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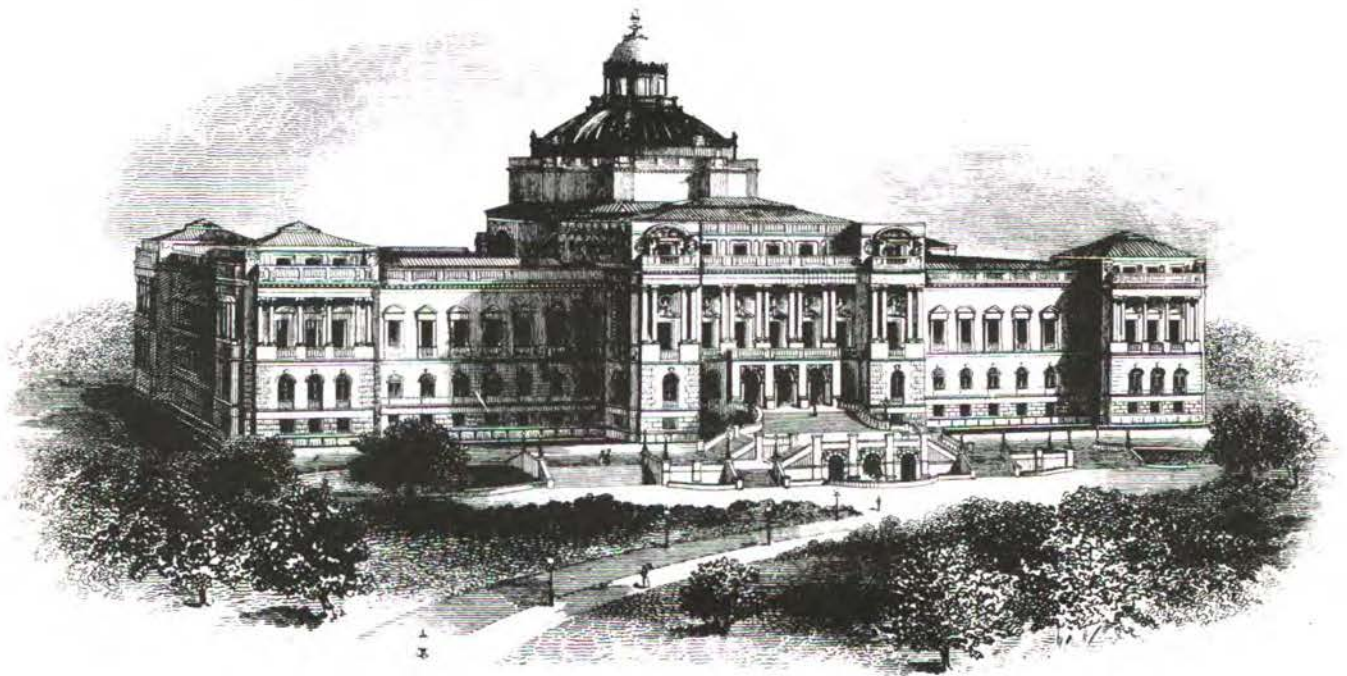
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MADISON COUNCIL BULLETIN

Volume VIII, Number I
April 1997



*"What spectacle can be more edifying
or more seasonable, than that of liberty
and learning, each leaning on the other
for their mutual and surest support?"*

James Madison to W. T. Barry, August 4, 1822

Robert F Kennedy Speech

[6/14/1966
Kenya - Thika
Nairobi, Kenya]

I have been in your country only a short time. Yet already I have been impressed with your land: with its beauty and its climate and above all with the spirit of its people.

This is a revolutionary country and a young country; young not just in years, but in the spirit of youth-- a spirit of imagination and courage and appetite for the adventure of life.

President Kennedy once said that Averell Harriman, who negotiated the Test-Ban Treaty at the age of 72, was the youngest man in Washington.

In the same way President Kenyatta is the youngest man in Kenya--though he yields to none in

the maturity and sagacity of judgment that years and experience bring.

Now I am glad to come here to Kenyatta Teachers College, to see the richest resources of this nation--more important than your land or your minerals or even the many new industries you are building.

That most important resource is this school--and you who are its students.

For the future of this nation, the future of any nation in this difficult world, is in education. One of our greatest Presidents, Thomas Jefferson, was like your President a man of many talents--statesman, diplomat, architect,

scientist, surveyor, writer, and musician. Yet of all his accomplishments he was proudest of the fact that he founded a great university, because he knew that education is the most precious ingredient of freedom and progress for any people. And he asked in his will that on any memorial, the university be one of the three things by which he should be remembered.

So one day, one of President Kenyatta's greatest achievements may be remembered as the founding of this school.

Jefferson said that "A nation which expects to be ignorant and free, expects what never was and

never will be." This is true for individuals; only those with the advantages of education are free to fulfill their potential, to find their destiny. You are the fortunate and the favored. But if the nation is to be free, it is the nation--not just individuals--who must be educated.

So the task before those of us who have an education will be to use it for more than ourselves--for the benefit of all our brothers, within and without our borders.

Nowhere is there a more desperate need for your help than in the countryside of this nation.

Kenya is a favored land; its soil is rich in potential. And

that potential must be fully used. Here in Africa, and all around the world, food resources are dwindling as population increases. The human race, which grew to 3 billion in tens of thousands of years, will grow by another 3 billion in the next forty years. Already the United States, which for decades has fed the hungry in many lands, has less than two years' supply of wheat in its larders. Famine stalks the world; and few nations can look to the future unworried.

But your soil will not feed the hungry--Kenya's potential will not be fulfilled--unless you lead a revolution in agriculture, here in Kenya and all over Africa.

(Continue to

I have traveled in many nations, in recent years--in Latin America and Asia and Africa.

Almost everywhere, men cry out for land--for the income and dignity which come with its ownership.

Here in Kenya, you are working to provide land to the man who works it; and that experience, the techniques and knowledge you develop, may be of great assistance to nations elsewhere in Africa, and even on other continents.

But giving men land is only one part of a true land reform--one step toward independence for a nation and its farmers. And you must show the way -- not just in Kenya -- but in the rest of East Africa, ~~and~~ all over Africa, and even elsewhere in the world.

To be productive, to feed the farmer and the city dweller alike, farms need fences and machinery and fertilizer and better seed.

To buy these things, farmers need agricultural credit--but in most of the world, there is no credit for the small farmer.

So we must everywhere create new financial institutions, able to invest funds in this most vital of all industries.

Even more important, many farmers have to learn how to use modern farming methods: how to guard ~~the~~ their cattle from disease; how to rotate crops and land; how to use the new benefits of agricultural technology.

And this requires a gigantic educational effort: thousands to teach agriculture in every school and university in ~~the~~^{every} land; and tens of thousands of young men and women ready to go out into the countryside to every village and farm, to bring millions of ~~people~~ into the present day--to span centuries of history in a single generation.

Other new institutions must also be created.

Increased production will mean little to the farmer unless we build new networks of marketing and transportation, so he can sell his product at a decent price.

Better farming methods cannot be used by men ravaged by disease and ill health, without doctors and medicines to cure them. And honest and capable public administration and protection for individual rights are essential to progress and security in every rural area in the world.

All of these--from the creation of new banking institutions to showing a farmer how to use a better plow--can only be done by you.

New knowledge can come only from those educated people who have taken the trouble to study it.

We may know everything about the Battle of Marathon, which saved the freedom of ancient Greece; but that will not save a farmer's freedom from want, if he does not know how to preserve his soil from erosion.

We may acquire the power to stir men with words; but if we do not know how to teach, there are millions of children who will never acquire enough words to read a newspaper or even a road sign.

This is the challenge to youth everywhere: to bring their learning and their knowledge to millions of less fortunate; to leave the comfort and excitement of the city, and face the discomfort and challenge of the countryside.

This challenge has been accepted by many.

Thousands of young Americans work in the Peace Corps, in the isolated villages of three continents.

Many young Europeans are doing the same.

And in Peru, in Chile, in Venezuela and now in Brazil, other young people, students like yourself, are accepting the challenge in their own nations.

Why are these young people-- with all the advantages of education, all the possibilities of a life of ease--turning instead to a life of sacrifice?

