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3 October 1961

The attached Proposal for the Creation of a World Congress for Freedom and Democracy, and a draft of a Declaration of Principles, are submitted to you on a personal basis. The documents are unclassified and unsigned, but I have felt it necessary to stipulate Limited Distribution and Not for Publication.

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The draft Declaration deliberately merges several levels of discourse, intellectual, hortatory and polemic. General statement has been mixed with particular and even with personal "asides" (these are enclosed in parentheses, and are not intended for use in more developed drafts). The task of separating or integrating these different levels of language and thought, and of preparing a single Declaration which will carry its message to all mankind, obviously calls for cooperative effort of study and composition.

Your comments are invited.

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FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY
A Declaration of Principles

3 October 1961

Today the world could be one in Peace and Freedom. Instead, like Gaul, it is divided into three parts. Two of them are polarized, the third is suspended between these two. Each of the three proclaims its love of Peace, each, its dedication to Freedom, yet there is no Peace, and Freedom is in peril.

Absolute polarization is declared by the movement of International Communism to exist between the "world Socialist system," comprising the 12 countries of the Sino-Soviet Bloc with its apparatus of "fraternal parties," and the "world capitalist system headed by the United States." The third component - the "unaligned nations" - has been designated by the Communists as the "Great Zone of Peace," which is declared to be basically in sympathy with, and gravitating toward them. The "world socialist system" is described as a militant "camp," protected by the armed might of the Soviet Union. It is also held to be a "community" of mutual benefit or "commonwealth" (sodruzhestvo), a grouping of "equal, independent" nations which constitutes the matrix within which total world Communism will be formed.

We hold this Communist concept of the world order to be radically false. We firmly believe that the suspension of the "unaligned" nations is only temporary. They are gravitating, indeed for the most part they already belong, to the World of Freedom. Not all of them have achieved Democracy; some indeed frankly present regimes of authoritarian, paternalistic or even feudal nature. But, unlike the "world socialist system," this entire multiform grouping harbors the potential of true Freedom. Even the most arbitrary governments, outside the Communist system, fall short of, and generally oppose that form of tyranny, that totalitarianism, which only Communists and Fascists have sought to elevate to a system of world domination.

The Free World is indeed the pole of a magnet, the positive one which attracts rather than repels. But it is a dynamic pole, its pull grows ever stronger, despite the efforts of Communists to weaken it. The Communists in their propaganda declare the Free World to be in fact the antithesis of "true Freedom," which in their tortured philosophy comes only with "the recognition of necessity." This in turn proceeds from the acceptance of "dialectical materialism" as codified in the classics of Marxism-Leninism and interpreted by the Communist Party leaders. The "Free World," they declare, "is a world of exploitation and lack of rights, a world where human dignity and national honor are trampled underfoot, a world of obscurantism and political reaction, of rabid militarism and bloody reprisals against the working people." (Draft of the Program of the Communist Party of the CPSU, to be presented to its 22nd Congress in October 1961, para. 217).

Against this declaration of hate, the Free World must affirm the universal truth and the living force of its principles. These are the principles which should govern all mankind. We state them here affirmatively, and by this very statement we answer the implacable challenge of the one enemy of true Freedom, International Communism, "headed by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and centering in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union." (The official formula until the Sino-Soviet crisis of 1960, and still descriptive of the de facto situation).

In stating these principles we draw on the wisdom set forth in past utterances, and at the same time declare our independence of those shibboleths which have dimmed that wisdom. We also work to remove the tarnish which the unclean manipulation and fraudulent appropriation by the Communists have deposited on such noble concepts as Peace, Democracy, Freedom, Social Justice, Humanism, Commonwealth, Social Democracy, and even - supreme irony - the Dignity of Man. By the very existence of the crisis into which Communism has plunged the entire world, its free component has no alternative but to pick up the challenge and fight back.

The program we set forth here is generated in conflict, that very "negation of opposites" which dialectical materialism proclaims as the supreme law of being. At the same time, it strives toward that "unity of opposites" which Communism holds forth as its goal, but which, in virtue of its genesis in negation and destruction, it cannot achieve.

