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(NOONAN)

APRIL 16, 1985

Received SS
1985 APR 16 PM 12:33

DROPBY CONFERENCE ON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

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 THAT 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 THE COMMUNIST SYSTEM, THE RULING PARTY WOULD CLAIM FOR ITSELF THE ATTRIBUTES WHICH RELIGIOUS FAITH ASCRIBES TO GOD ALONE -- AND THE STATE WOULD BE FINAL ARBITER OF TRUTH, JUSTICE, AND MORALITY. 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.

IN THE SOVIET UNION, THE CHURCH WAS IMMEDIATELY ATTACKED BY THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION. BUT THE SOVIETS, BOWING TO WESTERN "SQUEAMISHNESS" 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.

BUT THAT, AS YOU KNOW, NEVER HAPPENED.

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 AND JEWS, AND MUSLIMS
AND OTHERS THROUGHOUT THE COMMUNIST WORLD
WHO CONTINUE TO PRACTICE THEIR FAITH.
SOME OF THEM HAVE BEEN IMPRISONED
FOR THEIR COURAGE.

THERE IS THE LATE VALERIE 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, SPOKE OF HIS BELIEF IN GOD AND
HIS FAITH IN HUMAN GOODNESS.

THERE IS FATHER GLEB YAKUNIN,
WHO WAS RECENTLY SENT TO SIBERIA FOR 5 YEARS
OF INTERNAL EXILE. HE IS ANOTHER PRISONER
OF FAITH. AND BRONISLAV BOROVSKY,
RECENTLY SENTENCED FOR SMUGGLING BIBLES INTO
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 GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV, THEY GAVE THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP A LIST OF BALTIC AND UKRAINIAN PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE. AND THE COUNCIL ON SOVIET JEWRY AND OTHER GROUPS WERE MAGNIFICENT IN MAKING SURE THAT THE CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION DID NOT LEAVE WITHOUT EXTENSIVE DATA ON REPRESSION AGAINST JEWS IN THE SOVIET UNION.

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION, OF COURSE, IS NOT CONFINED TO EUROPE. WE SEE IT IN IRAN, WHOSE LEADERS HAVE VIRTUALLY DECLARED WAR ON THE BAHAIS. WE SEE IT IN AFGHANISTAN, WHERE THE SOVIET MILITARY HAS RESORTED TO INCREASINGLY CRUEL MEASURES AGAINST THE MOSLEM PEOPLE. 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. SOME TIME BACK, NICARAGUAN BISHOP PABLO ANTONIO VEGA SAID THAT "...WE ARE LIVING WITH A TOTALITARIAN IDEOLOGY THAT NO ONE WANTS IN THIS COUNTRY." THE SANDINISTAS ARE ACTIVELY ATTEMPTING TO DISCREDIT AND SPLIT THE CHURCH HIERARCHY. AND THERE IS ONE NEW AREA TO BE WATCHED: THE SANDINISTAS, LIKE ALL COMMUNIST REGIMES, ARE INJECTING THEIR IDEOLOGY INTO THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AND HAVE BEGUN WIDESPREAD CAMPAIGNS TO INDOCTRINATE CHILDREN AND ADULTS. BUT THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IS FIGHTING TO MAINTAIN AUTONOMY AND KEEP THIS INDOCTRINATION OUT OF THEIR CHURCHES AND SCHOOLS.

THIS HAS NOT BEEN RESOLVED.
CUBA SOLVED THE PROBLEM BY CLOSING ALL
PRIVATE SCHOOLS, INCLUDING RELIGIOUS
SCHOOLS.

THE GENERAL STATE OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY
IN NICARAGUA IS SUGGESTED BY TESTIMONY FROM
VARIOUS SOURCES, BUT MOST VIVIDLY BY THOSE
WHO HAVE FLED THIS BRUTAL REGIME.
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.

THE SANDINISTAS ALSO HARASSED JEWS.
TWO NICARAGUAN REFUGEES, SARITA AND
OSCAR KELLERMANN, HAVE TOLD OF THE
FIREBOMBING OF THEIR SYNAGOGUE BY THE
SANDINISTAS.

THE SANDINISTAS WROTE ON THE SYNAGOGUE THE WORDS "WHAT HITLER STARTED, WE WILL FINISH." AND THEY WROTE ON THE KELLERMANN'S HOME, "JEWS -- OUT OF NICARAGUA."

