



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

7 June 1982

Dear Clive

President Reagan's Address

/ I enclose a text which has just reached us marked - as you will see - 'Final unless President changes'.

Yours ever
J.P.

(B J P Fall)
Private Secretary

C A Whitmore Esq
10 Downing Street

June 4, 1982 - 2:00 P.M.

final unless
Pres. charges

Comments to
Mr. Palmer

ADDRESS TO THE PARLIAMENT, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, ENGLAND
TUESDAY, JUNE 8, 1982

[Handwritten signature]

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MY LORD CHANCELLOR, MR. SPEAKER:

SPEAKING FOR ALL AMERICANS, I WANT TO SAY HOW VERY MUCH AT HOME WE FEEL IN YOUR HOUSE. EVERY AMERICAN WOULD, BECAUSE THIS IS ONE OF DEMOCRACY'S SHRINES. HERE THE RIGHTS OF FREE PEOPLE AND THE PROCESSES OF REPRESENTATION HAVE BEEN DEBATED AND REFINED.

~~AND I CANNOT ALLOW THIS MOMENT TO PASS WITHOUT RECALLING THE GENEROUS WORDS OF THE MEMBER FOR BRISTOL, MR. BURKE, CONCERNING CONCILIATION WITH THE REBELLIOUS COLONISTS IN NORTH AMERICA.~~

[Handwritten note: clarify]

IT HAS BEEN SAID THAT AN INSTITUTION IS THE LENGTHENING SHADOW OF A MAN. THIS INSTITUTION IS THE LENGTHENING SHADOW OF ALL THE MEN AND WOMEN WHO HAVE SAT HERE, AND ALL THOSE WHO HAVE VOTED TO SEND REPRESENTATIVES HERE. HERE IS THE PREEMINENT SYMBOL OF GOVERNMENT WITH A FRIENDLY FACE.

THIS IS MY SECOND VISIT TO GREAT BRITAIN AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

MY FIRST OPPORTUNITY TO STAND ON BRITISH SOIL OCCURRED ALMOST A YEAR AND A HALF AGO WHEN YOUR PRIME MINISTER GRACIOUSLY HOSTED A DIPLOMATIC DINNER AT THE BRITISH EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON. MRS. THATCHER SAID THEN SHE HOPED THAT I WAS NOT DISTRESSED TO FIND STARING DOWN AT ME FROM THE GRAND STAIRCASE A PORTRAIT OF HIS ROYAL MAJESTY, KING GEORGE III. SHE SUGGESTED IT WAS BEST TO LET BYGONES BE BYGONES AND -- IN VIEW OF OUR TWO

COUNTRIES' REMARKABLE FRIENDSHIP IN SUCCEEDING YEARS -- SHE ADDED THAT MOST ENGLISHMEN TODAY WOULD AGREE WITH THOMAS JEFFERSON THAT "A LITTLE REBELLION NOW AND THEN IS A VERY GOOD THING."

I RESPONDED BY SAYING THAT I WAS ESPECIALLY PROUD THAT MY FIRST FOREIGN VISIT AS PRESIDENT WAS TO YOUR COUNTRY, AND THAT I ONLY HAD TO TRAVEL 15 CITY BLOCKS FROM THE WHITE HOUSE TO DO IT.

FROM HERE I WILL GO TO BONN, AND THEN BERLIN, WHERE THERE STANDS A GRIM SYMBOL OF POWER UNTAMED. THE BERLIN WALL, THAT DREADFUL GRAY GASH ACROSS THE CITY, IS IN ITS THIRD DECADE. IT IS THE FITTING SIGNATURE OF THE REGIME THAT BUILT IT. AND A FEW HUNDRED KILOMETERS BEHIND THE BERLIN WALL THERE IS ANOTHER SYMBOL. IN THE CENTER OF WARSAW THERE IS A SIGN THAT NOTES THE DISTANCES TO TWO CAPITALS. IN ONE DIRECTION IT POINTS TOWARD MOSCOW. IN THE OTHER IT POINTS TOWARD BRUSSELS, HEADQUARTERS OF WESTERN EUROPE'S TANGIBLE UNITY. THE MARKER SAYS THAT THE DISTANCES FROM WARSAW TO MOSCOW AND WARSAW TO BRUSSELS ARE EQUAL. THE SIGN MAKES THIS POINT: POLAND IS NOT EAST OR WEST. POLAND IS AT THE CENTER OF EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION. IT HAS CONTRIBUTED MIGHTILY TO THAT CIVILIZATION. IT IS DOING SO TODAY BY BEING MAGNIFICENTLY UNRECONCILED TO OPPRESSION.

| *Lech*

POLAND'S STRUGGLE TO BE POLAND, AND TO SECURE THE BASIC RIGHTS WE TAKE FOR GRANTED, DEMONSTRATES WHY WE DARE NOT TAKE THOSE RIGHTS FOR GRANTED. GLADSTONE, DEFENDING THE REFORM BILL OF 1866, DECLARED: "YOU CANNOT FIGHT AGAINST

THE FUTURE. TIME IS ON OUR SIDE." IT WAS EASIER TO BELIEVE IN THE INEVITABLE MARCH OF DEMOCRACY IN GLADSTONE'S DAY -- IN THAT HIGH NOON OF VICTORIAN OPTIMISM.

WE ARE APPROACHING THE END OF A BLOODY CENTURY PLAGUED BY A TERRIBLE POLITICAL INVENTION -- TOTALITARIANISM. OPTIMISM COMES LESS EASILY TODAY, NOT BECAUSE DEMOCRACY IS LESS VIGOROUS, BUT BECAUSE DEMOCRACY'S ENEMIES HAVE REFINED THEIR INSTRUMENTS OF REPRESSION. BUT OPTIMISM IS IN ORDER BECAUSE, DAY BY DAY, DEMOCRACY IS PROVING ITSELF TO BE A NOT-AT-ALL FRAGILE FLOWER.