We candidly acknowledge our errors of omission and commission. Unlike the Communists whose spurious "self-criticism" is but the medium through which the very real criticism of a superior is abjectly acknowledged and intensified, we, through free discussion, are able to achieve the timely correction of abuses and insure the orderly process of responsible governance.

We do not claim to hold all truth, but neither do we, like Pilate, query its very existence. We do challenge that "pravda," that dictated "truth" which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sets forth in its writ under the banner of Marxist-Leninist "science." The arena of challenge to truth is the whole world. "By their fruits ye shall know them."

1. The Dignity of Man.

"Man is the measure of all things." Man and the world in which he lives cannot be explained merely in terms of motion and matter as the Communists endlessly assert. His is a moral essence. Whatever the ultimate nature of the universe may be - and science daily unfolds as many unfathomed mysteries as new revelations - the nature of Man is clearly a union of matter and spirit. The purpose of his life is to perfect this union.

The Communists, despite their materialism and their militant atheism, attribute "spiritual" qualities of the highest order to the "New Communist Man" they claim to be creating; taking for granted his physical vigor, they also attribute to him in equal degree both "moral" and "cultural" excellence. This complex of virtues they proclaim as "socialist humanism," (a new concept developed by Polish literature and recently

adopted by Khrushchev), contrasting it with "bourgeois humanism" which, they allege, was indeed living and creative during the Renaissance and Enlightenment, but which has now become the instrument of the bourgeoisie for the "exploitation of the working class." (The Chinese are dubious about Khrushchev's version of "socialist humanism").

Such arrant distortion of history cannot go unanswered. The Free World does not claim that the specific European tradition of Graeco-Latin humanism, fused as it has been with Judaeo-Christianity, is the only pattern for the formation of Man. It sees in the worldwide variety of spiritual and ethical disciplines - including some, such as Confucianism, which are now being perverted by Communism - the embodiment of the truth expressed by Christ, "In my Father's house there are many mansions." But it cannot reconcile itself with the Orwellian doctrine that rampant materialism can issue in the true spiritual dignity of Man.

Let us look with tolerance on all forms of religions belief, and even on men who have none, so long as they do not preach "militant godlessness" and impose it through coercion! Let us recognize that Man, whether through Revelation or through Inner Light, bears the truth in himself, and that knowledge of this truth shall make him free!

2. The Dynamics of Historical Progress.

The peoples and leaders of the Free World are hopeful of human progress. The awareness of Man's shortfall of perfection, which tinctures the great religions, is in harmony with the sense of his Promethean genius. We do not resort to spurious invocations of "life itself" - interpreted by Marxism-Leninism as the pure motion of matter - to inspire ourselves with the assurance of some predestined victory.

Going beyond the facile - and itself partly materialistic - optimism of 19th century Europe, we chart our course under the purposeful guidance of will and intellect. We see

no "wave of the future," no inevitable historic triumph awaiting any social system, least of all that which denies the essentials of Freedom. Rather we see the progress of mankind as a hard-run race, in which training, discipline, courage and persistence alone yield victory. Life is indeed the supreme trainer as well as the arbiter, but it sets no rules which favor the ruthless or the unscrupulous. Those who start late or are infirm need not despair. "The race is not to the swift or the battle to the strong."

Let us ally for progress!

3. The Nature of the Era.

The Communists have taught us one useful lesson, the need to fix in our minds a valid concept of the era in which we live. Again, with destructive intention and perverse logic, they have deliberately polarized it:

Our time, whose main content is the transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the Great October Revolution, is a time of struggle between the two opposing social systems, a time of socialist revolutions and national-liberation revolutions, a time of the breakdown of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, a time of transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world scale. (Declaration of Representatives of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, December 1961, Part I).