Above all, it is because they realize that the countryside holds the future of their nations.

In the greater part of the world, from 75 to 90 per cent of the people live on the farm; and agriculture provides the same proportion of the gross national product of most nations.

Even the most industrial of societies have been built on progress in agriculture.

In my own nation, it has been increases in agricultural productivity of 6 per cent yearly that have provided the base for our industrial and commercial expansion — ~~and~~ just as your expected 1966 harvest ~~can~~ provide the base for further industrial and commercial expansion in Kenya.

But a stagnant agriculture wastes foreign exchange and labor, and saps the strength of a nation's workers.

So if any nation is to progress, that progress must begin on the farm.

Further, these young people know that the countryside is the area of greatest need.

It is in the Latin American countryside that over half the children die before their fourth birthday; it is in the African countryside that the average life expectancy may be no more than 30 or 35 years.

It is in the countryside that only one in twenty adults can read and write--and where a terrible shortage of teachers leaves over 60 per cent of the children without the opportunity for schooling.

And where the need is greatest, so are the opportunities for service greatest.

Plato said that if mankind were to move forward, those who have lamps must pass them on to others.

So you who are educated must use your learning to lead your brothers into the clear light of knowledge and understanding and progress.

That is the first of the choices you must make.

The second choice before you is whether you will maintain the spirit of your fight for independence-- a spirit of struggle and sacrifice, willing to dare greatly so that you can achieve greatly.

For my nation or yours, or for any nation in the world, independence is only a vessel, and the question is how we will fill it. As the ancients tell us, "Who looks in liberty for anything but himself is bound to serve."

In the history of my country, there have been many revolutions since independence: in the 1820's, to open political life to all

regardless of birth or property; in the 1860's, to end slavery and the exploitation of the great plantations; in the 1870's, to end our dependence on raw material exports; in the 1930's, to bring economic security to all our people; and now, in the 1960's, to afford the Negro his full share of participation in society.

We in the United States still have deep and difficult problems--strife and injustice between the races, helpless poverty even in the midst of our affluence, thousands of inadequate schools and millions of substandard homes, millions

without adequate education and thousands without the opportunity to use their talents and education.

We are still fighting to solve these problems, to bring true justice and freedom to all our citizens.

Our revolution--like yours--still has far to go.

So I tell you this story out of no sense of complacency, no satisfaction that the job in my country is done.

I tell it only to show that every nation--no matter how fortunate, no matter what material progress is made, no matter what

its traditions--must continue its revolution if it is not to stagnate and die.

Institutions are the law of nations; change is the law of life.

Institutions must change and adapt to meet the ever-changing demands of the world.

And for adaptability, for a spirit of adventure and willingness to seek new answers, we look to youth--to the new children of a time of change.

This is the choice before you as it is before the young people of the United States and every other country I have visited.

The circumstances of each nation are different, shaped by the vagaries of history and experience.

Yet the battleground is always the same: the fight for justice, for freedom, for the human dignity of every man and woman and child.

In my own country, young people take the lead in the fight for civil rights, and in the war against poverty.

In South Africa, young people stand up for personal freedom and for justice between the races.

In Chile, young people struggle to bring land and schooling and health to half their nation.

You can do the same.

And the Kenya you build, the new answers you find, will have influence far beyond your borders.

For in every land, on every continent, we are called upon to show that men of different education, and heritage, and race, can join to work for a better life for all mankind.

Everywhere men look for a demonstration--for a sign that all races of man can together feed the

hungry and cure the sick and educate the untaught--and do this in freedom and brotherhood.

When I was in South Africa, I heard again and again the counsels of fear and despair--that men must be forever separated by the color of their skin; that African rule on this continent can only bring violence and disorder and a halt to progress in its train.

I said then that no race and no nation can avoid the follies and cruelties of mankind; that we who are white have been responsible for most of the world's share of unnecessary cruelty to our fellow

That we ^(in the developed nations) who are
fortunate, and ~~that~~ you
who struggle and sacrifice
for progress, can together
build a just economic order,
in which your labor and
produce receive fair
prices;

men--and that we bear a heavy responsibility for many of Africa's present difficulties.

But the real and final answer to the counsels of despair is for us to show, in our own countries, that men can transcend the mistakes which all of us have made in the past;) that men of all colors can progress, in freedom and justice and respect for the rights and liberties of others, even when we disagree with them.

For the essence of democracy is that every view, every opinion, shall have the fullest freedom of expression, and that the rule of law must be our abiding practice.

This we must do-- and we must show that we can do it better than those who chain themselves and their people to the besetting cruelties of racism.

For this, men look to Kenya-- and they look to you.

Democracy is the most difficult of all forms of government.

Where other governments rely on force, democracy rests on consent; where others restrain the individual, democracy rests on the self-restraint of every individual citizen; where others demand that something be done, democracy rests on the capacity and willingness of each one of us to ourselves discover and meet the demands of justice and respect for our fellow-citizens.

It would be easy--it would be tempting--to follow the paths of personal ambition, of political and financial success so grandly spread before those who have the privilege of education.

But that is not the road history has marked out for us; and it is not the way of democracy.

Democracy is no license for irresponsibility, but a call for responsibility.

It is the role of democratic governments to extend to all, especially to the young and the educated, the opportunity to lend their energies and talents to their society; and it is the role of those who are young and educated to respond to this call.

So you will determine the future of this nation.

If you will dare and sacrifice and labor for all your people, then Africa, and men everywhere, will take heart from your example.

But if you cannot--or if you will not--if you choose the life of ease over the life of strenuous endeavor--if you abandon your countrymen in their thousands of farms and villages--then Kenya will fail, and Africa will be disheartened, and your shadow will fall long all over the world.

So what President Kennedy said to the youth of America, I now say to you:

That it is you who have to decide--you "who have the longest stake, you who are the most concerned for truth, who have the least ties to the present and the greatest ties to the future."

Here among you, at this university of the future, I know what your decision will be.

On Stage for Senator's Speech

1. Vice President KAWAWA
2. Minister for Community
Development and National
Culture MGONJA (MM GON JA)
3. President, Dar es Salaam
Cultural Society, Mr. JONES
4. Secretary General TANU Youth
League, E. M. NANGISYE
(NAN-GEESE-YEE)

TANU Youth League
Dar es Salaam

I am happy to come here to Tanzania
--a nation with which the United States
feels a special tie, a special friendship

~~President Kennedy and President~~
Johnson, and ~~all~~ the American people,
appreciate the efforts you are making
for development - for education - for
freedom and justice in Africa ~~and the~~
~~world~~. |||

But I am especially pleased to be
in the land of President Nyerere: not
just because he is one of the world's
foremost leaders; but also because of
his visit to the United States, and his
special personal friendship with
President Kennedy. |||

Goethe once said that the future
of a nation depends on the opinions of
its young men.

its young men. In the same way, the future of the world depends upon its young nations.

For youth is not a time of life, but a state of mind. Youth is a spirit of imagination and courage, a preference for action and adventure, a determination to take the lead in the building of a new world.

Today I come here to look upon young people in a young nation: to look upon the future of a continent, and ^{thus} the future of the world.

That future is in you—in your hands and your hearts and your minds.

Your nation is not wealthy—and most of the world is not wealthy.

Your nation faces staggering problems of illiteracy, disease, and hunger and

poverty—and

poverty-and these are the common problems of four-fifths of the world's people.

You are determined to meet these problems in democracy and freedom and justice--and in every land, on every continent, this is the question: whether man's great yearning for economic progress and social justice can be answered by free men and democratic institutions; whether democracy is the destiny of future humanity.

You know that the statistics of economic development are meaningless if they do not represent a richer life for men. You know that progress is the fruit of a nation's labors, and must be used for the benefit of the whole nation.

And you know that without freedom and justice, material progress can build nothing for the human spirit--except a

more magnificent tomb

a more magnificent tomb.

This is your revolution--a revolution for food and work, for education and democracy, a revolution for the common humanity and dignity of mankind.

The United States feels the greatest sympathy--and holds the greatest hope--for your revolution. For mine is a revolutionary country.

