

Like so many of you, I was a lucky grandson of four immigrant grandparents, for I was born in America. My grandpa, Louis, was a Peddler -- and a Patriot, who believed with the Puritan Founders, that America was the New Jerusalem. At home, I grew up under Grandpa's family leadership. But, politically speaking, I grew up under the shadow of the legendary "Pop-pop" Taylor, the Republican boss of Pennsylvania, who actually put Warren Harding over the top in 1920. I can even remember "Pop-pop" patting me on the head as a boy and giving me some advice. "Pop-pop" said to me, "Lew, never touch cigarettes, whiskey or women -- until you reach your twelfth birthday."

Like most Americans, I cherish the traditional values I learned in my childhood, growing up in central Pennsylvania. These national standards -- Faith, Family, Freedom, Fidelity to the Flag for which we stand -- these are the things in life worth fighting for.

And make no mistake. Today, we are engaged in a great Civil War -- an intellectual Civil War, testing what kind of nation we shall choose to be in our third century -- the true American Century.

The issue is whether or not we shall fulfill the promise, at home, of the Declaration of Independence and peacefully carry this charter of our liberties to a world longing to be free. This is not only the issue. But it must be the goal of every true American patriot. Not only for reasons of self-interest. But more importantly, because America is the preeminent standard-bearer of the sacred code of Judeo Christian civilization. And no American citizen should doubt that this code of freedom -- hammered out in our common law and our Constitution -- by itself -- accounts for the rise of 13 impoverished colonies by the sea to the most bountiful nation the Earth has ever known.

Our forefathers believed that all work was sacred, each calling sanctified,

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every spiritual and economic advance a glory to our Creator. If our earthly end was to increase and multiply, our grandfathers had clear views on the means to this goal. In the realm of commerce, the Founders held -- along with our immigrant forebearers -- that government created the conditions and some of the incentives, which lead, not to welfare, but hard work; not to subsidies, but savings; not to hoarding, but risk taking; not to indulgent consumption, but investment; not to austerity, but growth; not the dole, but full employment.

And here, it is fitting that we deal with the first draft of the Bishop's Pastoral on Catholic Social Teaching and the American economy. That theirs is a sincere effort, none should doubt. That theirs is a wise work or good news we may, with respect, question. The Bishops put the issue at their conclusion. They refer to "The Christian perspective on the meaning of economic life." And they suggest at the beginning of the Pastoral that Christian "Justice demands the establishment of minimum levels of [economic] participation by all persons in the life of the human community..." I agree. So do almost all Americans. None of us who read the Prophets and the Gospels could deny the just claims of the least among us. None should want to. As I am taught, Church teaching gives this doctrine as a goal, which we all accept, but the doctrine allows faithful men and women to choose in good conscience the means -- the public policy and law -- by which to attain this end.

And thus many of us ask: Do we give a fish to him, who has none, in order to fill him for a dependent day; or do we make a fisher of this man, and teach him to fish for himself, that he may feed his family all of his days? Do we lower unemployment to 3-4%, as the Pastoral suggests, by "Public service employment and...public subsidies," as in the failed and scandal-ridden CETA and the Public Job Corps Program; or do we create incentives to bring out the best

in free men and women who then create lasting jobs for the least among us in new and growing firms. Which course of action, which means to our goal of full human dignity, is the enduring path of individual progress, the way to self-esteem, the road to independence of the self-governing family? Do we bestow the dignity of economic independence, as the Bishops compassionately imply, by once again raising the level of welfare payments -- a scheme which during the 1960's and 70's gave rise to trillions of welfare state spending, now over \$500 billion yearly -- with pathetic and ironic results we cannot escape -- namely, even more poverty and dependency; for example, the percentage of Americans living below the poverty line rose from 12.6% in 1970 to 13% in 1980; one out of four children now grow up in female-headed homes, almost 3 times the immediate postwar level; and teen-age unemployment is today more than twice its level before the exponential rise of welfare payments and the minimum wage. Now, consider the alternative means to our agreed upon goal of full economic participation: Do we give dignity to life on earth for all able-bodied men and women who want honest work by creating the conditions for rapid economic growth, which alone can raise the demand for labor, unskilled and skilled alike.

A low, simple, fair tax rate which rewards hard work, savings and investment for making of new jobs; a stable dollar; a limited government which balances the budget without raising taxes, these are the true incentives for growth. I raise these questions for each of us to examine by the light of conscience and evidence. For myself, I believe a certain truth; and I also believe this truth can make us free. And it is this. To desire a goal should cause us to desire the most effective means to reach that goal. To do otherwise is to court disaster. As I share the Bishop's goal for the American economy, I also believe the means to that goal lie deep in the democratic way of life, in

the free enterprise economy and the 108 million jobs it has created in our country! The evidence is compelling. In the past 15 years, our free economy has created 27 million new jobs; the social-democratic welfare state economies of western Europe have lost 2 million jobs. While America's free farmers still feed the world, government dominated farm economies in the Sudan, Ethiopia, in all Africa and the Third World create only the famine, relieved only by American alms. Under universal farm socialism in Africa -- in each of the last 15 years, food production per person has actually fallen -- now 20% below 1960. And this result, according to scholars, has little to do with the drying up of the weather and much to do with the drying up of the incentives to cultivate the land.