The Free World proceeds from a positive concept. Our time is indeed one of transition, signaled by no mere national Revolution, but by a universal Revolution into which those of many countries and peoples are converging. It is a time of struggle, not between two opposing social systems, but between the forces of Liberty and of Tyranny. It is indeed a time in which old empires are disappearing, hastened on their way into history by the growing enlightenment of

those who had created them. Colonialism is giving way to orderly programs of help and self-help, devised in concert between those who "have" and those who "have not." New nations are springing forth "like bamboo shoots after spring rains" (Mao). The surge of their liberation is not free from violence, but it is generally one of peace, of voluntary renunciation of a power which once served useful purposes but is now unnecessary and even harmful, if it is not accompanied by concrete programs for its own transfer. In this global process, many peoples are indeed following the path of socialism of their own will and with fruitful results. The path of Communism has never been entered freely by any people. It is that of a new and more baleful "Imperialism" than any which has ever existed.

Our era is one of transition from a world in which a few have been free to one in which all can be free. It is one of actualizing the potential, of fanning into flame the spark which is in every man.

Let us be worthy of our age!

4. "Nations of the Earth, Unite!"

The standard of the World Revolution of Freedom and Democracy is carried by a hundred nations, some millennial and strong, many newly born and frail. Nationalism is a mighty creative force, but it is also a breeder of turbulence and even of destruction. The Free World hails it as a primary source of energy in the "Revolution of rising expectations," yet sees the need to subject it, like the unlimited power of the atom, to control. We do not accept the Communists' distinction between "bourgeois nationalism" and socialist (recte Soviet) patriotism. Still less do we accept their "proletarian internationalism" which is candidly stated to demand unswerving loyalty to the Soviet Union as the fatherland of the Communist Revolution.

True nationalism can flourish only in freedom under discipline. Within the universal oneness of Man's nature,

there are infinite diversities of racial configuration, of social development, of temperament, history, and culture. Properly nurtured, these constitute legitimate sources of national pride. Perverted, they engender the violence of chauvinism or the stagnation of parochialism.

As mankind moves forward, the differences between nations tend to decrease. Education creates community. Universal communication, first within and then among nations, softens clan and tribal contrasts and heightens common traits. The world slowly becomes a "melting pot."

From this amalgamation, emerge groupings which transcend the nation-states. These seek common bonds among neighbors, and regional associations take shape. Even continents and vast archipelagos drift or purposefully move toward political and economic cohesion. We believe that regional federations, defensive alliances, common markets and multinational cultural affiliations are the supporting arches in the creation of a stable world structure.

Twice in this century the governments of the world have sought to actualize the ancient dream of philosophers and poets, a world unity of nations. One effort failed, the other is under great stress. There is no "parliament of Man," but the ideal persists. Only the antagonism of International Communism stands in its way.

We believe that the United Nations will triumph over its would-be destroyers and that the true Commonwealth of Free Nations will prevail over the false "Commonwealth of Socialist Nations" (sodruzhestvo sotsialisticheskikh stran) subjected to the domination of Communist parties. Meanwhile, the way of progress lies in regional and transoceanic associations, through the patient study of means to rise above the limitations of classic national "sovereignty" while preserving the richness of life which the diversity of nations contains.

Let us forge the bonds of world association in Freedom!

5. "They shall beat their swords into ploughshares."

The history of the human race is written in blood and in tears of bitterness. Whether, as religions teach, because Man has fallen from grace, or, as science suggests, because he has not shed his animal nature, violence has been the red thread in the web of history. But there is a white thread crossing it, the striving for Peace.

Today, for the first time in history, "there is no alternative to peace." Man, whether in sin or in grace, has learned to draw from the earth forces of destruction and creation which threaten as they illumine his existence. We have seen the cloud which overshadows the light and the promise.

The tragedy of this age is the perversion of the love of Peace. The polarization imposed by Communism has led to the coinage of a slippery and deceptive slogan, "peaceful coexistence." The Communists describe this as the "highest form of class struggle." "Peaceful coexistence" is the condition of non-violent but deadly war. It is not Peace.

