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November 15, 1991

**PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: MEDAL OF FREEDOM AWARDS CEREMONY
THE EAST ROOM
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1991**

Thank you, and welcome to the White House. It is a special honor as President to have the privilege of presenting the Nation's highest civilian award, the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

Since the first Presidential Medal recipients were chosen by President John Kennedy in 1963, some of the world's most notable individuals have been honored.

In this Administration alone, the medal has been awarded to war heroes like Generals Jimmy Doolittle and Norman Schwarzkopf; diplomats and public servants like Jim Baker, Margaret Chase Smith and Douglas Dillon; world-famous entertainers such as Lucille Ball, and, just last year, a world leader of enormous consequence -- former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Each of these extraordinary individuals were pioneers in their own right, each a monument to individual achievement. I'll never forget that November night two years ago when Lech Walesa accepted his medal right here in this room -- saying that now, one of the greatest dreams of his life had been fulfilled, because this medal stood for the freedom of a nation and the freedom of mankind.

Today, we recognize ten awardees whose life work has enriched this Nation -- whether as leaders of popular movements, as friends of the common man, or as intellectual giants. Their

achievement and dedication are unparalleled in America, and their standards of excellence are just as towering as their commitment to the ideal of freedom. //

Author **Bill Buckley** is the celebrated founder of the largest journal of opinion in America. A preeminent intellectual in the American conservative movement and a distinguished author, Bill Buckley raised the level of political debate in this country -- and our Nation is better for it. A true "Renaissance Man," we honor him today for a lifetime of achievement in American political and social thought. //

Clergyman and civil rights leader Reverend **Leon Sullivan** has been a voice of reason throughout the latter half of this century. A vigorous proponent of equal rights for all, Reverend Sullivan founded the Opportunities Industrialization Centers, one of the world's largest self-help and job training facilities. More recently, he has worked hard to develop closer ties between this country and Africa. Reverend, we salute your leadership in one of the great movements of our time, here and throughout the world: equal rights under law. //

Conservationist **Russell Train** has devoted his life to the protection and conservation of our land and wildlife, serving both in private environmental groups and in the federal government. I've often quoted President Theodore Roosevelt's idea that we don't inherit the environment from our parents so much as borrow it from our children. For the legacy you are helping us leave to the children of America, sir, we thank you.//

Baseball great **Ted Williams** is an American legend -- a remarkable figure in American sports and a twice-tested war hero. At the height of his athletic career, "Teddy Ballgame," as he was known, answered the call of patriotism -- serving his country in both World War II and Korea. A true champion in the eyes of many Americans, an author wrote of his retirement from baseball: "And now Boston knows how England felt when it lost India." Ted, congratulations. //

Former First Lady **Betty Ford** first inspired our Nation when, fighting her own battle against breast cancer, she drew national attention to the importance of early detection. Later, as president of the Betty Ford Center, she restored hope and dignity to those lost in the desperation of drug and alcohol dependency. Mrs. Ford, your compassion and caring have shown millions the way to new lives of freedom. //

Former Speaker of the House **Tip O'Neill** is a legendary figure in American politics, blessed with the common touch like few others. Over fifty years ago, Tip entered the rough-and-tumble of Massachusetts politics and soon became the Bay State's first Democratic Speaker. Throughout 34 years as a member of Congress and a decade as Speaker of the House, Tip O'Neill built one of the most remarkable political careers of this century. Tip, you were a tough partisan -- but above all, you are a true patriot. Congratulations.//

Former Puerto Rico Governor **Don Luis Ferre** is known as the grand old man of Puerto Rico, beloved by his people as a patron

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

of the arts, a savvy businessman and a public servant of the first order. Don Luis is a lifelong advocate of statehood for Puerto Rico. Sir, we honor you today as a extraordinary leader in the life of Puerto Rico. //

Historian and humanist **Hanna Holborn Gray** is a world-class educator, the first woman to serve as president of a major American university, the University of Chicago. Throughout her career, Mrs. Gray been widely regarded as an outstanding Renaissance scholar. An example for others in her profession, she continues to teach at least one class a semester. Mrs. Gray, for your pursuit of the highest ideals in your profession and your commitment to excellence in American education, we salute you. //

