about~~ ^{virtual} declared war on the Bahais. We see it in Afghanistan, where the Soviets have moved against the Mujahadeen. And we see a variation on how to abuse religious freedom in the Sandinista regime of Nicaragua.

In Nicaragua, the Sandinista regime is faced with a politically-active church that -- although it supported the revolution -- is now considered a major obstacle to ~~complete~~ totalitarian control. And so the Sandinistas are actively attempting to discredit and split the church hierarchy. ^{One} ~~an~~ area to be watched, by the way: the Sandinistas, like all communist regimes, are injecting their ideology into the educational system and have begun widespread literacy campaigns ^{to} ~~that are a way of~~

indoctrinating^E children and adults. But the Catholic Church is fighting ^{to maintain autonomy and keep} ~~the introduction of~~ this indoctrination ^{out of} ~~in~~ church-run schools.

This has not been resolved. Cuba solved the problem by closing all private schools, including religious schools. So did Ethiopia.

~~As to~~ the general state of religious liberty in Nicaragua is suggested by ^{testimony from various sources, including refugees} ~~what we are learning of the experience of those~~ ~~within~~ ^{we have been told} a pastor of the Evangelical Church in a Nicaraguan town ~~I cannot say which or where, because it~~

~~could jeopardize them~~ ^{who} ~~told a leader of the Freedom Fighters~~ that the Sandinistas had threatened to send the 3,000 members of his church to relocation camps. The church members are now

~~hiding out creating temporary camps, using caves out in the countryside. They want to flee to Honduras~~ ^{and} they asked the

Freedom Fighters ^{had to refuse,} ~~could not~~, because they simply could not afford to

support 3,000 people, and all of their needs, during the trip.

~~The pastor and his church members are now hiding out in caves and temporary~~ ^{settlements in the countryside.}

~~We may get a clue to Sandinista intentions, though, through~~ ^{if the Sandinistas are also harassing Jews.}

~~their persistent and widespread harassment of Evangelicals and preachers and of Jews.~~ Two Nicaraguan refugees, Sarita and

Oscar Kellerman, have told of the firebombing of their synagogue by the Sandinistas -- and how they wrote on ~~the~~ ^{they} synagogue and

the Kellerman's home the words, "Jews -- Out of Nicaragua."

~~When I think of Nicaragua these days it occurs to me anew that you can judge~~
We are living in a dramatic ^{add. trained} ~~time~~. Throughout the world, the ^{any new} ~~machinery~~ of the state is being ~~focused~~, as never before, against ^{any new government,}

religious freedom -- ^{but} ~~and~~ at the same time, throughout the world ^{any new regime,}

But we must not feel despair; it is not appropriate to the times.

Can be sure it is an enemy of mankind -- for it is attempting to be a

by whether or not it allows religion to flourish. If it doesn't, you

new groups of ^{believers} belief keep springing-up, ^{in the darkness} points of light flash out wherever the decent meet, and God is honored once again. ^{this is the great irony of the communist experiment:} Perhaps ~~that is most ironic for the communists~~ their very ^{they apply to create} pressure ~~seems to apply~~ the force and heat ^{that makes} necessary for deep belief ~~to~~ once again burst into flame.

I believe that the most essential element of our defense of freedom is our ^{insistence on speaking out for} ~~defense~~ of the cause of religious freedom. ~~And~~ I would like to see this country rededicate itself wholeheartedly to this cause, ^{and I join you in your desire that} ~~and~~ the Protestant churches of America, the Catholic Church, and the Jewish organizations ~~to~~ remember the members of their flock who are in prison or in jeopardy in other countries.

^{all to us.}
We are our brother's keepers, And I hope the message will go forth, from this conference to prisoners of conscience throughout the world: "Take heart, you have not been forgotten. We, your brothers and sisters in God, have made your cause our cause, and we vow never to relent until you have regained the freedom that is your birthright as a child of God."

Thank you. God bless all of you.

PRESIDENT'S REMARKS TO RELIGIOUS
LIBERTY CONFERENCE

Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am both honored and delighted to have the opportunity to address this most distinguished Conference on Religious Liberty. I know that a good many of you have come a long way to attend this Conference, and that all of you have given of your time, your energy, and above all of your concern to be here today. I hope that each of you has found the Conference a productive and memorable experience. More important, perhaps, I hope that those now suffering around the world for their worship of God will draw renewed courage from your works.