FROM SCZCECIN ON THE BALTIC TO VARNA ON THE BLACK SEA, THE REGIMES PLANTED BY TOTALITARIANISM HAVE HAD MORE THAN 30 YEARS TO ESTABLISH THEIR LEGITIMACY. BUT NONE -- NOT ONE REGIME -- HAS YET BEEN ABLE TO RISK FREE ELECTIONS. REGIMES PLANTED BY BAYONETS DO NOT TAKE ROOT.

THE STRENGTH OF THE SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT IN POLAND DEMONSTRATES THE TRUTH TOLD IN AN UNDERGROUND JOKE IN THE SOVIET UNION. IT IS THAT THE SOVIET UNION WOULD REMAIN A ONE-PARTY NATION EVEN IF AN OPPOSITION PARTY WERE PERMITTED -- BECAUSE EVERYONE WOULD JOIN THAT PARTY.

AMERICA'S TIME AS A PLAYER ON THE STAGE OF WORLD HISTORY HAS BEEN BRIEF. I THINK REALIZATION OF THIS FACT HAS ALWAYS MADE YOU PATIENT WITH YOUR YOUNGER COUSINS. WELL, NOT ALWAYS PATIENT. I DO RECALL THAT ON ONE OCCASION SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL SAID IN EXASPERATION ABOUT ONE OF OUR MOST DISTINGUISHED DIPLOMATS: "HE IS THE ONLY CASE I KNOW OF A BULL WHO CARRIES HIS CHINA SHOP WITH HIM."

WITTY AS SIR WINSTON WAS, HE ALSO HAD THAT SPECIAL ATTRIBUTE OF GREAT STATESMEN: THE GIFT OF VISION, THE WILLINGNESS TO SEE THE FUTURE BASED ON THE EXPERIENCE OF THE PAST.

IT IS THIS SENSE OF HISTORY, THIS UNDERSTANDING OF THE PAST, THAT I WANT TO TALK WITH YOU ABOUT TODAY, FOR IT IS IN REMEMBERING WHAT WE SHARE OF THE PAST THAT OUR TWO NATIONS CAN MAKE COMMON CAUSE FOR THE FUTURE.

WE HAVE NOT INHERITED AN EASY WORLD -- IF DEVELOPMENTS LIKE THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, WHICH BEGAN HERE IN ENGLAND, AND THE GIFTS OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY HAVE MADE LIFE MUCH EASIER FOR US -- THEY HAVE ALSO MADE IT MORE DANGEROUS. THERE ARE THREATS NOW TO OUR FREEDOM, INDEED, TO OUR VERY EXISTENCE, THAT OTHER GENERATIONS COULD NEVER EVEN HAVE IMAGINED.

THERE IS, FIRST, THE THREAT OF GLOBAL WAR. NO PRESIDENT, NO CONGRESS, NO PRIME MINISTER, NO PARLIAMENT EVER SPENT A DAY ENTIRELY FREE OF THIS THREAT. AND I DON'T HAVE TO TELL YOU THAT IN TODAY'S WORLD, THE EXISTENCE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS COULD MEAN, IF NOT THE EXTINCTION OF MANKIND, THEN SURELY THE END OF CIVILIZATION AS WE KNOW IT.

THAT IS WHY THE ~~I.N.F. TALKS CURRENTLY GOING ON IN~~ ^{negotiations on intermediate range nuclear force's} EUROPE AND THE "START" TALKS, WHICH WILL BEGIN LATER THIS MONTH, ARE NOT JUST CRITICAL TO AMERICAN OR WESTERN POLICY; THEY ARE CRITICAL TO MANKIND. OUR COMMITMENT TO EARLY SUCCESS IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS IS FIRM AND UNSHAKABLE.

AT THE SAME TIME, THERE IS A THREAT POSED TO HUMAN FREEDOM BY THE ENORMOUS POWER OF THE MODERN STATE. HISTORY TEACHES THE DANGERS OF GOVERNMENT THAT OVERREACHES: POLITICAL CONTROL TAKING PRECEDENCE OVER FREE ECONOMIC GROWTH, SECRET POLICE, MINDLESS BUREAUCRACY -- ALL COMBINING TO STIFLE INDIVIDUAL EXCELLENCE AND PERSONAL FREEDOM. HISTORY TEACHES THE DANGERS OF GOVERNMENTS WHICH BECOME MORE CONCERNED WITH THEIR OWN POWER AND PROCEDURES THAN WITH THE PEOPLE THEY ARE SUPPOSED TO SERVE. INDEED, THE VERY COMPLAINTS LISTED IN OUR OWN DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE -- COMPLAINTS WHOSE JUSTICE WAS ARGUED FOR IN THIS PARLIAMENT BY SUCH GREAT STATESMEN AS BURKE AND FOX -- READ IN MANY WAYS LIKE A LIST OF COMPLAINTS AGAINST THE ABUSES OF THE MODERN STATE. SILENT ENCROACHMENT BY GOVERNMENT HAS ALWAYS POSED THE MOST SERIOUS AND ENDURING THREAT TO THE FREEDOM OF MAN.

MANY OF US IN THE WEST HAVE LONG ARGUED AGAINST THE IMPULSE TO USE THE POWER OF THE STATE FOR UTOPIAN ENDS BECAUSE WE BELIEVE IT LEADS TO UNNECESSARY GOVERNMENT INTRUSIONS INTO THE LIVES OF INDIVIDUALS, ROBBING THEM OF INITIATIVE, DIGNITY AND SELF-RESPECT. NOW I AM AWARE THAT AMONG US HERE AND THROUGHOUT EUROPE, THERE IS LEGITIMATE DISAGREEMENT OVER THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE PUBLIC SECTOR SHOULD PLAY A ROLE IN A NATION'S ECONOMY AND LIFE. BUT ON ONE POINT ALL OF US ARE UNITED: OUR ABHORRENCE OF ^{dictatorship} ~~TYRANNY~~ IN ALL ITS FORMS; BUT MOST PARTICULARLY TOTALITARIANISM ✓ AND THE TERRIBLE INHUMANITIES IT HAS CAUSED IN OUR TIME: AUSCHWITZ AND DACHAU, THE GREAT PURGE, THE GULAG ARCHIPELAGO AND CAMBODIA.