Vernon Walters enlisted in the Army as a private in 1941, before the outbreak of WWII; nearly a half-century later, he was ambassador to Germany during the fall of the Berlin Wall. In the years between, he served six Presidents as a statesman, ambassador and trusted aide. His brilliant mastery of the art of diplomacy is renowned, and his extraordinary linguistic skills have frequently advanced our diplomatic efforts, often in the face of grave danger. It's been said that courage is the price that life exacts for granting peace. For your courageous service to the cause of peace and the American ideal, we thank you. //

Finally, we honor Professor **Friedrich von Hayek**, for a lifetime of looking beyond the horizon. At a time when many saw socialism as ordained by history, he foresaw freedom's triumph.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Over forty years ago, Professor von Hayek wrote that the Road to Serfdom was not the road to the future -- or to the political and economic freedom of man. A Nobel Laureate, he is widely credited as one of the most influential economic writers of our century. He is revered by the free people of Central and Eastern Europe as a true visionary. The people of the United States recognize Professor von Hayek for the revolutions in intellectual and political thought he sparked throughout the world. How magnificent it must be for him to witness his ideas validated before the eyes of the world. We salute him. //

The people of the United States are indebted to each of our honorees. You have touched us, you have enriched us -- you have shaped our Nation's destiny. You have also shown us the strength and joy of a simple but powerful idea: the idea of freedom. God bless each of you, and God bless this great country of ours.

[And now, Barbara and I will present the medals to the recipients while the military aide reads the citations.]

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 16, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR: JIM CICCONI
FROM: AUSTEN FURSE *AF*
SUBJECT: Medal of Freedom Suggestions

Attached is a list of suggested persons to receive the Presidential Medal of Freedom. If there is one name that stands out, it is Friedrich Hayek, whose life's work, perhaps more than any living 20th century thinker, has been vindicated by the events of the past year.

Also attached is a short biography of Hayek. He is a Nobel Laureate economist, probably most famous as the author of The Road to Serfdom (1944), and The Constitution of Liberty (1960). In 1947, he founded the Mont Pelerin Society to promote classical liberalism and point out the errors of socialism. He has been associated with a remarkable number of thinkers, ranging from Ludwig Von Mises to Karl Popper to Milton Friedman and George Stigler.

What makes Hayek particularly topical is the popularity of his writings in Eastern Europe, where he is idolized. Timothy Garton Ash, the British journalist who has been reporting from Eastern Europe for several years now, notes that cheap samizdat reproductions of Hayek's books are found everywhere there, especially in the universities. Yesterday's George Will column points out that Vaclav Klaus, the Czech Finance Minister, boasts of his allegiance to the "Vienna School" of economics, which Hayek and Von Mises exemplify.

The influence of Hayek's work elsewhere is hard to exaggerate. The Nobel Laureate James Buchanan has said that "Hayek's insights of the Thirties and early Forties are already being incorporated in economic theory without explicit recognition." The work of Hernando de Soto, for example, owes a good deal to Hayek.

On the downside, Hayek lives in West Germany (he is Austrian by birth), although he has spent much of his life in this country. He is 89 years old and, according to the attached Forbes article dated last May, his health is not good. But perhaps no 20th century person is more the intellectual embodiment of the New Breeze than Hayek.

Nearly half a century ago, most of the smart people sneered when Friedrich Hayek published *"The Road to Serfdom."* The world was wrong and Hayek right. Now almost 90, he has written a new book, but this time no one is sneering.

The world turns

By Ronald Bailey

NEARLY HALF A CENTURY later, it is hard to remember how rudely Friedrich A. Hayek shocked people when he published *The Road to Serfdom* in September 1944. Here was a relatively obscure economist, then 45 and a professor at the London School of Economics, asserting that

the communist system of our Russian allies was in all important respects little better than that of our Nazi enemies. Hayek's thesis, startling then, fairly widely accepted today, was that without economic freedom there could be no political freedom, and communism stood for economic coercion. Hayek warned: "The power conferred [upon the state] by the control

of production and prices is almost unlimited."

Followers of John Maynard Keynes, who then controlled the Free World's post-World War II economics departments, found Hayek an embarrassment, if not a "fascist." Didn't he know "laissez-faire" was forever discredited? What was wrong with taking from the rich and undeserving and giving to the poor and deserving?

The world didn't buy Hayek's message, but it listened. Since 1944 in the U.S. and Canada alone, over 200,000 copies of *The Road to Serfdom* have been sold; the slim volume still sells around 3,000 copies a year.