The history of religion and its impact on our civilization are matters which cannot be summarized in a few days, much less a few minutes. Yet it seems clear to me that one of the distinguishing features of religion--any religion--is its sense of the sacred. All religions draw a distinction between the temporal and spiritual spheres. All religions, in effect, echo the words of the gospel of St. Matthew, Chapter 22, Verse 21:

"Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's, and unto God the things which are God's." What this biblical injunction teaches us is that the individual cannot be entirely subordinate to the state, that there exists an inviolable realm of individual thought and action which is sacred, totally beyond and outside of state control.

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of this idea in the development of human rights. For only in an intellectual climate which sharply distinguishes between Caesar's realm and God's realm--and which categorically affirms the independence of God's realm, and forbids any infringement by the state on its prerogatives--only in such a climate could the ideal of individual human rights take root and grow and eventually flourish.

The connection between religious conviction and human rights is especially clear in our own American political tradition. The founders of the American republic rooted their democratic commitment in the belief that all men "are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights." The Declaration of Independence invoked "the law of nature and of nature's God" as the source of the equality of men and the

rights which belong to them as God's creatures. "To secure these rights", the Declaration Independence continues, "Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." Thus, far from subordinating the individual to the demands of the state, the Founding Fathers created a system of government whose avowed purpose is the protection of the individual's God-given rights. Indeed, democracy itself may be seen as the political expression of the great religious ideal of the equality and brotherhood of mankind.

But what happens if a citizen runs afoul of the system by refusing to do his duty?

But to all too many regimes in the world today, the notion that a man or a woman can have a greater loyalty to God than to the State is totally unacceptable. Atheism is not an incidental element of their ideology, but its core, for their ruling parties claim for themselves the attributes of omnipotence and omniscience which believers ascribe to God alone. Totalitarian parties seek to impose the complete control of the state over all areas of life, and that which they cannot control, they try to destroy. For this reason, totalitarianism can best be understood as a modern form of idolatry, an attempt to establish the Party as

the final arbiter of truth, justice and morality. Not for nothing, then, did Alexander Solzhenitsyn identify hatred of God as the "principal driving force" of communist ideology.

In countries which have fallen under Communist rule, it is often the Church which forms the most powerful bulwark against the consolidation of a totalitarian system. It is not surprising, then, that totalitarian regimes invariably seek, as a matter of the utmost priority, either to destroy the Church, or, if that should prove physically impossible, then at least to subvert it, to undermine it from within and convert it into yet another of the State's numerous "transmission belts." We must unreservedly condemn this attempt to subvert the role of religion as guardian of man's spirit in God's world.

Similarly, we must condemn the actions of any regime which attacks the religious authorities and structures for their defense of human rights. Time after time, when a dictator seeks to repress free speech or free press, or forbid elections, or jail opponents, or cows them with threats or acts of brutality, it is the voice of religion that reminds us all of the values of human life, freedom, and dignity. Of course to a dictatorial regime, this will be a challenge, and it will be denounced as interference in politics. But as long as religious leaders are simply defending their flocks and

-reminding the rules of their responsibilities, they are not interfering in politics; it is the dictators who are interfering with the dignity and freedom of the individual. And the worst interference by any government is with the right of the individual to worship God. You know what is true but nearly unbelievable: There are Monks and Priests and Ministers and Imans in jail today, Jews and Christians and Muslims and Buddhists and Hindus and Bahais for worshipping God and following his laws. (NB: add examples of Soviet Christian, Bahai in Iran, Muslim, Jew, Buddhist (Vietnam)).

They believe in God and He will not fail them. But will we? Let us therefore rededicate ourselves wholeheartedly to the cause of religious freedom. Let us prove, in word and deed alike, that we truly are our brother's keeper. Let our message go forth from this conference to prisoners of conscience everywhere: "Take heart, you have not been forgotten! We, your brothers and sisters in God, have made your cause our cause, and we vow never to relent until all of you have regained the freedom that is your birthright to worship in the manner of your own choosing, so help us God."

Drafted HA:JShattan

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