HISTORIANS LOOKING BACK AT OUR TIME WILL GAZE IN WONDER AT OUR OWN RESTRAINT AND SELF-DOUBT. THEY WILL NOTE THAT IT WAS THE DEMOCRACIES WHO REFUSED TO USE THEIR NUCLEAR MONOPOLY IN THE FORTIES AND EARLY FIFTIES FOR TERRITORIAL OR IMPERIAL GAIN. HAD THAT NUCLEAR MONOPOLY BEEN IN THE HANDS OF THE COMMUNIST WORLD, THE MAP OF EUROPE, INDEED, THE WORLD, WOULD LOOK VERY DIFFERENT TODAY. AND CERTAINLY THEY WILL NOTE IT WAS NOT THE DEMOCRACIES THAT INVADDED AFGHANISTAN, OR SUPPRESSED POLISH SOLIDARITY, OR USED CHEMICAL AND TOXIN WARFARE IN AFGHANISTAN AND SOUTHEAST ASIA.

SURELY THOSE HISTORIANS WILL FIND IN THE COUNCILS OF THOSE WHO PREACHED THE SUPREMACY OF THE STATE...THE FOCUS OF EVIL. IT WAS YOUR OWN C. S. LEWIS WHO SAW SO WELL THE VIRULENCE AND THE DANGER OF THE POLICE STATE WHEN HE WROTE:

"THE GREATEST EVIL IS NOT NOW DONE IN THOSE SORDID 'DENS OF CRIME' THAT DICKENS LOVED TO PAINT. IT IS NOT DONE EVEN IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS AND LABOUR CAMPS. IN THOSE WE SEE ITS FINAL RESULT. BUT IT IS CONCEIVED AND ORDERED (MOVED, SECONDED, CARRIED AND MINUTED) IN CLEAN, CARPETED, WARMED, AND WELL-LIGHTED OFFICES, BY QUIET MEN WITH WHITE COLLARS AND CUT FINGERNAILS AND SMOOTH-SHAVEN CHEEKS WHO DO NOT NEED TO RAISE THEIR VOICE."

BECAUSE THESE "QUIET MEN" DO NOT "RAISE THEIR VOICES," BECAUSE THEY SOMETIMES SPEAK IN SOOTHING TONES OF BROTHERHOOD AND PEACE, BECAUSE LIKE HITLER THEY ARE ALWAYS MAKING "THEIR FINAL TERRITORIAL DEMAND," SOME WOULD HAVE US ACCEPT THEM AT THEIR WORD AND ACCOMMODATE OURSELVES TO THEIR AGGRESSIVE

IMPULSES. BUT, IF HISTORY TEACHES ANYTHING, IT TEACHES:
SELF-DELUSION IN THE FACE OF UNPLEASANT FACTS IS FOLLY.

WE SEE AROUND US TODAY ALL THE EARMARKS OF OUR TERRIBLE
DILEMMA -- ON THE ONE HAND: PREDICTIONS OF DOOMSDAY,
ANTI-NUCLEAR DEMONSTRATIONS, AN ARMS RACE IN WHICH THE WEST
MUST FOR ITS OWN PROTECTION BE AN UNWILLING PARTICIPANT.
IN AWFUL COUNTERPOINT, WE SEE THE MARCH OF THOSE WHO SEEK
DISRUPTION AND CONFLICT THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, CONFLICT THEY
HOPE WILL FURTHER A "CLEAN," "WELL-LIGHTED," THOROUGHLY
MODERN -- BUT THOROUGHLY BARBAROUS -- ASSAULT ON THE HUMAN
SPIRIT CALLED MARXISM-LENINISM.

WHAT, THEN, IS OUR COURSE? MUST CIVILIZATION PERISH --
IN A HAIL OF FIERY ATOMS? MUST FREEDOM WITHER -- IN A QUIET,
DEADENING ACCOMMODATION WITH TOTALITARIAN EVIL? SIR WINSTON
CHURCHILL REFUSED TO ACCEPT THE INEVITABILITY OF WAR OR EVEN
THAT IT WAS IMMINENT. HE SAID:

"I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT SOVIET RUSSIA DESIRES WAR. WHAT
THEY DESIRE IS THE FRUITS OF WAR AND THE INDEFINITE EXPANSION
OF THEIR POWER AND DOCTRINES. BUT WHAT WE HAVE TO CONSIDER
HERE TODAY WHILE TIME REMAINS, IS THE PERMANENT PREVENTION
OF WAR AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CONDITIONS OF FREEDOM AND
DEMOCRACY AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE IN ALL COUNTRIES."

THIS IS PRECISELY OUR MISSION TODAY. WE LIVE NOW AT A
TURNING POINT IN TIME. IT MAY NOT BE EASY TO SEE BUT I BELIEVE
THAT MOMENT IS UPON US.

IN AN IRONIC SENSE, KARL MARX WAS RIGHT. WE ARE WITNESSING
TODAY A GREAT REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS -- A CRISIS WHERE THE DEMANDS

OF THE ECONOMIC ORDER ARE COLLIDING DIRECTLY WITH THOSE OF THE POLITICAL ORDER. BUT THE CRISIS IS HAPPENING NOT IN THE FREE, NON-MARXIST WEST, BUT IN THE HOME OF MARXISM-LENINISM, THE SOVIET UNION. IT IS THE SOVIET UNION THAT RUNS AGAINST THE TIDE OF HISTORY BY DENYING FREEDOM AND HUMAN DIGNITY TO ITS CITIZENS. IT ALSO IS IN DEEP ECONOMIC DIFFICULTY. THE RATE OF GROWTH IN THE SOVIET GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT HAS BEEN STEADILY DECLINING SINCE THE FIFTIES AND IS LESS THAN HALF OF WHAT IT WAS THEN. THE DIMENSIONS OF THIS FAILURE ARE ASTOUNDING; A COUNTRY WHICH EMPLOYS ONE-FIFTH ^{quarter} OF ITS POPULATION IN AGRICULTURE IS UNABLE TO FEED ITS OWN PEOPLE. WERE IT NOT FOR THE TINY PRIVATE SECTOR TOLERATED IN SOVIET AGRICULTURE, THE COUNTRY MIGHT BE ON THE BRINK OF FAMINE. THESE PRIVATE PLOTS OCCUPY A BARE 3 PERCENT OF THE ARABLE LAND BUT ACCOUNT FOR NEARLY ONE-QUARTER OF SOVIET FARM OUTPUT AND NEARLY ONE-THIRD OF MEAT PRODUCTS AND VEGETABLES. ✓

OVERCENTRALIZED, WITH LITTLE OR NO INCENTIVES, YEAR AFTER YEAR THE SOVIET SYSTEM POURS ITS BEST RESOURCE INTO THE MAKING OF INSTRUMENTS OF DESTRUCTION. THE CONSTANT SHRINKAGE OF ECONOMIC GROWTH COMBINED WITH THE GROWTH OF MILITARY PRODUCTION IS PUTTING A HEAVY STRAIN ON THE SOVIET PEOPLE.