The world turns. Today the communists abandon communism almost everywhere, while in the West free market economics has become mainstream. At 90, Friedrich Hayek has lived to see his lonely message widely accepted. Economics Nobel laureate James Buchanan pays him tribute: "Hayek's insights of the Thirties and early Forties are already being incorporated in economic theory without explicit recognition." On the liberal end of the spectrum, Robert Heilbroner recently wrote, "Less than 75 years after it officially began, the contest between capitalism and socialism is over: Capitalism has won."

FORBES called on Hayek at his apartment in a large stucco house on Urachstrasse in Freiburg, West Germany. His health is not good; he has never fully recovered from a recent bout with pneumonia, during which he lay critically ill for six weeks in hospital. But he cheerfully agreed to an interview. A tall, thin man whose bearing even now recalls his days as an officer in the Austrian army in World War I, Hayek welcomed FORBES at the door of his book-strewn and elegantly furnished third-floor apartment. Leaning on a cane, he ushered his visitor into a small sunroom whose windows look out on pine-covered Schauinsland Mountain—the same room we interviewed him in for a cover story ten years ago ("Friedrich A. Hayek: The Revolt Against Keynes," FORBES, Oct. 1, 1979).

Hayek told FORBES that he is more optimistic about the future of capitalism than he was ten years ago. He believes that the public has come to understand some of the problems posed by central planning. Around the world—from Algeria to Burma to China to Yugoslavia—promises of the better life through socialist planning have soured. In particular, Hayek sees a greater appreciation for the market among the younger generation. Today



Friedrich A. Hayek, author of *"The Fatal Conceit"*
He has a new convert: Mikhail Gorbachev.

unemployed youth in Algiers and Rangoon riot not for a centrally planned welfare state but for opportunity: the freedom to buy and sell—jeans, cars, whatever—at whatever prices the market will bear.

Watching the events of the world prove him right, Hayek now believes that the West will probably win the battle with collectivism—even though the fight is by no means over. Pulling a blanket further up his lap, he remarks: "Communism has ended." But, he adds, Russia and China are "very unstable" because "they've no longer any clear idea of what they really want."

What of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher and their battles against government control of the economy? Here Hayek surprises. He does not disapprove of Reagan and Thatcher, but he has no high opinion of modern politicians in general. He does, however, say that Reagan's and Thatcher's policies "are as reasonable as we can expect at this time. They are modest in their ambitions."

Modesty. The capacity to understand that well-meaning politicians—and their advisers, the intellectuals—will only wreak mischief if they try to guide economic development: This antipolitical concept is at the heart of Hayek's theory of economic and social development.

As a kind of last testament, Friedrich Hayek has just published a brilliant summary of his life's work, *The Fatal Conceit: The Errors of Socialism* (University of Chicago Press, \$24.95). He starts out with the claim that civilization and capitalism are inevitably interlinked. As Hayek puts it, "our civilization depends, not only for its origin but also for its preservation, on what can be precisely described only as the extended order of human cooperation, an order more commonly, if somewhat misleadingly, known as capitalism."

The "fatal conceit" of the book's title is the belief "that man is able to shape the world around him according to his wishes." This belief underpins the socialists' claim that they can replace the market with planning boards and consciously design a superior social organization that would guarantee greater equality and greater material prosperity.

We asked Hayek: Won't advances in information technology and computers enable central planners to fulfill their promises?

Hayek: "No."

FORBES: "Never?"

Hayek: "No."

Throughout his career, Hayek has

argued that the economic order is far too complex to be distilled into a five-year plan or simulated with computers. He has a new convert: Mikhail Gorbachev.

The most profound and fascinating—and controversial—insight in *The Fatal Conceit* is that our civilization, its morals and traditions, are not the result of mankind's conscious, rational design. Rather, they developed through a process of cultural evolution similar in many ways to biological evolution.

Capitalism, then, becomes the highest product of this evolution, not an interim phase as the Marxists have always believed. As he puts it: "Those groups following its [capitalism's] underlying rules increased in numbers and in wealth relative to other groups."

At 90, Hayek has lived to see his message widely accepted. Nobel laureate James Buchanan pays him tribute: "Hayek's insights of the Thirties and early Forties are already being incorporated in economic theory without explicit recognition."

