

Time will not permit my speaking further. I pray the Lord to bless us continually and may his choice favors continue with us throughout this Conference, I pray in the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.

TABERNACLE CHOIR AND ORGAN BROADCAST

During the period from 10:30 to 11:00 a. m. the following program of choral and organ music was presented by the Tabernacle Choir and Organ, in the Tabernacle, as a part of the General Conference session, and was broadcast by radio throughout the United States and Canada by the courtesy of the Columbia Broadcasting System, originating over Station KSL, Salt Lake City:

"Again as Evening's Shadow Falls" (Fletcher)	Choir
"In Springtime" (Kinder)	Organ
"The Morning Breaks" (Careless)	Male Choir
"To Thee, O Lord" (Kalinnikoff)	Choir
Hymn arrangements by organist	Organ
"Praise" (Rowley)	Choir

The Choir was conducted by J. Spencer Cornwall. Organ accompaniments and Organ solo presentations were played by Frank W. Asper.

CHURCH OF THE AIR BROADCAST

Immediately following the *Tabernacle Choir and Organ* Broadcast, the following program was presented on the Columbia Broadcasting System's *Church of the Air* series:

The Choir and congregation joined in singing the hymn, "O Say, What is Truth?"

ELDER ALBERT E. BOWEN

Of the Council of the Twelve Apostles

Observing the orderliness and unity of purpose obtaining among his followers, who had been gathered from various countries of the world and from numerous nationalities and creeds, a visitor to the Prophet Joseph Smith asked:

"Mr. Smith, how do you govern these people?"

Promptly came the pregnant reply, "I teach them correct principles and they govern themselves."

Thus tersely is stated a concept fundamental in the creed of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints—self-government fashioned upon fixed and enduring principles. It is a statement of the ideal in government. As concerns the individual, it is a statement of the law of progress, the law of salvation.

STABILIZING POWER OF AN ULTIMATE AIM

The discovery of eternal, unchanging principles, upon which the lives of men may securely be built, is the end of all search. We believe

that such principles are to be found in the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth. Those teachings constitute our religion, whose mission it is to lead men to exercise over themselves a moral restraint, to curb the desires of their hearts, to guide their thoughts and actions into true channels, and to tie themselves down to the precepts of divine justice that they may be prepared for the eternity of life and progress that lies beyond.

Everyone must feel the need for an ultimate aim in life—an abiding purpose. Without it there would be nothing to stand between a person and a surrender to the fitful direction of casual impulses. Many men who do not consider themselves religious nevertheless have high objectives and pursue them with fidelity, but they have adopted from some source a body of principles which constitute their code of living. Without the stabilizing power of such guides a man's life would be "like the waves of the sea, driven with the wind and tossed." There could result only futility of action and frustration of purpose.

SELF-GOVERNMENT BASED ON OBSERVANCE OF CORRECT PRINCIPLES

In secular relations the necessity for guiding principles has long been recognized. The whole body of our law has grown up out of the need for certainty. It constitutes a body of principles by which men regulate their relations. If there were no such fixed guides subscribed to and faithfully observed in the great majority of instances, there could be no dealing. Distress and confusion would reign supreme just as it does today in the family of nations.

Furthermore, if the process of the law had to be invoked to compel obedience to its established principles in every transaction in which men engaged, human intercourse would be impossible. The whole legal mechanism would come tumbling down of its own weight. Human society is able to carry on only because the vast majority of men freely and voluntarily and as a matter of individual morality conform their conduct to the body of principles laid down in the law. Indeed, because they observe principles of morality which have not been enacted into law—but are outside of and above its compulsions—they are self-governing, which brings us back to the second proposition of our discussion: Having been taught correct principles, "*They govern themselves.*"

Any system of government which depends for its continuance upon the compelled obedience of any considerable part of its citizens is foredoomed to ultimate failure, because it is violative of the principle of freedom which is a God-given quality coextensive with life, and, like life, one of man's inalienable rights.

U. S. CONSTITUTION PROTECTS RIGHT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

What Lincoln called the sentiments of the Declaration of Independence—the whole essence of it—is that every human being, and every community of human beings, has some rights which no power on earth, not even government itself, is authorized to infringe. Every line in that Declaration is repugnant to the present day revival, in parts of the world, of the anachronistic dogma which undertakes to regiment the lives of

men into mere vassalage to the state. Such philosophy is in brutal contradiction of the basic concepts of the Gospel of Jesus Christ; which teaches that man, the spirit of him, was in the beginning with God; that Jesus Christ is in truth his elder brother; that as the offspring of Deity, through free acceptance of and adherence to the eternal law of progress, man's congenital immortality may unfold till he reaches the plane achieved by his "elder brother". This, the very essence of the theology of the Latter-day Saints, is flatly denied by the totalitarian whose chief exponent has said that the ideal of happiness and indefinite progress is a "myth," and the inevitable consequence of whose teaching is the exaltation of the barbarities of paganism over the humane precepts of the Son of Man.

The people of America have been the freest people on earth precisely because more of the activities of life have here been left to self-direction than has been the case anywhere else and the domain occupied by government has been correspondingly more circumscribed. It is an historical certainty that the express purpose of the framers of the Constitution of the United States was to establish under it a government for the protection of their newly won liberties. Its highest sanctions are free speech, free press, free elections, a free legislature, a free judiciary and a definite limitation upon the powers of government over the lives of men. All these the modernistic despotisms—under whatever name—deny.