WHAT WE SEE HERE IS THE CLASSIC SITUATION OF A POLITICAL STRUCTURE THAT NO LONGER CORRESPONDS TO ITS ECONOMIC BASE, A SOCIETY WHERE PRODUCTIVE FORCES ARE HAMPERED BY POLITICAL ONES. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT RESOLUTION OF THIS INTERNAL CONFLICT COULD LEAD TO LIBERALIZATION IN THE SOVIET UNION. BUT THERE IS

ALSO THE DANGER THAT THE FEAR OF THIS POTENTIALLY REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION WILL CONTINUE TO TEMPT THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP TOWARD AGGRESSION -- AGGRESSION THAT ALLOWS IT TO MOBILIZE ITS UNHAPPY MASSES WITH CHAUVINISTIC SLOGANS AND DIVERTS THEM FROM DOMESTIC NEEDS.

THE DECAY OF THE SOVIET EXPERIMENT SHOULD COME AS NO SURPRISE TO US. WHEREVER THE COMPARISONS HAVE BEEN MADE BETWEEN FREE AND CLOSED SOCIETIES -- WEST GERMANY AND EAST GERMANY, AUSTRIA AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA, MALAYSIA AND VIETNAM -- IT IS THE DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES THAT ARE PROSPEROUS AND RESPONSIVE TO THE NEEDS OF THEIR PEOPLE. AND IT IS ONE OF THE SIMPLE BUT OVERWHELMING FACTS OF OUR TIME: OF ALL THE MILLIONS OF REFUGEES WE HAVE SEEN IN THE MODERN WORLD THEIR FLIGHT IS ALWAYS AWAY FROM, NOT TOWARD, THE COMMUNIST WORLD. TODAY ON THE "NATO" LINE, OUR MILITARY FORCES FACE EAST TO PREVENT A POSSIBLE INVASION. ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE LINE THE SOVIET FORCES ALSO FACE EAST -- TO PREVENT THEIR PEOPLE FROM LEAVING.

THE HARD EVIDENCE OF TOTALITARIAN RULE HAS CAUSED IN MANKIND AN UPRISING OF THE INTELLECT AND WILL. WHETHER IT IS THE GROWTH OF THE NEW SCHOOLS OF ECONOMICS IN AMERICA OR ENGLAND OR THE APPEARANCE OF THE SO-CALLED "NEW PHILOSOPHERS" IN FRANCE, THERE IS ONE UNIFYING THREAD RUNNING THROUGH THE INTELLECTUAL WORK OF THESE GROUPS: REJECTION OF THE STATE'S RIGHT TO DICTATE SOCIAL CHANGE ARBITRARILY, THE REFUSAL TO SUBORDINATE THE RIGHTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL TO THE SUPERSTATE, THE REALIZATION THAT COLLECTIVISM STIFLES ALL THE BEST HUMAN IMPULSES.

SINCE THE EXODUS FROM EGYPT, HISTORIANS HAVE WRITTEN OF THOSE WHO SACRIFICED AND STRUGGLED FOR FREEDOM: THE STAND AT THERMOPYLAE, THE REVOLT OF SPARTICUS, THE STORMING OF THE BASTILLE, THE WARSAW UPRISING IN WORLD WAR II.

MORE RECENTLY WE HAVE SEEN EVIDENCE OF THIS SAME HUMAN IMPULSE IN ONE OF THE DEVELOPING NATIONS IN CENTRAL AMERICA. FOR MONTHS AND MONTHS THE WORLD NEWS MEDIA COVERED THE FIGHTING IN EL SALVADOR. DAY AFTER DAY WE WERE TREATED TO STORIES AND FILM SLANTED TOWARD THE BRAVE FREEDOM FIGHTERS BATTLING OPPRESSIVE GOVERNMENT FORCES IN BEHALF OF THE SILENT, SUFFERING PEOPLE OF THAT TORTURED COUNTRY.

THEN ONE DAY THOSE SILENT SUFFERING PEOPLE WERE OFFERED A CHANCE TO VOTE TO CHOOSE THE KIND OF GOVERNMENT THEY WANTED. SUDDENLY THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS IN THE HILLS WERE EXPOSED FOR WHAT THEY REALLY ARE: CUBAN-BACKED GUERILLAS WHO WANT POWER FOR THEMSELVES AND THEIR BACKERS, NOT DEMOCRACY FOR THE PEOPLE. THEY THREATENED DEATH TO SANY WHO VOTED AND DESTROYED HUNDREDS OF BUSSES AND TRUCKS TO KEEP PEOPLE FROM GETTING TO THE POLLING PLACES. BUT ON ELECTION DAY THE PEOPLE OF EL SALVADOR, AN UNPRECEDENTED 1.4 MILLION OF THEM, BRAVED AMBUSH AND GUNFIRE, TRUDGING MILES TO VOTE FOR FREEDOM.