Finally, our conscience harkens us again; faith asks, what of the least among us? Those who are literally unable to fish, to farm, to forge a product on the anvil of the workplace. Americans have answered this question. They are the most generous givers in history, at home and abroad. I believe our government was created to do those things for our people which they could not do for themselves. And most Americans agree.

This American tradition began with the Founders, who guided themselves by a cardinal American economic principle -- which stemmed from their faith -- the protection for this principle which they wrote into the 5th Amendment of our organic law. And the principle was this: In a social order founded on voluntary covenants and consensus, economic justice must mean that before any able-bodied citizen should make a demand on society, he should first make a supply. When acted upon this first principle of free enterprise completely alters human conduct -- to which the history of our nation is a living witness. For 350 years in America we have seen the miraculous fruits of this first moral

principle of work. Why should we, or anyone else, be amazed by the American miracle. We know that to supply is, in another form but to give -- to offer. And to give is to produce -- to make an offering in the market. But to receive is to consume -- in another form to take from the market -- thus it is rightly said: Freely do we give. Then we receive.

With this rule of faith and natural law, drawn out and elaborated by great jurists -- in Blackstone's Big Book, Chitty's pleadings, Joseph Story's commentaries, and in Chancellor Kent's principles -- the Founders and their interpreters had drawn a blueprint, not only for individual and family success; but, in fact, they had passed to us the the revolutionary principles not only for national greatness, but also, global prosperity.

And this is true, because the American Revolution alone strikes the unmistakable spark of universality in the soul of men -- bursting brightly upon the face of the Earth, as it did, in the Declaration of Independence -- proclaiming that all mankind, not just Americans, but all men and women are endowed by their Creator, with the inalienable right to life, to liberty and to the pursuit of happiness, and are absolutely equal, at least in these rights.

The irony would amuse me, if it were not a public scandal -- but today, critics of American religious tradition suggest by their actions, that our Founding Fathers, in their care to separate an established Church from the State, meant to remove almost every trace of the living God from our public life. This doctrine is not only pernicious; it is false law.

The constitutional debates show that the Founding Fathers sought to prevent the legal establishment of a government-owned Church -- such as the Anglican Church in England. And as one witness, I bring forward President Washington, himself, who declared in his Farewell Address that religion and morality are the

necessary supports of our government. This the Father of our Country said; and this he meant.

It is a fact of history that the First Amendment was never a license for government to suppress religious practices in public places; nor was it a pornographic license to destroy the faith, the future and the mind of a child; neither was it a warrant for the Supreme Court to prohibit prayer in public schools. Indeed, the First Amendment, read rightly, according to the common canons of statutory and constitutional construction, means plainly: Congress shall make no law abridging the free exercise of religion. Neither can the court maintain much longer the absurd construction of the religion clause, where it broadly construes the free exercise part to include atheism and humanism among protected religions, and narrowly construes -- within the very same amendment -- on a completely different principle, consistent with common sense and the intent of the Founders, and our countrymen, or the people shall change the court -- and the principle.

If, as a nation under God, our faith has made us mighty and free, so too did we wax prosperous by exalting the family, a way of life grounded in the Bible an equitable law which in turns stemmed directly and our common law which in turn stemmed from the ecclesiastical courts of Christiandom. And, if I dwell on these wellsprings of our world greatness -- Faith, Family and the natural law -- it is only because I believe that, cut off from the fountainhead of first principles, the deep river of our national life must eventually run dry -- and the hope of the world with it.

In this, our time of social troubles, when one out of four American children grow up in single-parent, female headed homes, need we look much beyond the destruction of the family, the decimation of the home, and the demolition of

the neighborhood for the root causes of violent crime, pervasive drug addiction, and teenage joblessness? I also ask: Can it really be our lot to live by a criminal law, the preoccupation of which is often a mindless inquiry into the inadvertent working of police procedures, and not a search into the guilt or innocence of a violent criminal? Can it really be true that the principle purpose of the court may be an investigation into the propriety of a policeman's conduct and not the search for simple justice? That our criminal courts have in fact been immobilized in many places, is an ultimate threat to every American's first freedom -- freedom of person, from violence and fraud. And of these truths, my fellow Americans, beware -- by means of this subversion of the security of the self-governing family, the ax has been laid unto the root of the tree. There is a balm from these afflictions; and the remedy is easy to grasp, even if it is hard to apply...and it is this; our laws and policies must be reformed -- indeed, they must be reconstructed -- so that our children, all the children of this land, may be given not only the shelter of a house, but the love of a home.

And so, we shall work confidently toward the day when Americans will again pray in public places as they please, when legalized but illegitimate quotas, will be no more, when taxpayer subsidized abortion on demand shall be abolished, when victims shall find justice in criminal courts, when the child exemption shall be raised to \$3,000 and the tax code shall be an unapologetic pro-family social institution; when the budget will be balanced by constitutional amendment; when real money shall be a just weight and the honest measure of monetary exchange, a dollar convertible into gold or silver, the only lawful currency of our Constitution.

