

Peter Robinson: The executive vice president of The Heritage Foundation, Kim Holmes, served at the State Department and on the defense policy board, and before taking up his present position, he spent more than two decades overseeing the Heritage Foundation's defense and foreign policy team. Dr. Holmes is the author of many books and articles. His most recent book, I have to say, has one of my favorite titles in a long time. His most recent book *The Closing of the Liberal Mind*. Ladies and gentlemen, the executive vice president of The Heritage Foundation, Kim Holmes.

Kim Holmes: Good afternoon, everyone. It's really a pleasure and honor to be here this afternoon to be a cosponsor with many of the other organizations here for this wonderful conference. It's also that "middle of the afternoon" where people are thinking about doing their coffee breaks, so I thank all of the intrepid people that are still hanging out in the conference. I'm very glad that you're staying with us.

What a remarkable day it has been. You've heard about the vital importance of Ronald Reagan and Pope John Paul II in advancing the march of freedom. You've heard about the men themselves, about their creative backgrounds, their communication skills, and of course their early struggles with communism.

You've learned about the remarkable events of 1978-88 and how John Paul II and Reagan impacted the dissonance in Eastern-Central Europe, and you got an inside look at how the Reagan White House integrated the message of the Vatican in its strategy to meet the Soviet threat and the challenge. Now throughout it all, we see over and over again certain themes. The tacit alliance of Reagan and the Pope dramatically changed the course of history. The key to that dramatic change was the common belief that communism was a contradiction to and a violation of the human spirit. Now, this message was heard loud and clear in the huge crowds that attended papal masses in Poland. It was heard by dissonance lingering and suffering in Soviet prisons, and it was heard by millions of Americans who, after decades of confusion, welcomed the moral clarity of Ronald Reagan standing up for freedom.

Why was this tacit alliance, as I call it, of Reagan and Pope John Paul II so successful? Because they were playing for very high stakes. They made it clear that the universal aspirations of all humanity were at stake. That the Cold War was not just about the number of arms that nations had, but about the universal cause of freedom. And it was the marriage of this universalism to the actual national strategy of the most powerful nation on earth, the United States of America, that produce such an extremely powerful force. It not only changed diplomacy and the way we organize our militaries. It also, and I think as important, perhaps even more importantly, it changed the hearts and minds of millions of people. And that change of hearts perhaps more than anything was why the policies of Reagan and the moral example of John Paul II were successful.

So, we've learned a lot. Our task now is to understand what we have learned and to use that knowledge to move forward. Of course, we face a different world today, but the legacies of Reagan and John Paul II can still help us answer the big questions of the day. Should we still have universal goals in our foreign policy, for example? Some people say no. They think we should not raise moral issues in foreign policy. They think we should focus instead on material interests. Are they right? What would Reagan say? What would the pope say? Some of the countries of Eastern-Central Europe today are facing new challenges to freedom, from Russia and from non-democratic political forces. How should they be handling these challenges? Some of these same countries are facing challenges, and even threats of contradiction and criticism from the European Union. How well does this conflict bode for the future of liberty inside Europe? These are hard questions, but I'm confident that what we have learned here today can help us answer them.

So, to help you with that task, I will close and just say thank you for having me here. You will have a distinguished panel of speakers to help grapple with some of these issues and help some of these questions. So, I just say God bless all of you and thank you for hanging out there.