Latter-day Saints believe that these are divine principles and that the men who formulated them into a system of government were acting under the inspiration of the Almighty, in the majesty of whose name every man who comes into office under it binds himself by oath that he will preserve and defend it. Here we clasp hands with the Honorable Hatton W. Sumners, chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives of the United States, who recently said:

They were great men who sat in the Constitutional Convention but it has been withheld from human genius to write the constitution of a living government. It never has been done and never will be in a creative sense. Our Constitution came from the same source that trees came from. . . . The people no longer believe that there lived at one time a group of supermen, who met in a convention and out of their own creative genius fashioned the constitution of a living government. . . . The fact of it is our Constitution is worthy of all reverence among a people who love liberty, because it came from God Almighty.

Parenthetically may I remark that in this sabre-rattling, demagogue-shouting, Deity-banishing age of arrogant self-sufficiency, it is refreshing to hear words of humility issuing from the mouth of one in high station.

PERFECTION POSSIBLE

Freedom signifies more than a release from outward restraint. It is an essence, a quality of the spirit whose rarest blossoms, in an atmosphere of oppression, wither and die. As is said by Justice Maxy, "Wherever autocracy has prevailed, thought has been enslaved, society stratified into castes and enterprise discouraged. The era of Autocracy Ascendant was the 'dark ages of the world'. Progress came only when shackles began to be loosed from minds and chains from limbs."

In our conception, the whole purpose and object of life is to achieve individual perfection through the unfolding of individual potentialities and the ripening of all the virtues. Learning, extension of horizons, expansion of vision, poise of character, serenity of soul—these coveted fruits of the spirit—are the consequence of voluntary free acts. In the foul and noisome air of despotism they may neither quicken nor flower. They are outside the power of human bestowal or coercion; they are in the realm of freedom. As these transcend physical acquisitions in value, so the principle of freedom transcends the power of force or compulsion.

It is said that in the seed is a complete design of the tree. Planted in fertile soil, moistened by gently falling rains, warmed by the caressing rays of an effulgent sun, it unfolds: roots, trunk, branches, blossoms and fruit, the completed realization of its design. No amount of despotic terrorism can cause a seed to unfold into a tree.

Our institutions which protect us in our freedom of thought and of worship were the product of a thousand years of struggle against tyranny. But they have no guarantee of immortality except such guarantee as inheres in the will and the fitness of our people to be free.

Freedom is not bestowed; it is achieved. It is not a gift, but a conquest. It does not abide; it must be preserved.

When signing the Constitution Franklin said that the government it created "can only end in despotism . . . when the people become so corrupted as to need a despotic government, being incapable of any other."

So important is the principle of liberty, so essential is it to man's higher self-realization and so inexorably necessary to the dignity of his status as the issue of Deity that the omnipotent God himself does not countenance compulsion. Ample ancient and modern evidences of this have been scripturally recorded. For example, when the Prophet Samuel was grown old the people of Israel requested of him that he make them a king to judge them "like all the nations." Samuel was disturbed, thinking that Israel had repudiated him, but the Lord comforted him with these words: "Hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee, for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them." Certainly there is nothing here of compulsion on the part of One omnipotent.

Closer to us in time, there is a like example of the Lord's respect for the liberty of men. Nine years after the organization of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (one hundred and eight years ago next Wednesday) came the revealed law that the Priesthood of God, the governing authority of the Church, neither could nor ought to be maintained except by persuasion, by long-suffering, by gentleness and meekness and by love unfeigned; by kindness and pure knowledge, and that it could not with impunity be exercised to gratify pride or ambition or to gain unjust control or compulsion upon the souls of men.

Self-government involves self-control, self-discipline, an acceptance of and the most unremitting obedience to correct principles. Its demands are commensurate with its high privileges. Duties are the inseparable companions of rights. No other form of government requires so high a degree of individual morality. "It is ordained in the eternal con-

stitution of things," said Burke, "that men of intemperate minds cannot be free." It is one of the missions of the Church to foster in men those virtues, without which there can be no self-government, and the alternative to which is the mentally and spiritually sterilizing scourge of tyranny.

Before we import despotic principles into our own land, which are so raucously clamoring for admission, we would better count the costs. Three weeks ago I read one morning the sickening, revolting story of an old world trial where the mockery of it was rendered the more cruel by the observance of outward legal form but devoid of every semblance of justice as known to free men. The sole offense of the accused was political disagreement with the will of the dictator. Then I walked into a United States Court where a Grand Jury was being impanelled. It comprised 16 men of the district of varied stations in life. They were instructed that under the Constitution no one could be called to answer for an offense against the government except upon presentment by a Grand Jury; and that they alone, without fear or favor, without regard to the station of the accused, be it high or low, without extraneous influence of any sort, but solely upon the evidence, must decide whether indictments should be returned.

Thank God for Liberty!

May we and all the generations to come be as heroic in its preservation as were the Fathers in its establishment, that in our land freedom may abide forever.

Selection by Male Chorus, "Praise to the Lord," (Storl-Cornwall)
 "Praise God from Whom All Blessings Flow" was sung by the Choir and congregation.

After the conclusion of the *Church of the Air* broadcast, at the request of President Heber J. Grant, the congregation sang the hymn "O, Ye Mountains High."

PRESIDENT HEBER J. GRANT

I am sure that every Latter-day Saint within the sound of my voice has had great pleasure in listening to our program here this morning. I am sure that the testimony and the fine teachings of our Presiding Bishop have found echo in the hearts of all of you. I am sure that every Latter-day Saint who believes, according to a declaration of the Prophet Joseph Smith, that the men who wrote the Constitution were inspired of the living God, has rejoiced in Elder Bowen's remarks here this morning, and that the things he has said have found an echo in the hearts of all of you.

EXPERIENCES IN BORROWING MONEY

Speaking of this song that we have just sung, some of the words of which are, "On the necks of our foes we shall tread," etc., I had the pleasure of singing it while coming down from Pine Crest (Emigration