We fought first for our independence from colonial rule. In the 1820's, we made a second revolution to open political life to all regardless of birth or property; in the 1860's, we fought to abolish slavery and the economic exploitation of the plantation; in the 1870's, to end our dependence on raw material exports; in the early 20th century to break ^{tr} and control the power of the

great corporation

great corporations.

Just in my own lifetime, I have seen two great revolutions.

I can remember my own country as very different from the United States you see today.

Not so many years ago, when I was ^{most of} a little younger than [^]you are now, only one out of ten farms in my country were electrified; half the farmers in our South were tenants and share-croppers with cash incomes of under \$100 a year; hundreds of workers died in pursuit of fair wages and decent working conditions; and 12 million people, more than the entire present population of Tanzania, were out of work.

Such was the country of my youth.

Then, under the

Then, under the leadership of President Roosevelt, we ~~made a great~~ *Change* ~~New Deal~~. A land reform program ended tenant farming, giving farmers title to their land and electricity to ease the burden of their lives. Unions gained the right to organize and strike and to bargain collectively in peace and dignity.

Millions found work in the service of public needs.

Thus was demonstrated the power of affirmative free government--of government which joins the ideal of social justice to the ideals of liberty.

And in the last five years, we have had another revolution--for the essential dignity of every individual human being.

Today ~~Just five years ago~~, many parts

of the United States

of the United States were governed by the degrading and divisive principles of racial discrimination--in jobs and housing, in education and justice; the right to eat in a public place and the right to share in the decisions of government that shape ~~their~~^{men's} lives.

But under President Kennedy and President Johnson, American~~a~~ began to change.

(We passed legislation to make racial discrimination illegal, to give every man a fair place in the sun and every child a fair chance in the future.

For we recognized, at long last, that the principle of the Golden Rule is not sentimentality, but the deepest practical wisdom--that cruelty is contagious, and its disease knows no bounds of race or nation.

- As I said to the people of South Africa

(yesterday: where

yesterday: where men can be deprived because their skin is black, in the fullness of time others will be deprived because their skin is white.

Freedom is not money; I cannot enlarge mine by taking yours.

As ~~President Kennedy said~~, "Freedom is indivisible, and when one man is enslaved, all are not free."

(I said this ^{in South Africa} with no sense of complacency, no satisfaction that the job in my country is done.

We in the United States still have deep and difficult problems.

Injustice is not gone, nor are the fears and hatreds of race. James Meredith marches for ^{that justice} freedom with shotgun wounds in his back and legs.

And the American

And the American nation, the entire power of the American Government, is committed to insuring that he reaches his goal.

The progress we are making
~~What we are doing~~ in the United States,
The progress you are making
~~what you are doing~~ in Tanzania, must be done all over this continent, and all over the world.

I have come here from South Africa--
(a land of wealth and richness, and promise.

But it is a land also of sadness and potential danger: a land in which men cannot fulfill themselves as individuals because their skin is dark; their fate set forever at birth, denied equal opportunity for work or education or for a share in the government of their land--or even for a fair share of justice or for the warmth and
—comfort of home and family.

(But I want to say

But I want to say that I also saw hope --tens and hundreds of thousands of people, black and white and brown, men and women of good conscience and inquiring mind; as concerned as you and I with inequality, and as determined to eliminate racial injustice; determined that South Africa must join this continent in brotherhood and freedom and peace.

Above all, I was impressed by many of the young people of South Africa, of all races and colors, fighting alongside one another for the right to study and organized and work together, without regard to anything but an individual's talent and energy and willingness to contribute to his fellow man.

Like the young people of every country
I have visited,

I have visited, they are in many ways more closely joined to you and to the brothers of your generation in every nation than they are to the older generation in their own land. And they are--with you--prepared, I believe, to dare and sacrifice for the vision of a better life and a common justice for all mankind.

But even as we recognize the (imperfections of others, we must also recognize our own imperfections, our own mistakes; and we must work to meet our obligations to our own people, to our neighbors, and to men everywhere.

We say we stand for ~~justice, and we mean it. But we know that there is no~~

justice, and we mean it.

(

justice, and we mean it.

But we know that there is no justice when twenty percent of the world consumes eighty percent of the world's goods.

There is no justice for millions of people--in Tanzania and elsewhere around the globe--who struggle to support their families on incomes of less than \$70 a year

It is not justice when millions are without an education--or when those who are educated cannot find work suited to their education.

And we say we want to cooperate, and we mean it.

But we know it is difficult for you to understand what we mean by cooperation--when the world price of ^{sisal} sisal can fall ~~so~~ sharply within two years, gravely

(affecting your ~

affecting your development plan.

As I and others have said within my own country, it is not cooperation when the United States, or other developed countries of the world, give less than one percent of our gross national product to development *in these countries that need help.*

My country, and the other developed nations, must do much more to invest in Africa; to help stabilize foreign exchange earnings in Africa; to directly aid the development of education and transport and health and the other requirements of development in Africa.

We are moving toward these goals--
~~and some things have been done.~~ President Johnson has pledged the United States to support the efforts of the African
development bank--which could be a major

contribution both to

contribution both to development and to cooperation.

Thousands of Peace Corps volunteers, hundreds in Tanzania alone, are working and teaching and building in isolated villages and city slums.

The work of the OAU, we hope, will encourage regional cooperation among groups of African nations--and, through (such possible forms as an African Payments Union, among all African states

directing all their effort from the outside
But yours is the principal burden-- and yours will be the principal achievement.

Only you can assure continental unity and cooperations.

Only you, within Tanzania and every African nation, can build your countries-- not just through participation in politics,

not just with your voices

~~not with just your voices~~ and your votes--
but with the labor of your own hands and the
love of your own hearts.

This will require great sacrifices--
as nations, and from you as individuals.

It will require courage and self-denial
to look not just to the immediate interests
of each independent nation--but to the
broader interests of all, particularly
(African nations. *+ particularly here in East Africa*

Yet it is necessary; for the economic,
educational and political institutions
of Africa will be far stronger if they are
built together.

And Above all, it will require the
sacrifice and the contribution of every
individual--particularly those ^{*like you*} who have
the priceless gift of education.

Plato said that if mankind were ever

(to progress,

to progress, then those who have lamps must pass them on to others.

So those who have the lamp of learning must use it to guide their countrymen into a world of progress and security and freedom.

Whether through a period of public service such as President Kennedy ^{+ Pres Johnson have} devoted to ^{their} his country, or President Nyerere to his; or through work in economic development; or through the many other efforts in health and housing, engineering and education, which every nation ^{is} desperately needs--it is your contribution, your life and your labor, that will determine the future of this land.

No matter what the United States does; no matter what the United Nations does; in the last analysis, it is up to you.

A President of my country

A President of my country once said that our countries call "not for the life of ease, but of strenuous endeavor."

And so they do.

In your labor--in the ^{you} strength ~~you~~
~~build~~, the sacrifice ^{all these things} you make, the spirit
in which you do ~~it~~--will be written the
history of this generation and the history
of this continent.

(And even as you build in your own country, the force of your example can reach far beyond your borders, to bring down the highest barriers of fear and discrimination and prejudice all over the world.

When I was in South Africa, I was confronted many times with the claim that the black man of Africa was not ready for self-government--that the chaos and

(violence and disorder

violence and disorder which have appeared in some places in recent years are unchangeable and impossible to control.

I told them then that we all want stability, we all want progress. ~~Still~~ ^{that} my own country went through periods of great instability and internal strife for at least 100 years after our independence.

And no race and no nation avoids the follies and the cruelties of mankind.

After all, ~~it was not~~ the black man of Africa who invented and used poison gas or the atomic bomb or the gas ovens of the concentration camp.

~~I told them further that~~ our job is not to stand aloof and point the finger ~~at the~~ but to commit our every resource of mind and body to the education and help and —improvement of our fellowmen ~~and the~~

~~societies in which~~

~~societies in which they live.~~

But the real answer, and the best answer ^{is that of our time begun} ~~is~~ that it is here in black Africa, here in Tanzania, that men are laboring and sacrificing to build a nonracial society; ^{time} here in Tanzania that men work and study and are elected as representatives without any regard to the color of their skin, ^{+ that they are working for all the people}

(That is your witness and your testament of faith in the power of man to transcend the ancient fears and hates of history; it will be the answer to those in every land and time who say that it cannot be done; it will be a major contribution to the peace of the world; and if you can make this great experiment work, if you can bring education and work, health and happiness to your people, then men in

(every land and

every land ^{for} ~~and~~ time henceforth will thank
you for ~~that demonstration~~ *what you have*
done, contributed

So what Pres. ²⁰ Kennedy said
 to the youth of America, I say now to you
 That it is you have to decide--
 you "who have the longest stake,
 you who are the most concerned for
 truth, who have the least ties to
 the present and the greatest ties
 to the future."