MAY I INTERJECT HERE THAT STORIES LIKE THESE, OF ORGANIZED COERCION, AND BRUTALITY AND TERROR, ARE THE REASON WE ARE ASKING CONGRESS FOR AID TO HELP THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS, AND TO HELP THE VICTIMS OF THE SANDINISTA REGIME.

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.

#

The President has seen _____

(Noonan/BE)

April 15, 1985

5:00 p.m. Received SS

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 that 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 communism, the ruling party would claim for itself the attributes which religious faith ascribes to God alone -- and the state would be final arbiter of truth, justice, and morality. 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.

In the Soviet Union, the church was immediately attacked by the communist revolution. But the Soviets, bowing to Western "squeamishness" 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.

But that, as you know, never happened.

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, and others, who continue to practice their faith. Some of them have been imprisoned for their courage.

There is the late Valeriy 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, spoke of his belief in God and his faith in human goodness. There is Father Gleb Yakunin, who was recently sent to Siberia for 5 years of internal exile. He is another prisoner of faith. And Bronislav Borovsky, recently sentenced for smuggling bibles into 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 General Secretary Gorbachev, they gave the Soviet leadership a list of Baltic and Ukrainian prisoners of conscience. And the Council on Soviet Jewry and other groups were magnificent in making sure that the congressional delegation did not leave without extensive data on repression against Jews in the Soviet Union.

Religious persecution, of course, is not confined to Europe. We see it in Iran, whose leaders have virtually declared war on the Bahais. We see it in Afghanistan, where the Soviet military has resorted to increasingly cruel measures against the Moslem

people. 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. Some time back, Nicaraguan Bishop Pablo Antonio Vega said, "We are living with a totalitarian ideology that no one wants in this country." The Sandinistas are actively attempting to discredit and split the church hierarchy. And there is one new area to be watched: the Sandinistas, like all communist regimes, are injecting their ideology into the educational system and have begun widespread campaigns to indoctrinate children and adults. But the Catholic Church is fighting to maintain autonomy and keep this indoctrination out of their churches and schools.

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

The general state of religious liberty in Nicaragua is suggested by testimony from various sources, but most vividly by those who have fled this brutal regime. 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.

To (P) 4/15
5:30P

(Noonan/BE)

April 15, 1985
5:00 p.m. Received SS

1985 APR 15 PM 5:30

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Thank you. God bless all of you.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 4/15/85 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NA

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DROPBY AT CONFERENCE ON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY
(5:00 p.m. - April 15 draft)

| ACTION FYI | | | ACTION FYI | | |
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| VICE PRESIDENT | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | OGLESBY | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
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| CHEW | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | VERSTANDIG | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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| HICKEY | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | DANIELS | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
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| McFARLANE | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

David L. Chew
 Staff Secretary
 Ext. 2702

(Noonan/BE)
April 15, 1985
5:00 p.m. Received SS

1985 APR 15 PM 5:39

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 that 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 communism, the ruling party would claim for itself the attributes which religious faith ascribes to God alone -- and the state would be final arbiter of truth, justice, and morality. 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.

In the Soviet Union, the church was immediately attacked by the communist revolution. But the Soviets, bowing to Western "squeamishness" 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.

But that, as you know, never happened.

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, and others, who continue to practice their faith. Some of them have been imprisoned for their courage.

There is the late Valeriy 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, spoke of his belief in God and his faith in human goodness. There is Father Gleb Yakunin, who was recently sent to Siberia for 5 years of internal exile. He is another prisoner of faith. And Bronislav Borovsky, recently sentenced for smuggling bibles into 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 General Secretary Gorbachev, they gave the Soviet leadership a list of Baltic and Ukrainian prisoners of conscience. And the Council on Soviet Jewry and other groups were magnificent in making sure that the congressional delegation did not leave without extensive data on repression against Jews in the Soviet Union.

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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. Some time back, Nicaraguan Bishop Pablo Antonio Vega said, "We are living with a totalitarian ideology that no one wants in this country." The Sandinistas are actively attempting to discredit and split the church hierarchy. And there is one new area to be watched: the Sandinistas, like all communist regimes, are injecting their ideology into the educational system and have begun widespread campaigns to indoctrinate children and adults. But the Catholic Church is fighting to maintain autonomy and keep this indoctrination out of their churches and schools.