THEY STOOD FOR HOURS IN THE HOT SUN WAITING FOR THEIR TURN TO VOTE. MEMBERS OF OUR CONGRESS WHO WENT THERE AS OBSERVERS TOLD ME OF A WOMAN WOUNDED BY RIFLE FIRE WHO REFUSED TO LEAVE THE LINE TO HAVE HER WOUND TREATED UNTIL AFTER SHE HAD VOTED. A GRANDMOTHER, WHO HAD BEEN TOLD BY THE GUERILLAS SHE WOULD BE KILLED WHEN SHE RETURNED FROM THE POLLS, TOLD THE

GUERILLAS, "YOU CAN KILL ME, KILL MY FAMILY, KILL MY NEIGHBORS, BUT YOU CAN'T KILL US ALL." THE REAL FREEDOM FIGHTERS OF EL SALVADOR TURNED OUT TO BE THE PEOPLE OF THAT COUNTRY, THE YOUNG, THE OLD AND THE IN-BETWEEN. STRANGE, BUT THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE IF ANY NEWS COVERAGE OF THAT WAR SINCE THE ELECTION.

PERHAPS THEY'LL SAY IT'S BECAUSE THERE IS A NEWER WAR TO COVER NOW. YOUNG MEN ARE FIGHTING FOR BRITAIN ON SOME TINY ISLANDS IN THE SOUTH ATLANTIC. AND, YES, VOICES HAVE BEEN RAISED PROTESTING THEIR SACRIFICE FOR LUMPS OF ROCK AND EARTH SO FAR AWAY. BUT THOSE YOUNG MEN AREN'T FIGHTING FOR MERE REAL ESTATE. THEY FIGHT FOR A CAUSE, FOR THE BELIEF THAT ARMED AGGRESSION MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO SUCCEED, AND THAT PEOPLE MUST PARTICIPATE IN THE DECISIONS OF GOVERNMENT.

RESISTING MILITARY AGGRESSION IS THE FOUNDATION OF WORLD PEACE AND THE RULE OF ORDER. IF THERE HAD BEEN FIRMER SUPPORT FOR THAT CAUSE SOME 45 YEARS AGO, PERHAPS OUR GENERATION WOULDN'T HAVE SUFFERED THE BLOODLETTING OF WORLD WAR II.

EVERYWHERE TODAY THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION IS GATHERING NEW STRENGTH. IN INDIA, A CRITICAL TEST HAS BEEN PASSED WITH THE PEACEFUL CHANGE OF GOVERNING POLITICAL PARTIES. IN AFRICA, NIGERIA IS MOVING IN REMARKABLE AND UNMISTAKABLE WAYS TO BUILD AND STRENGTHEN ITS DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS. IN THE CARIBBEAN AND CENTRAL AMERICA, 16 OF 24 COUNTRIES HAVE FREELY ELECTED GOVERNMENTS. AND IN THE UNITED NATIONS, 8 OF THE 10 DEVELOPING NATIONS WHICH HAVE JOINED THE BODY IN THE PAST 5 YEARS ARE DEMOCRACIES.

IN THE COMMUNIST WORLD AS WELL, MAN'S INSTINCTIVE DESIRE FOR FREEDOM AND SELF-DETERMINATION SURFACES AGAIN AND AGAIN. TO BE SURE, THERE ARE GRIM REMINDERS OF HOW BRUTALLY THE POLICE STATE ATTEMPTS TO SNUFF OUT THIS QUEST FOR SELF RULE: 1953 IN EAST GERMANY, 1956 IN HUNGARY, 1968 IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, 1981 IN POLAND. BUT THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES IN POLAND AND WE KNOW THERE ARE EVEN THOSE WHO STRIVE AND SUFFER FOR FREEDOM WITHIN THE CONFINES OF THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF. HOW WE CONDUCT OURSELVES HERE IN THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES WILL DETERMINE WHETHER THIS TREND CONTINUES.

NO, DEMOCRACY IS NOT A FRAGILE FLOWER; STILL IT NEEDS CULTIVATING. IF THE ^{rest of this century is to witness the gradual growth} [1980's ARE TO BE THE DECADE] OF DEMOCRACY

AND DEMOCRATIC IDEALS, WE MUST TAKE ACTIONS TO ASSIST THE CAMPAIGN FOR DEMOCRACY. ~~FOR THAT REASON~~ I HAVE LOOKED FORWARD

TO TELLING YOU TODAY THAT WE IN AMERICA SHALL TAKE STEPS TOWARD REALIZING THIS ^{same} GOAL. ~~A BIPARTISAN GROUP OF AMERICAN~~

~~LEADERS -- LEADERS OF OUR MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES, THE CONGRESS, BUSINESS, LABOR AND OTHER MAJOR INSTITUTIONS OF AMERICAN~~

~~SOCIETY -- WILL OVERSEE A STUDY TO DETERMINE HOW AMERICA CAN BEST CONTRIBUTE TO REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN OTHER~~

~~COUNTRIES. THE STUDY BY THIS BROAD COALITION OF PROMINENT AMERICANS WILL BE COMPLETED IN SIX MONTHS. I LOOK FORWARD TO~~

~~RECEIVING THEIR RECOMMENDATIONS, AND TO WORKING WITH THESE INSTITUTIONS ^{the Congress} IN THE COMMON TASK OF STRENGTHENING DEMOCRACY THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.~~

SOME ARGUE THAT WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE DEMOCRATIC CHANGE IN RIGHT-WING DICTATORSHIPS, BUT NOT IN COMMUNIST REGIMES. TO ACCEPT

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THIS PREPOSTEROUS NOTION -- AS SOME WELL-MEANING PEOPLE HAVE -- IS TO INVITE THE ARGUMENT THAT, ONCE COUNTRIES ACHIEVE A NUCLEAR CAPABILITY, THEY SHOULD BE ALLOWED AN UNDISTURBED REIGN OF TERROR OVER THEIR OWN CITIZENS. WOULD THOSE WHO COMPLAIN ABOUT THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER DEMOCRACIES ENGAGING IN A SERIOUS CONTEST OF IDEAS WITH THE COMMUNISTS ALSO COMPLAIN ABOUT A SIMILAR CONTEST OF IDEAS WITH NATIONS PRACTICING FASCISM OR RACISM? I DOUBT IT.