Here among you, at this great
 university, I know what your
 decision will be."

FOR RELEASE 8:00 P.M.

ADDRESS OF SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY

DAY OF AFFIRMATION

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

JUNE 6, 1966

I come here because of my deep interest and affection for a land settled by the Dutch in the mid-seventeenth century, then taken over by the British, and at last independent; a land in which the native inhabitants were at first subdued, but relations with whom remain a problem to this day; a land which defined itself on a hostile frontier; a land which has tamed rich natural resources through the energetic application of modern technology; a land which once imported slaves, and now must struggle to wipe out the last traces of that former bondage. I refer, of course, to the United States of America.

But I am glad to come here to South Africa. I am already enjoying my visit. I am making an effort to meet and exchange views with people from all walks of life, and all segments of South African opinion -- including those who represent the views of the government. Today I am glad to meet with the National Union of South African Students. For a decade, NUSAS has stood and worked for the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights -- principles which embody the collective hopes of men of good will all around the world.

Your work, at home and in international student affairs, has brought great credit to yourselves and to your country. I know the National Student Association in the United States feels a particularly close relationship to NUSAS. And I wish to thank especially Mr. Ian Robertson, who first extended this invitation on behalf of NUSAS, for his kindness to me. It's too bad he can't be with us today. I hope to have the opportunity to meet and speak with him in the near future.

This is a Day of Affirmation -- a celebration of liberty. We stand here in the name of freedom.

At the heart of that western freedom and democracy is the belief that the individual man, the child of God, is the touchstone of value, and all society, groups, the state, exist for his benefit. Therefore the enlargement of liberty for individual human beings must be the supreme goal and the abiding practice of any western society.

The first element of this individual liberty is the freedom of speech: the right to express and communicate ideas, to set oneself apart from the dumb beasts of field and forest; to recall governments to their duties and obligations; above all, the right to affirm one's membership and allegiance to the body politic -- to society -- to the men with whom we share our land, our heritage and our children's future.

Hand in hand with freedom of speech goes the power to be heard -- to share in the decisions of government which shape men's lives. Everything that makes life worthwhile -- family, work, education, a place to rear one's children and a place to rest one's head -- all this depends on decisions of government; all can be swept away by a government which does not heed the demands of its people. Therefore, the essential humanity of men can be protected and preserved only where government must answer -- not just to the wealthy; not just to those of a particular religion, or a particular race; but to all its people.

And even government by the consent of the governed, as in our own Constitution, must be limited in its power to act against its people: so that there may be no interference with the right to worship, or with the security of the home; no arbitrary imposition of pains or penalties by officials high or low; no restriction on the freedom of men to seek education or work or opportunity of any kind, so that each man may become all he is capable of becoming.

These are the sacred rights of western society. These were the essential differences between us and Nazi Germany as they were between Athens and Persia.

They are the essence of our difference with communism today. I am unalterably opposed to communism because it exalts the state over the individual and the family, and because of the lack of freedom of speech, of protest, of religion and of the press, which is the characteristic of totalitarian states. The way of opposition to communism is not to imitate its dictatorship, but to enlarge individual human freedom--in our own countries and all over the globe. There are those in every land who would label as "communist" every threat to their privilege. But as I have seen on my travels in all sections of the world, reform is not communism. And the denial of freedom, in whatever name, only strengthens the very communism it claims to oppose.

Many nations have set forth their own definitions and declarations of these principles. And there have often been wide and tragic gaps between promise and performance, ideal and reality. Yet the great ideals have constantly recalled us to our duties. And--with painful slowness--we have extended and enlarged the meaning and the practice of freedom for all our people.

For two centuries, my own country has struggled to overcome the self-imposed handicap of prejudice and discrimination based on nationality, social class or race--discrimination profoundly repugnant to the theory and command of our Constitution. Even as my father grew up in Boston, signs told him that "No Irish need apply." Two generations later President Kennedy became the first Catholic to head the nation; but how many men of ability had, before 1961, been denied the opportunity to contribute to the nation's progress because they were Catholic, or of Irish extraction? How many sons of Italian or Jewish or Polish parents slumbered in slums--untaught, unlearned, their potential lost forever to the nation and the human race? Even today, what price will we pay before we have assured full opportunity to millions of Negro Americans?

In the last five years we have done more to assure equality to our Negro citizens and to help the deprived both white and black, than in the hundred years before. But much more remains to be done.

For there are millions of Negroes untrained for the simplest of jobs, and thousands every day denied their full equal rights under the law; and the violence of the disinherited, the insulted and injured, looms over the streets of Harlem and Watts and Southside Chicago.

But a Negro American trains as an astronaut, one of mankind's first explorers into outer space; another is the chief barrister of the United States government, and dozens sit on the benches of court; and another, Dr. Martin Luther King, is the second man of African descent to win the Nobel Peace Prize for his non-violent efforts for social justice between the races.

We have passed laws prohibiting discrimination in education, in employment, in housing; but these laws alone cannot overcome the heritage of centuries-- of broken families and stunted children, and poverty and degradation and pain.

So the road toward equality of freedom is not easy, and great cost and danger march alongside us. We are committed to peaceful and non-violent change and that is important for all to understand--though all change is unsettling. Still even in the turbulence of protest and struggle is greater hope for the future, as men learn to claim and achieve for themselves the rights formerly petitioned from others.

And most important of all, all the panoply of government power has been committed to the goal of equality before the law--as we are now committing ourselves to the achievement of equal opportunity in fact.

We must recognize the full human equality of all our people--before God, before the law, and in the councils of government. We must do this, not because it is economically advantageous--although it is; not because the laws of God and man command it--although they do command it; not because people in other lands wish it so. We must do it for the single and fundamental reason that it is the right thing to do.

We recognize that there are problems and obstacles before the fulfillment of these ideals in the United States as we recognize that other nations, in Latin America and Asia and Africa have their own political, economic, and social problems, their unique barriers to the elimination of injustice.

In some, there is concern that change will submerge the rights of a minority, particularly where that minority is of a different race from the majority. We in the United States believe in the protection of minorities; we recognize the contributions they can make and the leadership they can provide; and we do not believe that any people--whether minority, majority, or individual human beings--are "expendable" in the cause of theory or policy. We recognize also that justice between men and nations is imperfect, and that humanity sometimes progresses slowly.

All do not develop in the same manner, or at the same pace. Nations, like men, often march to the beat of different drummers, and the precise solutions of the United States can neither be dictated nor transplanted to others. What is important is that all nations must march toward increasing freedom; toward justice for all; toward a society strong and flexible enough to meet the demands of all of its own people, and a world of immense and dizzying change.

In a few hours, the plane that brought me to this country crossed over oceans and countries which have been a crucible of human history. In minutes we traced the migrations of men over thousands of years; seconds, the briefest glimpse, and we passed battlefields on which millions of men once struggled and died. We could see no national boundaries, no vast gulfs or high walls dividing people from people; only nature and the works of man--homes and factories and farms--everywhere reflecting man's common effort to enrich his life. Everywhere new technology and communications bring men and nations closer together, the concerns of one inevitably becoming the concerns of all. And our new closeness is stripping away the false masks, the illusion of difference which is at the root of injustice and hate and war. Only earthbound man still clings to the dark and poisoning superstition that his world is bounded by the nearest hill, his universe ended at river shore, his common humanity enclosed in the tight circle of those who share his town and views and the color of his skin.

It is your job, the task of the young people of this world to strip the last remnants of that ancient, cruel belief from the civilization of man.