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

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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.

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.

Tues

Document No. _____

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>OK</i> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| REGAN | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | ROLLINS <i>No com.</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>no comment</i> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | SVAHN <i>see edit</i> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| BUCHANAN | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | TUTTLE | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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| FRIEDERSDORF <i>OK</i> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | RYAN | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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| McFARLANE <i>OK</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

Received SS

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

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.

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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.

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

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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.

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Thank you. God bless all of you.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 4/15/85 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NA

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DROPBY AT CONFERENCE ON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY
(5:00 p.m. - April 15 draft)

| | ACTION | FYI | | ACTION | FYI |
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| VICE PRESIDENT | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | OGLESBY | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| REGAN | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | ROLLINS | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
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| McFARLANE | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

David L. Chew
Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

(Noonan/BE)
April 15, 1985
5:00 p.m. Received SS

1985 APR 15 PM 5:30

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

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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.

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.

Received SS

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

APR 12 PM 5:03

DATE: 4/12/85 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: C.O.B. TODAY, 4/12/85SUBJECT: 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 | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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| 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 comments.

David L. Chew
Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

Received SS

1985 APR 12 PM 6:44

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 | |
|----------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
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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 Response

David L. Chew
 Staff Secretary
 Ext. 2702

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 4/12/85 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: C.O.B. TODAY, 4/12/85SUBJECT: REMARKS: DROPBY AT CONFERENCE ON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY
(4/12 - 10:00 a.m. draft)

| | ACTION FYI | | | ACTION FYI | |
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| McFARLANE | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

REMARKS:

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RESPONSE:

no edit

U. Rogers

David L. Chew
Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

Received SS

1985 APR 12 PM 5:25

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


THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Received SS

1985 APR 12 PM 8:05

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 ✓



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

April 15, 1985

Received SS

1985 APR 15 PM 3:15

MEMORANDUM FOR: BEN ELLIOTT

FROM: AL KEET *(A)*

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

✓ We have reviewed the remarks and have no comments.

cc: David Chew
DOSG

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

April 15, 1985

Received SS
1985 APR 15 PM 5:20

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT

FROM: ROBERT M. KIMMITT *Boh*

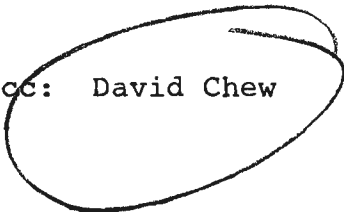
SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks for the Conference on
Religious Liberty, April 16, 1:30 p.m.

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



88

(Noonan/BE)

April 12, 1985

10:00 a.m.

Received SS

1985 APR 12 11:10:10

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 ^{feared} ~~the central insight, when he was creating his~~
~~political system, was that religious belief would subvert his~~
~~intention. 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~~
~~truth, justice, and morality.~~ ^{materialist philosophy}
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 ~~the~~ organized religions.

~~In the~~ ^{for example} Soviet Union, where the church was immediately attacked by the communist revolution,

~~without any~~ The Soviets ~~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.

~~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 ~~Perestroika~~ 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

State will call
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Stat

General Secretary

congressional delegation did not leave without extensive data on ^{repression} ~~persecuted~~ ^{against} 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 Soviet ^{military occupiers have} ~~have~~ ^{resorted to increasingly cruel measures against the proud, Moslem people of that country.} ~~resorted to increasingly cruel measures against the proud, Moslem people of that country.~~ 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 ~~in~~ 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.

CLASSIFICATION

CIRCLE ONE BELOW

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RELEASER _____

FROM/LOCATION

1. _____ SARA EMERY/WHITE HOUSE

TO/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

1. _____ DAVID CHEW/SANTA BARBARA

2. _____ FRED FIELDING/SANTA BARBARA

3. _____ ADMIRAL POINDEXTER/SANTA BARBARA

4. _____

5. _____

6. _____

7. _____

INFORMATION ADDEES/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

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SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS:

CLASSIFICATION

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUMDATE: 4/12/85 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: C.O.B. TODAY, 4/12/85SUBJECT: REMARKS: DROPBY AT CONFERENCE ON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

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

| | ACTION FYI | | | ACTION FYI | |
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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 S S

1985 APR 12 AM 10:40

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

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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.

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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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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.