AS FOR THE SOVIET VIEW, LET US CONSULT COMMUNIST LEADERS THEMSELVES. REFLECTING THE APPROACH OF HIS PREDECESSORS AND PRESUMABLY HIS SUCCESSORS AS WELL, CHAIRMAN BREZHNEV REPEATEDLY HAS STRESSED THAT THE COMPETITION OF IDEAS AND SYSTEMS MUST CONTINUE AND THAT THIS IS ENTIRELY CONSISTENT WITH RELAXATION OF TENSIONS AND PEACE. WE ASK ONLY THAT THESE SYSTEMS BEGIN BY LIVING UP TO THEIR OWN CONSTITUTIONS, ABIDING BY THEIR OWN LAWS, AND COMPLYING WITH THE INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS THEY HAVE UNDERTAKEN. WE ASK ONLY FOR A PROCESS, A DIRECTION, A BASIC CODE OF DECENCY -- NOT FOR AN INSTANT TRANSFORMATION.

IN THE NUCLEAR AGE, WE MUST FIND A SOUNDER BASIS FOR PEACE THAN NOW EXISTS. WE CANNOT IGNORE THE FACT THAT EVEN WITHOUT OUR ENCOURAGEMENT THERE HAVE BEEN AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE REPEATED EXPLOSIONS AGAINST REPRESSION IN DICTATORSHIPS. THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF IS NOT IMMUNE TO THIS REALITY. ANY SYSTEM IS INHERENTLY UNSTABLE THAT HAS NO PEACEFUL MEANS TO LEGITIMIZE ITS LEADERS. IN SUCH CASES, THE VERY REPRESSIVENESS OF THE STATE ULTIMATELY DRIVES PEOPLE TO RESIST IT -- IF NECESSARY, BY FORCE.

WHILE WE MUST BE CAUTIOUS ABOUT FORCING THE PACE OF CHANGE, WE MUST NOT HESITATE TO DECLARE OUR ULTIMATE OBJECTIVES AND TO TAKE CONCRETE ACTIONS TO MOVE TOWARDS THEM. WE MUST BE STAUNCH IN OUR CONVICTION THAT FREEDOM IS NOT THE SOLE PREROGATIVE OF A LUCKY FEW, BUT THE INALIENABLE AND UNIVERSAL RIGHT OF ALL HUMAN BEINGS. SO STATES THE UNITED NATIONS' UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS -- WHICH, AMONG OTHER THINGS, GUARANTEES FREE ELECTIONS.

THE OBJECTIVE I PROPOSE IS QUITE SIMPLE TO STATE: TO HELP ESTABLISH THE INFRASTRUCTURE OF DEMOCRACY -- THE SYSTEM OF A FREE PRESS, UNIONS, POLITICAL PARTIES, UNIVERSITIES -- WHICH ALLOWS A PEOPLE TO CHOOSE THEIR OWN WAY, TO DEVELOP THEIR OWN CULTURE, TO RECONCILE THEIR OWN DIFFERENCES THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS.

THIS IS NOT CULTURAL IMPERIALISM; IT IS PROVIDING THE MEANS FOR GENUINE SELF-DETERMINATION AND PROTECTION FOR DIVERSITY. DEMOCRACY ALREADY FLOURISHES IN COUNTRIES WITH VERY DIFFERENT CULTURES AND HISTORICAL EXPERIENCES. IT WOULD BE CULTURAL CONDESCENSION, OR WORSE, TO SAY THAT ANY PEOPLE PREFER DICTATORSHIP TO DEMOCRACY. WHO WOULD VOLUNTARILY CHOOSE NOT TO HAVE THE RIGHT TO VOTE; DECIDE TO PURSUE ^{chase} GOVERNMENT PROPAGANDA HANDOUTS INSTEAD OF INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPERS; PREFER GOVERNMENT TO WORKER CONTROLLED UNIONS; OPT FOR LAND TO BE OWNED BY THE STATE INSTEAD OF THOSE WHO TILL IT; WANT GOVERNMENT REPRESSION OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, A SINGLE POLITICAL PARTY INSTEAD OF A FREE CHOICE, A RIGID CULTURAL ORTHODOXY INSTEAD OF DEMOCRATIC TOLERANCE AND DIVERSITY?

IN CALLING UPON THE WEST TO OFFER CONCRETE AND OPEN ASSISTANCE TO THE FORCES OF DEMOCRACY -- TO HELP SCHOOLS, PUBLICATIONS, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS IN OTHER COUNTRIES -- THE NEW YORK TIMES RECENTLY CITED THESE ELOQUENT WORDS OF JOHN STUART MILL:

"THE DOCTRINE OF NON-INTERVENTION, TO BE A LEGITIMATE PRINCIPLE OF MORALITY, MUST BE ACCEPTED BY ALL GOVERNMENTS. THE DESPOTS MUST CONSENT TO BE BOUND BY IT AS WELL AS THE FREE STATES. UNLESS THEY DO, THE PROFESSION COMES TO THIS MISERABLE ISSUE -- THAT THE WRONG SIDE MAY HELP THE WRONG, BUT THE RIGHT MUST NOT HELP THE RIGHT."

SINCE 1917 THE SOVIET UNION HAS GIVEN COVERT POLITICAL TRAINING AND ASSISTANCE TO MARXIST-LENINISTS IN MANY COUNTRIES. OF COURSE IT ALSO HAS PROMOTED THE USE OF VIOLENCE AND SUBVERSION BY THESE SAME FORCES.

OVER THE PAST SEVERAL DECADES, WEST EUROPEAN AND OTHER SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND LIBERALS HAVE OFFERED OPEN ASSISTANCE TO FRATERNAL POLITICAL AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS, TO BRING ABOUT PEACEFUL AND DEMOCRATIC PROGRESS. APPROPRIATELY FOR A VIGOROUS NEW DEMOCRACY, THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY'S POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS HAVE BECOME A MAJOR FORCE IN THIS EFFORT.