The Free World cherishes true Peace. Because of the incontrovertible evidence that the Communists not merely threaten Peace, but will violate it wherever their interests so dictate, the Free World has had to arm itself and to create defensive alliances. It is firmly determined to reverse the arms race on which Communism has launched the world. The United States has made sincere and practical proposals for complete and general disarmament. It seeks to convert its military alliances into organs of political, economic and cultural cooperation. It asks nothing better than to dismantle all armed bases. It wants no military blocs.

It behooves the other nations of the Free World, including the unaligned and the neutral, to join in the effort to turn "peaceful coexistence" into Peace.

Let us have Peace!

6. "Government of the People, by the People, and for the People!"

Man is a political animal. He is the architect of governments, and his instinct is to create order in freedom. Through the centuries, the health of states has been shown to lie in this happy balance. The ideal form for its achievement is Democracy.

It is here that our antithesis with Communists emerges in full clarity, for they claim that their system is the only "true democracy." They have embellished the "dictatorship of the proletariat" under the state form of "people's democracy." They have imposed a hierarchical transmission of arbitrary directive, calling it "democratic centralism." They have, indeed, corrupted the concept of the people's rule to the point where many who believe in it have become afraid of the very word Democracy and seek other terms to convey its essence.

We do not lay down a detailed blueprint for Democracy, which like all human institutions is multiform. It can be established through a constitution, wrought in the aftermath of sharp revolutionary conflict, like that of the United States, deposited in an alluvium of centuries of experience, like that of Britain, or written by cloistered political scientists in abstraction from history, like those which have sometimes been prescribed for newborn nations of the twentieth century. Only the test of political rivalry can determine whether a Democracy is living.

We know of only one criterion by which to adjudge a true Democracy, the free selection by the people of those who govern them. This practice is by no means limited to advanced countries. In many so-called backward nations, even in tribes, the seeds of Democracy exist at the lowest level. The election of the village council of elders can be the simple germ from which the higher and more elaborate forms of Democracy spring.

Democracy needs nourishment and guidance, not that which power-inspired "vanguards" insinuate by craft and subversion but that which is provided by dedicated leaders. These may be aristocrats or sons of the people, intellectuals or men of religion who have learned the art of government from old, established - even "colonial" - regimes, or military elites emerging from internal and external conflicts. The holders of traditional feudal and royal absolute authority can, if they choose, lead their people in the "path that they should tread." Even the "charismatic" leaders of "one party states" can move into Democracy, provided they cleave to the principle that, as speedily as the level of education and the consciousness of responsibility permit, the people must freely make their choice of men and of issues.

Once this principle is established, its corollaries follow in abundance. Specific freedoms flow from the general. The right to act, to move, to assemble and to speak freely, can be inscribed in fundamental law, a Bill of Rights, or developed in uncodified practice. Separation of powers, checks and balances, may or may not require institutional embodiment. All that matters is the assured "consent of the governed," the absolute "Rule of Law."

This, Communism cannot allow, for it would bring the overthrow of its power. To be sure, with an effrontery hitherto unmatched, the Draft Program of the CPSU professes to hail the so-called "national democracies," emerging from "colonialist oppression," as the bearers of democratic rights, including freedom of speech and assembly, and pledges the Communist parties to support them. But the true intention is scarcely concealed, to bring about a union of "all patriotic and progressive forces" under the leadership of the Communist party and to impose the "dictatorship of the proletariat." From this, no Freedom can emerge or survive.

We repeat our belief that Man's dignity and worth are innate, and from them spring the roots of political judgment. However smothered they may become in poverty or falsely stimulated by demagoguery, these are the roots of Freedom and they will sprout if watered by education under devoted leadership.

Let us hold to Democracy as our priceless heritage and extend it everywhere!

7. "The Greatest Good of the Greatest Number."

Freedom is integral to the economy as well as to the polity. The productive structure of the Free World, rising as it does from the labor of the many and varied conditions of men, cannot be comprehended in a single system. Least of all can it be imprisoned in one element of a Communist imposed dialectic, the "world capitalist system" locked in "antagonistic contradiction" with the "world socialist system."