Each nation has different obstacles and different goals, shaped by the vagaries of history and experience. Yet as I talk to young people around the world I am impressed not by diversity but by the closeness of their goals, their desires and concerns and hope for the future. There is discrimination in New York, the racial inequality of apartheid in South Africa and serfdom in the mountains of Peru. People starve in the streets of India; a former Prime Minister is summarily executed in the Congo; intellectuals go to jail in Russia; thousands are slaughtered in Indonesia; wealth is lavished on armaments everywhere. These are differing evils; but they are the common works of man. They reflect the imperfection of human justice, the inadequacy of human compassion, the defectiveness of our sensibility toward the sufferings of our fellows; they mark the limit of our ability to use knowledge for the well-being of others. And therefore they call upon common qualities of conscience and of indignation, a shared determination to wipe away the unnecessary sufferings of our fellow human beings at home and ~~everywhere~~ around the world.

It is these qualities which make of youth today the only true international community. More than this I think that we could agree on what kind of a world we want to build. It would be a world of independent nations, moving toward international community, each of which protected and respected basic human freedoms. It would be a world which demanded of each government that it accept its responsibility to insure social justice. It would be a world of constantly accelerating economic progress--not material welfare as an end in itself, but as a means to liberate the capacity of each human being to pursue his talents and his hopes. It would, in short, be a world we would be proud to have built.

Just to the North^{of} here are lands of challenge and opportunity--rich in natural resources, land and minerals and people. Yet they are also lands confronted by the greatest odds--overwhelming ignorance, internal tensions and strife, and great obstacles of climate and geography. Many of these nations, as colonies, were oppressed and exploited. Yet they have not estranged themselves from the broad traditions of the West; they are hoping and gambling their progress and stability on the chance that we will meet our responsibilities to help them overcome their poverty.

In the world we would like to build, South Africa could play an outstanding role in that effort. This is without question a preeminent repository of the wealth and knowledge and skill of the continent. Here are the greater part of Africa's research scientists and steel production, most of its reservoirs of coal and electric power. Many South Africans have made major contributions to African technical development and world science; the names of some are known wherever men seek to eliminate the ravages of tropical disease and pestilence. In your faculties and councils, here in this very audience, are hundreds and thousands of men who could transform the lives of millions for all time to come.

But the help and the leadership of South Africa or the United States cannot be accepted if we--within our own countries or in our relations with others--deny individual integrity, human dignity, and the common humanity of man. If we would lead outside our borders; if we would help those who need our assistance; if we would meet our responsibilities to mankind; we must first, all of us, demolish the borders which history has erected between men within our own nations--barriers of race and religion, social class and ignorance.

Our answer is the world's hope; it is to rely on youth. The cruelties and obstacles of this swiftly changing planet will not yield to obsolete dogmas and outworn slogans. It cannot be moved by those who cling to

a present which is already aying, who prefer the illusion of security to the excitement and danger which comes with even the most peaceful progress. This world demands the qualities of youth: not a time of life but a state of mind, a temper of the will, a quality of the imagination, a predominance of courage over timidity, of the appetite for adventure over the love of ease. It is a revolutionary world we live in; and thus, as I have said in Latin America and Asia, in Europe and in the United States, it is young people who must take the lead. Thus you, and your young compatriots everywhere have had thrust upon you a greater burden of responsibility than any generation that has ever lived.

"There is," said an Italian philosopher, "nothing more difficult to take in hand, more perilous to conduct, or more uncertain in its success than to take the lead in the introduction of a new order of things." Yet this is the measure of the task of your generation and the road is strewn with many dangers.

First, is the danger of futility; the belief there is nothing one man or one woman can do against the enormous array of the world's ills--against misery and ignorance, injustice and violence. Yet many of the world's great movements, of thought and action, have flowed from the work of a single man. A young monk began the Protestant reformation, a young general extended an empire from Macedonia to the borders of the earth, and a young woman reclaimed the territory of France. It was a young Italian explorer who discovered the New World, and the 32 year old Thomas Jefferson who proclaimed that all men are created equal. "Give me a place to stand," said Archimedes, "and I will move the world." These men moved the world, and so can we all. Few will have the greatness to bend history itself; but each of us can work to change a small portion of events, and in the total of all those acts will be written the history of this generation. Thousands of Peace Corps volunteers are making a difference in isolated villages and city slums in dozens of countries. Thousands of unknown men and women in Europe resisted the occupation of the Nazis and many died, but all added to the ultimate strength and freedom of their countries. It is from numberless diverse acts of courage and belief that human history is shaped. Each time a man stands up for an ideal, or acts to improve the lot of others, or strikes out against injustice, he sends forth a tiny ripple of hope, and crossing each other from a million different centers of energy and daring those ripples build a current which can sweep down the mightiest walls of oppression and resistance.

"If Athens shall appear great to you," said Pericles, "consider then that her glories were purchased by valiant men, and by men who learned their duty." That is the source of all greatness in all societies, and it is the key to progress in our time.

The second danger is that of expediency; of those who say that hopes and beliefs must bend before immediate necessities. Of course if we would act effectively we must deal with the world as it is. We must get things done. But if there was one thing President Kennedy stood for that touched the most profound feeling of young people across the world, it was the belief that idealism, high aspirations and deep convictions are not incompatible with the most practical and efficient of programs--that there is no basic inconsistency between ideals and realistic possibilities--no separation between the deepest desires of heart and mind and the rational application of human effort to human problems. It is not realistic or hard-headed to solve problems and take action unguided by ultimate moral aims and values. It is thoughtless folly. For it ignores the realities of human faith and passion and belief; forces ultimately more

powerful than all the calculations of economists or generals. Of course to adhere to standards, to idealism, to vision in the face of immediate dangers takes great courage and self-confidence. But we also know that only those who dare to fail greatly, can ever achieve greatly.

It is this new idealism which is also, I believe, the common heritage of a generation which has learned that while efficiency can lead to the camps of Auschwitz, or the streets of Budapest, only the ideals of humanity and love can climb the hill to the Acropolis.

A third danger is timidity. Few men are willing to brave^{the}/disapproval of their fellows, the censure of their colleagues, the wrath of their society. Moral courage is a rarer commodity than bravery in battle or great intelligence. Yet it is the one essential, vital quality for those who seek to change a world which yields most painfully to change. Aristotle tells us that "At the Olympic games it is not the finest and the strongest men who are crowned, but they who enter the lists... So too in the life of the honorable and the good it is they who act rightly who win the prize." I believe that in this generation those with the courage to enter the moral conflict will find themselves with companions in every corner of the world.

For the fortunate among us, the fourth danger is comfort; the temptation to follow the easy and familiar paths of personal ambition and financial success so grandly spread before those who have the privilege of education. But that is not the road history has marked out for us. There is a Chinese curse which says "May he live in interesting times." Like it or not we live in interesting times. They are times of danger and uncertainty; but they are also more open to the creative energy of men than any other time in history. And everyone here will ultimately be judged--will ultimately judge himself--on the effort he has contributed to building a new world society and the extent to which his ideals and goals have shaped that effort.

So we part, I to my country and you to remain. We are--if a man of forty can claim that privilege--fellow members of the world's largest younger generation. Each of us have our own work to do. I know at times you must feel very alone with your problems and difficulties. But I want to say how impressed I am with what you stand for and the effort you are making; and I say this not just for myself, but for men and women everywhere. And I hope you will often take heart from the knowledge that you are joined with fellow young people in every land, they struggling with their problems and you with yours, but all joined in a common purpose; that, like the young people of my own country and of every country I have visited, you are all in many ways more closely united to the brothers of your time than to the older generations of any of these nations; and that you are determined to build a better future. President Kennedy was speaking to the young people of America, but beyond them to young people everywhere, when he said that "The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it--and the glow from that fire can truly light the world."

And, he added, "With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own."

ADDRESS OF SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

JUNE 8, 1966

I have been in your country only a short time; yet you already have made a strong and deep impression. I have flown from Pretoria to Cape Town; going back in three hours over the road which was first covered with great difficulty over many years. I went up the Indian Ocean coast to Durban; and now I return to Johannesburg.

Everywhere I have been impressed with the warmth and the interest of all of the people of South Africa, of all political persuasions and races. Everywhere I have been impressed by your achievements, the wealth you have created in this continent which so sorely needs the blessings of progress.