THE U.S. INITIATIVE [I HAVE ANNOUNCED TODAY] REPRESENTS A BROAD COALITION OF AMERICANS -- NOT ONE ADMINISTRATION OR A SINGLE PARTY. [THE CHAIRMEN AND OTHER LEADERS OF THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTY ORGANIZATIONS] ^{are initiating} ~~HAVE AGREED TO~~ ~~SUPPORT~~ ^{THROUGH} A STUDY WITH THE BIPARTISAN AMERICAN POLITICAL FOUNDATION TO DETERMINE HOW THE UNITED STATES CAN BEST CONTRIBUTE --

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p12

from p12

AS A NATION -- TO THE GLOBAL CAMPAIGN FOR DEMOCRACY NOW

GATHERING FORCE. THEY WILL HAVE THE COOPERATION OF CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS OF BOTH PARTIES ALONG WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER MAJOR INSTITUTIONS IN OUR SOCIETY.

business, labor &

*← from p15
← from p12*

WE BELIEVE THAT AMERICAN PRIVATE GROUPS SHOULD PLAY A DOMINANT ROLE IN THE EFFORT: FOUNDATIONS, POLITICAL PARTIES, UNIONS, AND PRESS ASSOCIATIONS HAVE BEEN APPROPRIATE VEHICLES IN THE PAST IN ASSISTING DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN OTHER SOCIETIES. THEIR EFFORTS SHOULD BE EXPANDED SUBSTANTIALLY, IN WHICH PROCESS THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD OFFER SIGNIFICANT SUPPORT. THE UNITED STATES GIVES ECONOMIC AND SECURITY ASSISTANCE TO A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES. IT IS TIME THAT WE COMMITTED OURSELVES AS A NATION TO ASSISTING DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT AS WELL.

ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, I AM DOING SO TODAY.

WE PLAN TO CONSULT WITH LEADERS OF OTHER NATIONS AS WELL. THERE IS A PROPOSAL BEFORE THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE TO INVITE PARLIAMENTARIANS FROM DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES TO A MEETING NEXT YEAR IN STRASBOURG. THAT PRESTIGIOUS GATHERING COULD CONSIDER WAYS TO HELP DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL MOVEMENTS.

THIS NOVEMBER IN WASHINGTON THERE WILL TAKE PLACE AN INTERNATIONAL MEETING ON FREE ELECTIONS. WE WILL EXAMINE HOW TO HELP BRING MULTI-CANDIDATE, MULTI-PARTY ELECTIONS TO AN INCREASING NUMBER OF COUNTRIES. NEXT SPRING THERE WILL BE A CONFERENCE OF WORLD AUTHORITIES ON CONSTITUTIONALISM AND SELF-GOVERNMENT. WITH THE CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE UNITED STATES AS HOST, AUTHORITIES FROM A NUMBER OF DEVELOPING AND DEVELOPED COUNTRIES -- JUDGES, PHILOSOPHERS AND POLITICIANS WITH PRACTICAL

The meeting

EXPERIENCE -- HAVE AGREED TO EXPLORE HOW TO TURN PRINCIPLE INTO PRACTICE AND FURTHER THE RULE OF LAW, ^{with a ~~great~~ ~~many~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~people~~}

AT THE SAME TIME WE INVITE THE SOVIET UNION TO CONSIDER WITH US HOW THE COMPETITION OF IDEAS AND VALUES -- WHICH IT IS COMMITTED TO SUPPORT -- CAN BE CONDUCTED ON A PEACEFUL AND RECIPROCAL BASIS. FOR EXAMPLE, I AM PREPARED TO OFFER PRESIDENT BREZHNEV AN OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ON OUR TELEVISION, IF HE WILL ALLOW ME THE SAME OPPORTUNITY WITH THE SOVIET PEOPLE. WE ALSO SUGGEST THAT PANELS OF OUR NEWSMEN PERIODICALLY APPEAR ON EACH OTHER'S TELEVISION TO DISCUSS MAJOR EVENTS.

I DO NOT WISH TO SOUND OVERLY OPTIMISTIC . . . YET THE SOVIET UNION IS NOT IMMUNE FROM THE REALITY OF WHAT IS GOING ON IN THE WORLD. IT HAS HAPPENED IN THE PAST: A SMALL RULING ELITE EITHER ATTEMPTS TO EASE DOMESTIC UNREST THROUGH FOREIGN ADVENTURE OR CHOOSES A WISER COURSE -- BY ALLOWING ITS PEOPLE A VOICE IN THEIR OWN DESTINY.

YET, EVEN IF THIS PROCESS IS NOT COMPLETED SOON, I BELIEVE THE RENEWED STRENGTH OF THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT, COMPLEMENTED BY A GLOBAL CAMPAIGN FOR FREEDOM, WILL STRENGTHEN THE PROSPECTS FOR ARMS CONTROL.

I HAVE DISCUSSED ON OTHER OCCASIONS, INCLUDING MY ADDRESS ON MAY 9th, THE ELEMENTS OF WESTERN POLICIES TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION TO SAFEGUARD OUR INTERESTS AND PROTECT THE PEACE. WHAT I AM DESCRIBING NOW IS A POLICY AND A HOPE FOR THE LONG TERM -- THE MARCH OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY WHICH WILL LEAVE MARXISM-LENINISM ON THE ASH-HEAP OF HISTORY AS IT HAS LEFT OTHER [TOTALITARIAN]

dictatorships

IDEOLOGIES] WHICH STIFLE THE FREEDOM AND MUZZLE THE SELF-EXPRESSION OF THE PEOPLE.

THAT IS WHY WE MUST CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN "NATO" EVEN AS WE MOVE FORWARD WITH OUR ZERO OPTION INITIATIVE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS ON INTERMEDIATE RANGE FORCES AND OUR PROPOSAL FOR A ONE-THIRD REDUCTION IN STRATEGIC BALLISTIC MISSILE WARHEADS.

OUR MILITARY STRENGTH IS A PREREQUISITE TO PEACE BUT LET IT BE CLEAR WE MAINTAIN THIS STRENGTH IN THE HOPE IT WILL NEVER BE USED. FOR THE ULTIMATE DETERMINANT IN THE STRUGGLE NOW GOING ON FOR THE WORLD WILL NOT BE BOMBS AND ROCKETS -- BUT A STRUGGLE OF WILLS AND IDEAS -- A TEST OF SPIRITUAL RESOLVE: THE VALUES WE HOLD, THE BELIEFS WE CHERISH, THE IDEALS TO WHICH WE ARE DEDICATED.