The Free World enfolds both capitalism and socialism, not as antitheses, but as alternative systems for the organization of production, both of which blend in the numerous forms of "mixed economies." All economies are based on the accumulation of capital, and all pass through various stages of social development before this accumulation has reached the self-sustaining level.

Nor is the Communist pattern simple and unitary. It is possible to describe even the Soviet system with the term which it levels in scorn against some of the more advanced Western European economies: "state monopoly capitalism." The outlines of a Soviet "welfare state" emerge from the very pages of the Draft Program of the CPSU in which that great achievement of the twentieth century Free World is ridiculed.

Even the concept of a "planned economy" is no longer a specific differential between the two "world systems." Communist economies, especially the Soviet, are seeking to promote flexibility of local initiative and decision within the hitherto rigid, ministry-ridden, bureaucratic octopus lodged in Moscow. (With a boldness impossible under Stalin, economic theorists subject orthodox doctrines to critical scrutiny. "Capitalist" views on price, market, obsolescence, interest, and even consumer preference infiltrate the citadel of orthodoxy. The so-called "transition to Communism," which Khrushchev and his ideological henchmen chart in the Draft Program,

is plotted against a series of Central Committee decrees which culminate in the promise of supermarkets bulging with frozen fruit juices and sugar-coated cereals, advertised on television. Small wonder that the hardpressed Chinese smell "creeping bourgeoisie" in the Soviet "City of the Sun"!).

But the citadels of classic capitalism are also stirring within. Long ago, in most advanced economies of the West, the Marxist clarion call for "class struggle" against the "exploiting bourgeoisie" lost its ring.

A new economic edifice is being created in the Free World. The cornerstone of Social Justice in the economy was laid by the progressive income tax on which the "welfare state" has risen. Competition, the life principle of all productive activity, has been subjected to both sustaining and restraining adjustment. Planning has entered openly in most countries, and even in those where some still shy away from it as "creeping socialism," it is practiced in the form of regulation of private business and provision of public investment by the state.

The "general crisis of capitalism" which the Communists have trumpeted against has not occurred; no wall of Jericho has tumbled. Within their generally "mixed" economies, the advanced nations have consolidated the self-energizing processes of capital accumulation, and gone to the era of "mass consumption." The "monopolies" against which Communism inveighs with concentrated venom, the great corporations which have emerged from the uncontrolled eruption of private enterprise during the first half of the twentieth century, are increasingly aware of their status as quasi-public institutions. Managers have learned to bargain fairly with workers, and to share with them in the responsibilities and profits. A vast apparatus of social security has been created, in which pension and retirement funds have imposed a new foresight and prudence on economic leadership.

We do not claim that the mechanism of "capitalism" functions perfectly, or that it can serve the needs of society quite without admixture of "socialism." We recognize that its achievements lie far beyond the present reach of many emerging nations. We acknowledge that it is under competitive challenge from Communist economies, which with their weight of imposed authority - at the cost of great human suffering - have also shown high productive capacity.

What we present is a concept of Economic Democracy (not adequately set forth in terms such as "people's capitalism"). It embraces the plenitude of new economies, as diverse in form throughout the world as the nations, peoples, races, climates and soils.

We propose, therefore, that the classic shibboleths of "capitalism" and "socialism" be withdrawn from the arena of conflict, and be invested with neutrality of value. What should replace them is a plurality of economic concepts, based on the stages of development of nations and regions, uniting in concern with stability and freedom of opportunity, and seeking the embodiment of that ideal of Democracy and Justice which informs the politics in the World of Freedom.

Let us direct the productive work of mankind in the spirit of Social Justice and Democratic Freedom!

8. The Strong shall Succor the Weak.

Nations, like men, are equal in their dignity and their worth. They are unequal in size, natural advantages and state of development. The claim that these inequalities can be removed in a short time is either fraud or Utopianism. To prescribe dictatorial methods as a short cut is to offer a remedy which cannot cure and can only aggravate the disease.