Above all, I have been impressed with South African youth: not just those young in years, but those of every age who are young in a spirit of imagination and courage and an appetite for the adventure of life.

President Kennedy once said that Averell Harriman, who negotiated the Test-Ban Treaty at the age of 72, was the youngest man in Washington. There are many like him here in South Africa.

These young-spirited people are like young people in my country, and all over the world, seeking to build a better future -- to make their mark on the tablets of history. They are restless, impatient with the past, with the vain quarrels of a day that is gone; and in this too they are more closely joined with their fellow young people than to the older generation anywhere.

And those who seek change and progress in South Africa are very special. So many of those I have seen, so many who are here in this hall, are standing with their brothers around the globe for liberty and equality and human dignity; not in the ease and comfort and approbation of society, but in the midst of controversy and difficulty and risk.

Your fellow students, and men all over the world, will take heart and example from your stand. And that is why your work is so important: for men will flock to the banners of the courageous and the right; but as the Bible tells us, "if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?"

Will you sound the trumpet? And what is the battle, to which we all are summoned?

It is first a battle for the future. The day is long past when any nation could retreat behind walls of stone or curtains of iron or bamboo. The winds of freedom and progress and justice blow across the highest battlements, enter at every crevice, are carried by jet planes and communications satellites and by the very air we breathe.

So tomorrow's South Africa will be different from today's -- just as tomorrow's America will be different from the country I left these few short days ago: different for the astronauts who returned from their journey -- and for James Meredith who did not complete his journey. Our choice is not whether change will come, but whether we can guide that change in the service of our ideals and toward a social order shaped to the needs of all our people. In the long run we can master change not through force or fear, but only through the free work of an understanding mind -- through an openness to new knowledge and fresh outlooks which can only strengthen the most fragile and the most powerful human gifts -- the gift of reason.

Thus those who cut themselves off from ideas and clashing convictions not only display fear and enormous uncertainty about the strength of their own views; they also guarantee that when change comes, it will not be to their liking. And they encourage the forces of violence and passion which are the only alternatives to reason and the acts of minds freely open to the demands of justice.

Justice -- a demand which has echoed down through all the ages of man -- this is the second battle to which we are summoned. And let no man think that he fights this battle for others; he fights for himself, and so do we all. The Golden Rule is not sentimentality, but the deepest practical wisdom. For the teaching of our time is that cruelty is contagious, and its disease knows no bounds of race or nation. Where men can be deprived because their skin is black, in the fullness of time, others will be deprived because their skin is white. If men can suffer because they hold one belief, then others may suffer for the holding of other beliefs. Freedom is not money, that I could enlarge mine by taking yours. Our liberty can grow only when the liberties of all our fellow-men are secure; and he who would enslave others ends only by chaining himself, for chains have two ends, and he who holds the chain is as securely bound as he whom it holds. And as President Kennedy said at the Berlin Wall in 1963, "Freedom is indivisible, and when one man is enslaved, all are not free."

In the last analysis, as President Kennedy told the American people in 1963, "The heart of the question is whether all men are to be afforded equal rights and equal opportunities, whether we are going to treat our fellow-men as we want to be treated."

"If an American" -- or, I would add, any man -- if a man, he said, "because his skin is dark, cannot eat lunch in a restaurant open to the public, if he cannot send his children to the best public school available, if he cannot vote for the public officials who represent him, if in short, he cannot enjoy the full and free life which all of us want, then who among us would be content to change the color of his skin and stand in his place?"

Who among us would then be content with the counsels of patience and delay?"

It is the question before us in the United States; it is the question before you in South Africa; it is the question before all of us in every corner of the globe.

Will we -- within our own countries, and among the mass of struggling humanity -- use our advantages to bring help and hope to their outstretched hands?

South Africa is the pre-eminent repository of the skill and knowledge and wealth of this continent.

If you can answer the great questions -- if you can sweep unjust privilege into the dead past, if you can show the dispossessed and the diseased, the hungry and the untaught, that there is a better life for them and a fair place in the sun for their children -- if you can do these things, then all of us will take heart from your example, and this continent can take its place in the modern world.

But if you cannot do these things, then your shadow will fall long across this continent -- and the common cause of men everywhere, in the United States and in South Africa, will be sorely tried and deeply injured.

There are those who say that the game is not worth the candle -- that Africa is too primitive to develop, that its peoples are not ready for freedom and self-government, that violence and chaos are unchangeable. But those who say these things should look to the history of every part and parcel of the human race. It was not the black man of Africa who invented and used poison gas or the atomic bomb, who sent 6 million men and women and children to the gas ovens, and used their bodies as fertilizer. Hitler and Stalin were not black men of Africa. And it was not the black man of Africa who bombed and obliterated Rotterdam and Shanghai and Dresden and Hiroshima.

We all struggle to transcend the cruelties and the follies of mankind. That struggle will not be won by standing aloof and pointing the finger; it will be won by action, by men who commit their every resource of mind and body to the education and improvement and help of their fellow-man.

And this is the third aspect to our battle: to fight for ourselves as individuals, and for the individuality of all.

We are patriots. We believe in our countries and wish to see them flourish. But the countries we love are not abstractions. They are not the frozen in yellowed parchment or constitutions. They are not the sum total of their buildings and shops, wealth and power. We are our nations -- you and me and millions like us. A great American writer, Mark Twain, once answered that question by saying, "What is the country?" It is the common voice of the people. Each -- by himself and on his own responsibility -- must speak. Each must for himself decide what is right and what is wrong, and which course is patriotic and which is not. Otherwise it is to be a traitor, both to yourself and to your country."

This is the heaviest responsibility of all -- a burden men have often refused by turning rule and ideology, belief and power, over to an all-powerful state. History is full of peoples who have discovered it is easier to fight than think, easier to have enemies and friends selected by authority than to make their own painful choices, easier to follow blindly than to lead, even if that leadership must be the private choice of a single man alone with a free and skeptical mind. But in the final telling it is that leadership, the impregnable skepticism of the free spirit, untouchable by guns or police, which feeds the whirlwind of change and hope and progress in every land and time.

So what President Kennedy said to the youth of America, I now say to you:

That it is you who have to decide -- you "who have the longest stake, you who are the most concerned for truth, who have the least ties to the present and the greatest ties to the future."

Here among you, at this great university, I know what your decision will be.

SPEECH OF ROBERT F. KENNEDY

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY MEN'S
RESIDENCE, SIMONSBURG
JUNE 7, 1966 12:00 pm

We have, you and I, many differences of view and opinion. I have great respect for the fact that you invited me here despite these differences. And I take comfort and encouragement from it as well.

For the essential difference between free men and the subjects of totalitarianism is that free men can give voice and expression to their beliefs; they can engage in the great dialogue on which the Western Tradition has been built. So I am glad to be here at Stellenbosch -- at this town and university which have played such a great role in South African history.

Here Adam Tas began the fight against the exploitation of the East India Company, and earned a new middle name. From here the fathers of the Voortrekkers took the first steps on their long and lonely road; to leave this green and pleasant place must have been hardship in itself -- and a measure of the sacrifice that men will make to achieve their independence and a future for their posterity.

It was in the name of freedom that our forefathers -- yours and mine -- struck off the chains of Europe and sailed uncharted oceans three centuries ago. It was in this name that three times we together poured forth our blood and treasure -- twice in the world our fathers left, and once on the frontiers to the East. And so we will stand again, as our children will stand in their turn; for, as Goethe tells us, "He only earns his freedom and existence who daily conquers them anew."

If we -- all of us -- are to conquer anew the freedom for which our forebears gave so much, we must begin with a dialogue both full and free.

In the world of 1966 no nation is an island unto itself. Global systems of transportation and communications and economics have transformed our sense of geography, and outmoded all the old concepts of self-sufficiency. Whether we wish it or not, a pattern of unity is woven into every aspect of the society of man.

We are protected from tetanus by the work of a Japanese scientist, and from typhoid by the work of a Russian. An Austrian taught us to transfuse blood, and an Italian to protect ourselves from malaria. An Indian and the grandson of a Negro slave taught us to achieve major social change without violence.