And finally, we shall struggle to restore the principle purpose of our

constitutional government, in the service of which all officers of the land swear an irrevocable oath: the common defense of the territory and the people of America. And to that end we propose to put aside the suicidal and immoral strategy of Mutual Assured Destruction, now holding hostage all innocent Americans. And we intend to put in its place, a military strategy based on the natural law of self-defense; a new shield of the Republic, the non-nuclear Star Wars defense -- since the force is with us.

To carry through this program of President Reagan's Second American Revolution, we shall fight in the Cabinet Councils; we shall fight in the State Legislatures; we shall fight over the open airwaves; we shall fight this battle over our national future in every neighborhood, every village, every town.

Our opponents, fellow Americans of goodwill, but different opinions, ask us to compromise, to withdraw from the field, to grow quiet on rising controversial issues -- such as prayer, pornography, and abortion -- holding sincerely, as they do, that these issues lead to divisive debates over the role of religion and morality in American life.

But, I ask you, who or what was the provocative agent which dug up this debate in the first place? None can deny it was the Supreme Court of the United States itself, which overthrew, in one ruling or another, the objective moral order established by the Founders -- and with these rulings, destroyed a century and a half of settled common law and constitutional traditions. Some of our opponents say, yes, you are right about that; but, alas, the Supreme Court has ruled against you; and as its rulings are the supreme law of the land, you must obey, and in the interest of harmony, you must be quiet. We answer with respect: obey for the time, yes; but be quiet, no, never. And furthermore, we deny that the Supreme Court can by itself, permanently decide the meaning of the

supreme law of the land.

Thus do we remember Lincoln who, in the agony of obedience, did defer briefly to the Supreme Court's pro-slavery Dred Scott decision he abhorred -- but in the end he rejected. Rendered for the majority of Supreme Court judges by Chief Justice Roger B. Taney in 1857, the Dred Scott decision declared that the black man could, under the Constitution, never be an American citizen.

And therefore under this ruling of the Supreme Court, as Senator Stephen Douglas argued against private citizen Lincoln in 1858, the earthly fate of a black man had been fitted neatly into Article 5 of the Constitution, the property clause, where, instead of a child of God, he would become by virtue of this Supreme Court decision, a forsaken slave, a mere chattel -- a living mockery of the inalienable right to liberty.

Thus did the Taney Supreme Court decide.

Only 10 years later, the 13th and the 14th Amendments had overthrown slavery, the Dred Scott Supreme Court, and its opinion -- forever!

So I say, who now laments the overthrow, by the American people of the Supreme Court's Dred Scott opinion, rendered in 1857 by a majority of the justices? Who now holds up the memory of Chief Justice Taney for the honor of the ages? Who now mourns the death of the unacceptable Supreme Court that the Black Man was not even a human being? But who today can ever forget what he, Lincoln, borne up by his faith in a just God, against all odds and conventional opinion, did for all mankind -- as he held up the national standard, the Declaration of Independence.

Faithful friends, can we, the legatees of this birthright, do less? In the light of the law as we interpret it, and in full awareness of our ancient faith, as we understand it, can we yield either to our sincere opponents, and our

dissenting friends, wherever and whomsoever they may be -- when they counsel compromise on the fundamental principles of Faith, Family and Free Enterprise; when they urge withdrawal from the field of battle?

If they were right, and we wrong, all they ask of us, we should give them; and then we should silence ourselves -- and conform. But if they are wrong, as we believe, and we right, surely they cannot justly ask us to do as they do. If they ask, we must answer, holding our standards to be true, as we do -- can it ever be right to do wrong?

Thus, we cannot yield; we shall not yield. We shall never give up.

You see, our forefathers were Protestants from England, Germans from the Rhineland, Black slaves from Africa, later the Irish, Italian and Jewish immigrants, to mention only a few -- and today, from every corrupt corner of this Earth they flee, having no other bond than their common humanity, and uncommon boldness to break free into our New Jerusalem. These new immigrants witness, by their work and their way of life, that they know and honor the common watchword of our national faith -- the declaration that all men, under God, are endowed, with the inalienable right to life -- free and equal.

This declaration alone can be the common bond which joins all American together, especially those of us without blood ancestors present at the creation of the Republic. We know, as my grandfather knew, that whatsoever, this declaration of rights by the Founders is true -- and everlasting -- just as you know, and I know, that everything I am, everything I could every be, rises up from the single fact that I can say -- I am an American citizen.

I have absolutely no doubt about the ultimate victory of the American way of life -- the Faith of our Fathers -- living still. But if we desire not merely success for ourselves, but victory, victory for all Americans who strive

for independence, self-esteem, and honor -- and freedom for all members of the Family of Man on Earth, we must be bold; so that for all time to come, this American dream of freedom shall not perish from the Earth.

Leaders of the Law at Notre Dame, let us swear never be moved from our purpose by fear; by threats; but let us go forward, full in the faith of that it is up to us, to you, the standard-bearers of freedom gathered in this hall, to make this dream come true. And, it is time to begin.

Good luck. And, God bless you.

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