The Communists press the Free World to enter a "peaceful competition" to develop backward areas. If this were an honest challenge between peers, we would gladly accept it. But we hear their hateful words of defiance, we

watch the evidence of their deceitful intention to convert economic assistance into political subversion, and we reject their gage.

The nations of the Free World which have achieved the stage of self-sustaining growth have begun to help others over the threshold. The effort mounts steadily and in concert. But all know that it is not enough. The temptation of societies which have but newly tasted affluence is to linger over it and delay its sharing. The stage of "mass consumption" has its own inner compulsions which blind natural benevolence. And even in a generally affluent society there are vast areas of underfulfillment which press their claims.

Let us honestly admit that the centuries of imperialism have left a taint. Even countries whose hands are relatively clean, having long since foresworn colonial rule, have profited by that rule in the hands of others. The advanced economies of the West still owe much of their prosperity to the fact that they can command raw materials produced by "single crop" or "single mineral" countries, whose hold on subsistence is at the mercy of cruel market fluctuations.

It is a simple debt which the rich nations owe to the poor. It must not be with the calculation of buying allies against the enemy, Communism, that the "haves" share with the "have nots." Rather it is with the recognition of obligation to the millions of workers who, often in bitter poverty, produce the essential ingredients of an alien, unattainable prosperity.

We recognize that the effort of economic assistance must be doubled and trebled and more. All who can must contribute to it, not grudgingly but with an open hand. The basis of this contribution is not largesse but enlightenment. It is not "give away" but investment in the future of mankind. It benefits the investor as much as the recipient. It is a demonstration of mutual respect and interest.

But all investment calls for prudence. The investor is entitled to ask that the managers of the enterprise in which he is interested display qualities of resourcefulness, honesty and responsibility. He must be protected against the consequences of waste, corruption and arbitrary action.

Similarly, when the investment is in a whole nation, there must be guarantees of integrity. Without "attaching political strings," a program of economic assistance is entitled to stipulate that the beneficiary government give proof of respect for the terms of contract, and that it be influenced in a reasonable degree by the judgment of the investor in matters of economic rationality.

The responsibility of the beneficiary nation goes further. It must show that it is capable of sound planning and of administering programs honestly. If its social system is of such a nature that only the few stand to benefit from economic development, it must be prepared to make effective reforms on behalf of the many. These cannot be imposed from outside. They are the earnest of true self-help.

The advanced nations of the Free World are determined to repeal that "iron law" by which "the rich get richer and the poor get poorer." There is profound wisdom in the Parable of the Talents: "Unto everyone that hath shall be given . . . but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath" is not the maxim of "exploiters" but of those who seek to use their Master's wealth as "good and faithful servants."

Let us help those who help themselves!

9. The Fullness of the Earth.

As Man is uneven in his virtue, so is he uneven in his efforts to win life from the Earth. The Earth is good, its resources abundant beyond his needs. But the distribution of its wealth is not in balance with the limitations of Man who, by his improvidence, has turned fertile areas into desert and, by his ignorance, has neglected the riches which lie beneath his hand.

The triumphs of medicine have brought a great revolution in Man's expectancy of life, and have broken one rod in the hand of that grim law which bears the name of Malthus. Pestilence has given way, but famine and war remain as dire enforcers.

In the wide areas of the world where the tyranny of disease has been abated, there has been a wholesome, natural upsurge of the forces of life. Children are begotten and survive the cradle in numbers which presage vast new generations. This "population explosion" has been viewed with grave apprehension by those who see no escape from the Malthusian law. The Communists, have perhaps taught us a lesson by their denial of this danger (a denial which at least in the case of China is hedged by intermittent campaigns of population control).

We must all acknowledge that the immediate effects of this release from the cruellest scourge of mortality have exacted a high price. Precisely in those countries which have felt its greatest benefits, the penalties are most apparent. The painful task of economic construction is handicapped at the outset by a mounting army of mouths to be fed. Tragic irony lies in the fact that at the same time the agricultural capacity of a number of the advanced economies has outstripped the needs of their well-fed populations, leading to retrenchment in production.