Our children are protected from diphtheria by the work of a Japanese and a German, from rabies by the work of a Frenchman, and cured of pellagra by the work of an Austrian. We all owe our very existence to the knowledge and talent and effort of those who have gone before us. We have a solemn obligation to repay that debt in the coin in which it was given - to work to meet our responsibilities to that greater part of mankind which needs our assistance - to the deprived and the downtrodden, the insulted and injured. Those men who gave us so much

did not ask whether we, their heirs, would be American or South African, white or black. And we must in the same way meet our obligations to all those who need our help, whatever their nationality or the color of their skin.

And if we live in the shared blessings of knowledge and progress, we live also in the shared dangers of a hazardous globe. Worldwide contest of ideology, along with awesome developments in the speed, the range and the impact of modern weaponry, have made the very notion of isolationism obsolete. Even the traditional distinctions of diplomacy -- between belligerents and neutrals, between external and internal affairs, between a state of war and a state of peace -- are slowly losing their meaning.

No longer can a spectator be certain that the blood and mud of the area will not some day engulf him as well. No longer can any people be oblivious to the fate and future of any other. And no longer can any nation -- no matter how wealthy or well-armed -- be as free as it once might have been to ignore a far-off war or warning, to shrug off another nation's crisis or criticism, or to defy the concerns or the contempt of mankind.

Communist nations or others, may build a wall of stone or a curtain of bamboo. But they cannot build a modern society without exposing their citizens to the ideas and ideologies of other systems. No nation is more opposed to Communism than the United States. We reject its theory that human beings exist for the benefit of the state, that the state is more important than the individual or the family. We reject totally its restrictions on freedom of the press, of protest, of speech, of movement, of exercise of the political process. But the United States is not afraid to hear the voices and view points of communism. We do not jam their broadcasts or exclude their scholars or repress their books.

At times in our history, we have reacted too hastily and harshly to the fear of threats from within and without. But any times of suppression have been times of fear and stagnation, the years when the locust has eaten. We do not intend to repeat those years -- even now, in the midst of a war in Vietnam. For we will not abolish the substance of freedom in order to save its shadow.

No nation would have so little confidence in the wisdom of its policies and its citizens that they dare not be tested in the free market place of ideas. Societies concerned with the importation of ideas are those which fear what Jefferson called "the disease of liberty." But those with confidence in their own future, in their citizens, and in the durability of their ideals, will welcome the exchange of views -- just as you are doing now.

I am here in South Africa to listen as well as talk, less to lecture than to learn. "Whatever our disagreements, neither your country nor mine is under any illusion that there is only one side to any issue, or that either of us can coerce or quickly convert the other to share our point of view. But asserting disagreement without debate is as meaningless as asserting unanimity without discussion. Let us find our where we disagree -- and why we disagree -- and on what we can agree.

If history is a guide, a future Prime Minister of this nation may now be sitting in this room. But all of you, whether Prime Minister or not, will have a major role to play as educated people in the twentieth century.

For beyond these walls is a world to be helped, and improved, and made safe for the welfare of mankind.

What kind of world is it, waiting there for you?

It is a world of change -- unparalleled, unsettling, dizzying change. The certainties of yesterday are the doubts of today, and the folly and mockery of tomorrow. Every problem we solve only reveals a dozen more of increasing complexity. Every hill we climb shows only a higher rise beyond.

Your country and mine have created wealth unmatched in the history of man; but we have not yet learned to turn that wealth to the service of all our people.

Your country and mine gained freedom from colonial domination, and set an example for seventy nations around the world; but we have not yet learned how to help those new nations to achieve the economic, social and political progress which their people demand and deserve.

Your country and mine, and dozens of others, have achieved a terrible capacity to destroy our enemies, and five nations have found the secret of weapons that can destroy the world; but we have not yet learned to prevent these weapons from destroying the very societies they were designed to protect.

In your country and mine, we fought for and achieve freedom for some of our people; but we have not yet learned, as Thomas Paine said, that "no man or country can be really free unless all men and all countries are free."

And in every continent -- from Jaipur to Johannesburg, from Point Barrow to Cape Horn -- men and women are claiming their right to share in the bounty which modern knowledge can bring, in the justice which men have sought from Biblical times onward. They look to us for help and hope. And the real question before you -- as before the young people of any country -- is whether we will help give them that future.

We must begin with the light of reason -- with fact and logic and careful thought, unblinkered by the shades of prejudice and myth. In this fantastic and dangerous world, we will not find answers in old dogmas, repeating outworn slogans, fighting on ancient battlegrounds against fading enemies long after the real struggle has moved on. We must change to master change. We must retain what is best of our traditions, and take pride in the accomplishments of our forebears. But as Lincoln said, "we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves." And for this we look to youth, the new children of a time of change.

Yet the very education which equips you for service to mankind also prepares you for a place in society far removed from the problems for whose solution you are so desperately needed.

The laboratory or the office of the medical specialist are far away from the ailing children of Peru or Tanzania or Soweto. A college graduate is far away from a man with a different color of skin, deprived at birth of the chance to work out his destiny as an individual or a father or as a human being. The philosopher's study does not feel the problems of training and education in India or Central Africa.

It will require a constant effort and will to keep contact, to remind ourselves every day that we who diet have a never-ceasing obligation to those who starve -- and to work to meet that obligation.

There are opportunities for that service everywhere: in government, in international organizations both public and private, and even if you choose a private profession.

The English word 'idiot' and the Afrikaans 'idioot' both come from the Greek word for one who did not participate in public affairs. But our words 'university' and 'universiteit' both come from the Latin for 'all together.' The need is for individual participation; for each of us to try; to "make a difference," as President Kennedy believed every man could do.

It would be simpler to follow the easy and familiar path of personal ambition and private gain. It would be more comfortable to sit content in the easy approval of friends and neighbors instead of risking the friction and controversy that comes with public affairs. . It would be easier to fall in step with the slogans of others than to march to the beat of an internal drummer -- to make and stand on judgments of your own. And it would be far easier to accept and stand on the past, than to fight for the answers of the future.

But Goethe told us that Faust lost the liberty of his soul when he said to the passing moment, "Stay, thou art so fair." There would be no surer way for us to lose our freedom and the true meaning of our heritage than to make that same mistake.

Bar Council

Iskhanesburg
Robert ~~K~~ Kennedy speech [6/8/1966]

1

We lawyers have not always been highly popular.

When George Washington, the father of my country, prepared his will, for example, he refused to let a lawyer touch it, and he ordered that any dispute which might come up after he died be settled out of court by arbitrators.

One early American judge charged a jury:

"Gentlemen, you have heard what has been said in this case by the lawyers, the rascals:
..... a clear head and an honest

heart are

heart are worth more than
all the law and all the
lawyers....."

But here I stand in the midst of
a bar which has maintained a clear
head and an honest heart: lawyers
and judges alike, respected and
honored for your courage, your
perseverance, and your dedication
to the fundamental tenets of the
law. No bar, anywhere in the world,
holds a higher position.

I am pleased to be in South Africa.
I am proud to stand here with you --
and as a lawyer, I extend to you my
deep thanks for the honor you bestow
on the legal profession everywhere.

Obviously, I

Obviously, I am not in a position to talk now about the law of South Africa. So as a former Attorney-General of the United States, I thought to discuss with you some features of the American legal system; not as a professor, for I am sure most of you are familiar with our system; but in an effort to begin a discussion of our two legal experiences. I would hope that many of you might send me papers on your legal system --so that together we might examine what features of our systems should guide our work for the ever-changing, ever-developing thing we call the law.

There are now 300,000 lawyers and nearly 10,000 judges in the United States.

Sixty percent

Sixty percent of our Congressmen and 70 percent of our Senators are lawyers.

Seven of our last twelve Presidents were members of the legal professions.

We should not be surprised.

By training and experience, the lawyer is uniquely fitted to play a great role in the leadership of democratic societies.

His skill in solving disputes among people can be turned to the solution of disputes among groups. He knows that conflicts must be resolved -- even when the answers will be neither easy nor perfect -- and even when the result may not be completely satisfactory to either side.

Above all,

Above all, the lawyer understands the rule of law. He knows that law must begin with its observance by government. For, in the words of Justice Brandeis of our Supreme Court, "Government is the potent, the omnipresent teacher. For good or ill, it teaches the whole people by its example . . . If the government becomes a law-breaker, it breeds contempt for law; it invites every man to become a law unto himself; it invites anarchy. To declare that in the administration of the criminal law the end justifies the means . . . would bring terrible retribution."