THE BRITISH PEOPLE KNOW THAT, GIVEN STRONG LEADERSHIP, TIME, AND A LITTLE BIT OF HOPE, THE FORCES OF GOOD ULTIMATELY RALLY AND TRIUMPH OVER EVIL. HERE AMONG YOU IS THE CRADLE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT, THE MOTHER OF PARLIAMENTS. HERE IS THE ENDURING GREATNESS OF THE BRITISH CONTRIBUTION TO MANKIND, THE GREAT CIVILIZED IDEAS: INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY, REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT AND THE RULE OF LAW UNDER GOD.

I HAVE OFTEN WONDERED ABOUT THE SHYNESS OF SOME OF US IN THE WEST ABOUT STANDING FOR THESE IDEALS THAT HAVE DONE SO MUCH TO EASE THE PLIGHT OF MAN AND THE HARDSHIPS OF OUR IMPERFECT WORLD. THIS RELUCTANCE TO USE THOSE VAST RESOURCES AT OUR COMMAND REMINDS ME OF THE ELDERLY LADY WHOSE HOME WAS BOMBED IN THE BLITZ; AS THE RESCUERS MOVED ABOUT THEY FOUND A BOTTLE

OF BRANDY SHE HAD STORED BEHIND THE STAIRCASE, WHICH WAS ALL THAT WAS LEFT STANDING. SINCE SHE WAS BARELY CONSCIOUS, ONE OF THE WORKERS PULLED THE CORK TO GIVE HER A TASTE OF IT. SHE CAME AROUND IMMEDIATELY AND SAID: "HERE NOW, PUT IT BACK, THAT'S ONLY FOR EMERGENCIES."

WELL, THE EMERGENCY IS UPON US.

LET US BE SHY NO LONGER -- LET US GO TO OUR STRENGTH. LET US OFFER HOPE. LET US TELL THE WORLD THAT A NEW AGE IS NOT ONLY POSSIBLE BUT PROBABLE. GREAT DRAMATIC CHANGES HAVE OCCURRED. WE LIVE LONGER TODAY IN BETTER HEALTH AND PROSPERITY THAN EVER DREAMED OF IN THE PAST. I HAVE ALREADY LIVED 20 YEARS BEYOND MY LIFE EXPECTANCY WHEN I WAS BORN. THAT'S A SOURCE OF ANNOYANCE TO SOME OF MY COUNTRYMEN.

TO THOSE WHO PREDICT DOOMSDAY OR THE TRIUMPH OF THE SUPERSTATE LET US CITE THE WORDS OF A GREAT AUTHOR AT A NOBEL PRIZE CEREMONY SOME YEARS AGO. WILLIAM FAULKNER SPOKE OF THE SELF-DOUBT THAT INFECTS OUR AGE.

BUT, HE CONCLUDED, "MAN WILL NOT MERELY ENDURE: HE WILL PREVAIL" BECAUSE HE WILL RETURN TO THE "OLD VERITIES AND TRUTHS OF THE HEART."

"HE IS IMMORTAL . . . BECAUSE HE HAS A SOUL, A SPIRIT CAPABLE OF COMPASSION AND SACRIFICE AND ENDURANCE."

DURING THE DARK DAYS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR WHEN THIS ISLAND WAS INCANDESCENT WITH COURAGE, WINSTON CHURCHILL EXCLAIMED ABOUT BRITAIN'S ADVERSARIES: "WHAT KIND OF A PEOPLE DO THEY THINK WE ARE?"

BRITAIN'S ADVERSARIES FOUND OUT WHAT EXTRAORDINARY PEOPLE THE BRITISH ARE. BUT ALL THE DEMOCRACIES PAID A TERRIBLE PRICE FOR ALLOWING THE DICTATORS TO UNDERESTIMATE US. WE DARE NOT MAKE THAT MISTAKE AGAIN. SO LET US ASK OURSELVES: WHAT KIND OF PEOPLE DO WE THINK WE ARE? AND LET US ANSWER: FREE PEOPLE ^{not only} WORTHY OF FREEDOM, AND DETERMINED TO REMAIN SO, ^{but to help others gain their freedom as well.}

SIR WINSTON LED HIS PEOPLE TO GREAT VICTORY IN WAR AND THEN LOST AN ELECTION JUST AS THE FRUITS OF VICTORY WERE ABOUT TO BE ENJOYED. BUT HE LEFT OFFICE HONORABLY, KNOWING THAT THE LIBERTY OF HIS PEOPLE WAS MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE FATE OF ANY SINGLE LEADER. HISTORY RECALLS HIS GREATNESS IN WAYS NO DICTATOR WILL EVER KNOW. AND HE LEFT US A MESSAGE OF HOPE FOR THE FUTURE, AS TIMELY NOW AS WHEN HE FIRST UTTERED IT, AS OPPOSITION LEADER IN THE COMMONS NEARLY 27 YEARS AGO: "WHEN WE LOOK BACK ON ALL THE PERILS THROUGH WHICH WE HAVE PASSED AND AT THE MIGHTY FOES WE HAVE LAID LOW AND ALL THE DARK AND DEADLY DESIGNS WE HAVE FRUSTRATED, WHY SHOULD WE FEAR FOR OUR FUTURE?" "WE HAVE," SAID SIR WINSTON, "COME SAFELY THROUGH THE WORST."

THE TASK I HAVE SET FORTH WILL LONG OUTLIVE OUR OWN GENERATION. BUT TOGETHER, WE, TOO, HAVE COME THROUGH THE WORST. LET US NOW BEGIN A MAJOR EFFORT TO SECURE THE BEST -- A CRUSADE FOR FREEDOM THAT WILL ENGAGE THE FAITH AND FORTITUDE OF THE NEXT GENERATION. FOR THE SAKE OF PEACE AND JUSTICE, LET US MOVE TOWARD A WORLD IN WHICH ALL PEOPLE ARE AT LAST FREE TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN DESTINY.