These maladjustments need not last forever. Man now has at his disposition the resources and the skills to make the "desert blossom as the rose." Food from the earth and the sea can be produced sufficient unto the needs of this and larger future generations.

Nevertheless, a present balance must be established. It is possible that this will occur as a result of basic social processes which will reduce the overwhelming pressures. The violent upward curve of population is no more likely to be permanent than was the stagnation and decline which affected a number of European countries in the early twentieth century.

But the stabilization of population growth in harmonious proportion to the expansion of Man's productive capacity is not assured by purely spontaneous forces. There must be some measure of forethought and deliberation in the policies of government and in the actions of individuals.

Our duty is to insure that the yield of the Earth grows at a higher rate than the fertility of the human race. To this end, the resources of all nations must be harnessed. The first task is to transform the great river basins into sources of food and power, free from the immemorial sorrows they have inflicted. The next task is to open the unused lands - jungles, steppes and savannas - to exploit those which are under-used because of lack of capital or population, and to bring new fertility to those which centuries of intensive cultivation have worn out.

As we bring men up from subsistence through such programs, we must also delve more widely and deeply into the Earth for its minerals and its fuels. This, too, must be a concerted effort in which the technical skills and the capital equipment are provided in abundance by those who have them to spare. The basic minerals are generously distributed in the areas of backwardness; these should be brought forth by the enterprise of the advanced nations under generous terms of partnership. The natural resources of the poor are a trust which the rich must administer prudently for them until they can take over the task. We cannot afford to allow the narrow gains of "colonial exploitation" to debase the currency and credit of Freedom and Democracy, opening the way to the false coin of Communism.

The Earth has in its bosom the sources of power and energy for centuries of expanding mankind. It may be that the promise of an age of "nuclear plenty" will prove illusory, if for no other cause than the problem of rebottling the genie loosed from the earth,, (specifically the disposal of nuclear waste, though recent technological progress in this field shows promise that Man can meet the centuries of custodial respon-

sibility for "hot waste" which is imposed by "nuclear plenty"). But fossil fuel, especially coal and oil shale, is virtually unlimited, and once the narrower considerations of commercial profitability are absorbed in the broader spirit of providing Man's needs at whatever cost, they can surely be exploited on an unimagined scale. (There is also an abundance of natural gas, flared off in the extraction of oil in regions where there are no large populations and developed industries. This can now be liquefied and transported by tanker to any port in the world. It should be a challenge to the enterprise and ingenuity of free industry to devise systems of distribution to bring it into the hundreds of thousands of villages in the poorer countries, which are now forced to burn charcoal from the trees which protect the soil from erosion, or dung which could restore its fertility).

These are but a few of the great endeavors which the Free World should undertake to alleviate the lot of Man.

Let us bring Man into harmony with his Mother, the Earth!

10. Knowledge is Power.

Man's advance in knowledge is the measure of his progress. In the great task of social construction, education is the universal lever. Philosophy unfolds the principle of Being and the arts give expression to its plenitude ("the Great Chain of Being"). Science brings mastery of nature and is applied by the tools of technology to the material enrichment of civic and domestic life. "Where there is no light, the people perish."

In the vast campaign of social and political development in which the Free World is engaged, schools are the pioneers. Basic illiteracy must be wiped out, so that men and women can read, as well as hear, the words which will free or enslave them. The economic power exerted by emerging literacy has been demonstrated by the heroic achievements of once backward peoples such as the Japanese and the Russians.

We propose the foundation of schools everywhere and at all levels of need. A seed crop of teachers from many lands must be provided, and these must be endowed with the zeal of missionaries in the spirit of Freedom. There must be mature universities and technological institutes in every new country, and, crowning these, higher centers of learning for entire regions. Faculties, books and research equipment must flow from all sources of endowment.

But the need is not merely among the retarded. Many of the countries which have marked the highest progress still fall short of the peak because education is restricted by parsimony and the survival of privilege. Opportunity must be placed before every child.