This, the lawyer knows. And therefore he has a special responsibility to uphold the rule of the law -- to make

it the voice

it the voice of progress and justice, a repository of ancient ideals and a channel of peaceful change and progress toward these ideals.

These things the lawyer knows -- and more. He knows that the old principle of the Golden Rule is not sentimentalism but the deepest practical wisdom; that if men can suffer for one belief, others may suffer for the holding of others; that if men can be deprived because their skin is dark, others may be deprived because their skin is white. Only where the law protects all beliefs and all men is there safety for any belief or any man.

My country's government was established by men -- lawyers -- who understood

the meaning

the meaning of the rule of law.

Out of the fifty-six members of the Continental Congress which proclaimed American independence in 1776, twenty-six were lawyers, and thirty-three of the fifty-five men who wrote our Constitution had legal training.

These men knew of the tools -- the Star Chamber and the Inquisition -- by which governments had been employed by some men to tyrannize others. These men knew that government must be limited; that it must be proscribed from arbitrarily interfering with the lives of its citizens. They knew they must exercise all of their imagination and skill to draft a basic charter that would last -- documents that would make individual rights secure and immutable; that would ensure that changes in government would come, in peace and

peace and order; and that oppression and tyranny would never return.

The drafters therefore established a system of checks and balances to ensure that no one branch of government -- executive, legislative, or judicial would have more power than the other. They protected the Constitution against hasty and ill-advised amendment by requiring that changes be made by two-thirds of both houses of Congress, and by three-fourths of the states. They gave an independent Supreme Court the power to interpret the document that they had drafted, and that court became the guardian of constitutional rights against governmental encroachment. No legislature and no government official,

including the

including the President, is beyond the reach of this Court's power of review.

Even in the midst of grave national emergency, the courts still sit to prevent arbitrary exercise of power by the government. During the Korean War, even as our armed forces engaged in combat, President Truman seized the steel mills to prevent a crippling strike. Within days, the Supreme Court found that he had acted beyond his authority and ordered the mills released; and without comment, the President of the United States obeyed. The court acted as it did -- the President obeyed as he did -- because they knew that the rule of law may not be abolished or defied even in the midst of emergency; that to abandon

the law

the law would be to inflict on ourselves a defeat more severe than any enemy could inflict; that we would have sacrificed the substance of freedom in order to save its shadow.

To this Constitution was added a Bill of Rights -- a series of guarantees against government interference with individual freedom.

Its first provision was its most fundamental -- to guarantee the freedom of speech and expression, of press and religion, the right to dissent, the right to hold a different view. Time and again, we have reasserted our belief as a nation that speech can rebut speech -- that the free debate of ideas will result in the wisest governmental policies --

that the

that the free flow of ideas is the only stream on which orderly change and progress can sail.

The Bill of Rights contained other guarantees; the right to free movement of the person; the right to be safe in one's home; the right not to be subject to unreasonable searches and seizures by a persecuting government.

The Constitution had prohibited the legislative branch from engaging in legislative trials, and from passing retroactive laws to punish conduct that was lawful when it took place.

The Bill of Rights broadened these protections to prohibit any arbitrary legislative, judicial or executive act.

And it

And it provided, with special care, a full set of procedures to govern the rights, from arrest to acquittal or conviction, of persons accused of crime: a right to be arrested only on sufficient cause; to be released on bail pending trial; to be indicted by a grand jury; to be brought speedily to trial; to be tried by a fairly selected petit jury; and to defense by counsel even where the defendant cannot afford to pay a lawyer.

Nor may a person be punished under a statute which is so vague that he could not have known his actions were illegal. The Supreme Court applied this principle to a statute which required government employees to swear that they had never knowingly lent their "support" or "counsel" or "influence" to the Communist Party.

The Court

The Court held that this statute was fatally ambiguous, and said:

"Could a lawyer who had ever represented the Communist party or its members swear with either confidence or honesty that he had never knowingly lent his 'counsel' to the party? . . . Indeed, could anyone honestly subscribe to this oath who had ever supported any cause with contemporaneous knowledge that the Communist party also supported it? The very absurdity of these possibilities brings into focus the extraordinary ambiguity of the statutory language.

"No one may be required at peril of life, liberty or property to speculate as to the meaning of penal statutes.

"All are entitled to be informed as

to what

to what the State demands or forbids."

In all of these ways, the framers of the Bill of Rights sought to prevent the criminal laws of the nation from being used to serve the political ends of those in power at a particular time.

That, in brief, is the system which the founders of my country created. Theirs was a vision for all seasons, a vision which transcended their time, leaving with us a system that has lived and expanded within its essential documentary framework to this day.

Performance has not always equalled promise, nor always adhered to law.

The promises of equal opportunity and
equal/

equal treatment did not apply to Negroes and American Indians when the Constitution was written. The right to vote has been made truly universal only by a series of halting, sometimes painful steps.

But we have moved forward.

The path has been none too smooth.

The end of the journey is not yet in sight; but its direction and the distance we have already travelled are clear.

The same progress--and the same occasional failures--have marked the protection of individual liberties.

In times of stress and hysteria we
have/

have temporarily given in to the cries of those who have claimed that suppression can bring security.

But each time the bench and bar have recalled us to the command of the Constitution, and sanity and restraint have returned to public affairs.

Legal systems are as varied and disparate as the many societies of man.

Yet I think that in our experience there are two major lessons which all of us can draw for the future.

First is the role which entrenched fundamental law can play in facilitating orderly and peaceful change.

Only/

Only when men know that basic rights are inviolate will they seek change peacefully; only when they know that basic rights are secure will they accept change which allows to other interests a share of the responsibility and power of government decision.

And that security for change is essential in every land and nation.

All around the world--within nations and between nations--the lives and fortunes, the very futures of men depend on the development and progress of the rule of law.

In my own country, the Negro struggles to overcome two centuries of discrimination.

His/

His achievement of racial equality depends on the rule of law. And so does the peace and public order of the United States.

We know that where the rule of law does not protect and channel social change peacefully, it is all too likely to come violently.

And we know, as Locke said, that "Where there is no law, there is no freedom."

We are resolutely opposed to violence in the solution of social problems; we have no wish for cruelty and the injustice of violence.

But we recognize the teachings of history--our own not **except**ed--that change will come whether we like it or not.

Change/

Change and growth are the law of life.

Those who command them to stop will be like Canute sitting before the waves; they will join those numberless societies that have long since lain broken on the sands of time. President Kennedy said to my countrymen in 1963, "A great change is at hand, and our task, our obligation, is to make that revolution, that change peaceful and constructive for all.

Those who do nothing are inviting shame as well as violence."

The second lesson is that law can act as the arbiter and protector in contests between great social forces--

that for/

that for the ingenious mind of the lawyer, almost no problem is too difficult to solve.

Just in our Constitution, for example, are dozens of protections for the rights of minorities, absolute limitations in the power of a numerical majority to infringe the interests of the minority.

The system of separation of powers, each checking and balancing the other; the federal system, with many basic powers reserved to states; the deliberate inequality of representation in the Senate; the absolute prohibition of legislation in areas touching the sacred rights of speech, press, assembly and religion; and the guaranteed freedoms of individuals/

of individuals-- all these have enabled us, a people of widely diverse origins, to grow unhindered to a position of unquestioned leadership in the world.

What greatness we have achieved has come not from the power of our government, but from its limitations, which have liberated the full creative energy of all the American people--of every political persuasion, every national origin, every race or color.

And that, after all, is what we, you and I mean by law and justice; not persecution but protection; not cruelty but compassion; not the control of men by government, but the use of government by men as a way to work together for the fulfillment of
the highest/

the highest destiny of every man and woman.

Deeply involved in that rule is the right of every individual to counsel--to the assistance of a lawyer, whatever his race, his alleged offense, or his ability to pay.

And with that right goes a solemn obligation on every lawyer--to provide that assistance regardless of the personal, social, or financial difficulties that it brings.

MR HANSON

~~WELSH~~

MR WELSH