The principles of education must be reinvigorated. New branches of psychological and pedagogic science, and inter-disciplinary convergence among them, have opened avenues of progress no less promising than those lying before the natural sciences. But there are false openings and dangerous detours. The Communists, captivated by the possibilities which electronic computers have unfolded, are turning the science of cybernetics - that is control - to the ends of the Party's power. The "new Communist man" nurtured in boarding schools, sterilized of healthy parental influence, is to be "indoctrinated" and "conditioned" to "joy in socialist labor," which in practice means submission to the tasks and station in life which the elite of the "New Class" assign to him.

Without the freedom to criticize doctrine and to form his own values, Man can not enjoy the freedom to choose his leaders, which, as we have seen, is the essential privilege of Democracy. We espouse the ancient wisdom of the Chinese: "Let a hundred flowers blossom; let a hundred schools of thought contend." (Only a tyrant could cruelly pervert this into a slogan designed to entrap unwary intellectuals who oppose his despotism and to purge their doctrines as "poisonous weeds.")

But this very Freedom which education can bestow is conditioned on the acceptance of discipline, and thus, as we have said, does not consist in the recognition of material "necessity," but rather of the "universal in the particular." It is this derivation from the generality of human experience that makes education in Freedom and in discipline the sole creator of the "good life."

Let us cultivate all the flowers in the garden of mind!

11. The Good Life.

The fulfillment of Man springs from his own spirit. In ignorance and in want, he cannot achieve it, and therefore we propose new and mighty programs to remove these impediments.

But the "good life," though it presupposes a modicum of material welfare, is not assured by abundance. We are witnessing in the societies of "mass consumption" a new crisis, not that "general crisis" which the Communists impute to "decadent capitalism," but one which arises from its very success in production which they refuse to acknowledge. Not merely a few, but many are beset by a plethora of things and of time. There is, indeed, a mounting "crisis of prosperity and of leisure." Those who are most free in these goods are in danger of another slavery. The slogans of affluence are insidious (the identification of a flow of advertised products with the "good life"; "billboards help make freedom of choice"; "active leisure").

The resolution of this crisis calls for an act of will and renunciation. Those who are richly endowed must recognize the obligation which their fortune imposes, not to "share their wealth" in downward levelling egalitarianism, but to employ their goods and their strengths to raise the less fortunate. We have shown that, in the economic field, this is no "give away," but an act of enlightenment. In the fields of

culture and thought, sharing is enrichment, cooperation is fulfillment, participation in common endeavor is the actualization of self.

Here, too, the Communists, groping toward truth, are content with half. They preach the life of excellence, of virtue, even of self-abnegation (the New Frontier of the "Virgin Lands"). But it cannot be the "good life" because it is not free. The springs of altruism, deep in Russian and in Han, are poisoned by the "will to power."

The individual, sacred in himself, achieves his full stature only as he develops among other men. The community in which he lives is more than the soulless "collective" of the Communists. It is a part, however small, of the brotherhood of Man. The Communists have lately pirated the vision of the great European Utopians; they hail Saint Thomas More and the "City of the Sun" of Campanella. We, too, cherish their light, even though often we see it "through a glass darkly." We deny that it can be seen at all by those who are not free. Our Utopia would not exclude the "Civitas Dei."

The act of will for which we call is one of moderation. It seeks the "Golden Mean." We honor the differences in the "nature and condition of men," those who cling to the past and those who forge impatiently toward the future, but we seek balance in all things.

Let the goodness of life be universal!

12. Freedom Militant.

We have tried to illustrate the principles of Freedom and Democracy. The effort is of necessity imperfect. It must be continued in study and debate.

The World of Freedom is an ecclesia. It stands opposed to another church which is unique in history because

it is the embodiment of a "secular religion." Communism is impelled by a false materialist faith, but it is a faith that "moves mountains," even as it poisons the air and the waters and the souls of men.

The church militant of Freedom must be visible. It must have active embodiment in an infinitude of groups, public and private, great and small. Each group must itself be free, but all must work in harmony. There must be organization to propagate and defend the faith.

Let us, to this end, create a World Congress of Freedom and Democracy.