For Hayek, economics is no Malthusian "dismal science." Capitalism is an ever expanding means to increasing abundance. Economist W.W. Rostow estimates that in the past two and a half centuries the world's manufacturing output has increased seventeen hundredfold—an annual average growth rate of 2.8%, including years of war and depression.

But doesn't the explosive population growth in the Third World contradict Hayek's thesis? No. The populations of these nonmarket economies have multiplied thanks to a spillover of technological advances and innovations forged in market economies. Without the market system, these nonmarket economies would stagnate and starve; again and again the capitalist world is called upon to feed and otherwise succor the noncapitalist countries.

If the market has so multiplied mankind's productive capacities, why do so many intellectuals hate capitalism and embrace state planning in one fashion or another? Here Hayek is nothing if not controversial. He believes that "an atavistic longing after the life of the noble savage is the main source of the collectivist tradition." The tribal instincts once helped roving bands of primitive men to survive, and are still the bases of the bonds of

intimacy we share with our families and friends. By comparison, the more recently evolved institutions of the extended order—contracts, the rule of law, private property, profit—and its impersonal operation strike socialists as cold, selfish and unjust.

To Hayek, then, leftists and Marxists, not capitalists, are the true counterrevolutionaries.

After reading *The Road to Serfdom*, John Maynard Keynes wrote to Hayek what he regarded as a mild rebuttal to Hayek's arguments against centralized planning: "Moderate planning will be safe if those carrying it out are rightly orientated in their own minds and hearts to the moral issue. . . . Dangerous acts can be done safely in a community which thinks and feels rightly, which would be the way to hell if they were executed by those who think and feel wrongly."

Keynes, a consummate elitist, was treading on dangerous ground. He was, in effect, arguing that coercion was all right so long as it was exercised by the "right" people. But that was what Hitler thought, too, and what Stalin thought and what Ayatollah Khomeini thinks today. This is precisely the point expressed so well in *The Fatal Conceit*—that those who believe themselves morally competent to determine what is good for other people are dangerous. Society would do better to trust tradition and free markets than to put its future in the hands of those who spout the latest bit of social engineering theory.

Interviewed by FORBES last year (Dec. 12, 1988), Nobel economist Milton Friedman gave Friedrich Hayek the highest praise. He said that in today's revival of faith in free markets "the Adam Smith role was played . . . by Friedrich Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom*." In *The Wealth of Nations*, Smith had warned: "The statesman, who should attempt to direct private people in what manner they ought to employ their capitals, would . . . assume an authority which could safely be trusted, not only to no single person, but to no council or senate whatever, and which would nowhere be so dangerous as in the hands of a man who had folly and presumption enough to fancy himself fit to exercise it."

Think of the horrors the world would have been spared had it heeded these wise words. Think, too, of the sufferings that have been imposed upon communist and Third World countries in this generation in the name of what Smith called "folly and presumption," what Hayek calls "fatal conceit." ■

by Hicks (1932), where neutrality is defined as a stream of inventions that changes the marginal productivity of labor and capital in equal proportions. The differences in categorization may not be great, but Harrod claimed superiority for his method on the grounds that his classifications depended on the intrinsic character of the invention, whereas Hicks's depended on circumstances unrelated to the invention itself.

IVAN C. JOHNSON

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HAYEK, FRIEDRICH A. VON

Friedrich August von Hayek's work encompasses, besides economic theory and policy, the methodology of science; social, legal, and political philosophy; psychology; and the history of ideas. He has been a main protagonist of liberalism in the sense now called libertarianism, and a leader of the fourth generation of the Austrian school of economics.

Family background and education. Hayek was born on May 8, 1899, in Vienna, Austria, the son of August von Hayek, a senior municipal health officer who also taught biology (plant geography) at the University of Vienna, and of Felicitas, née von Juraschek, a daughter of a

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professor of public law at the university who also was president of the Austrian Central Statistical Authority. In March 1917, Hayek was called to military service and became an artillery officer on the Italian front. In November 1918 he returned to Vienna and registered at the university to study law.

At that time, economics was taught only as part of the law curriculum. Hayek had earlier developed some interest in this field, had for a while been attracted by some moderate socialists (Karl Renner, Walter Rathenau), and even read a textbook on economics while in the army. At the university, he attended the lectures of Friedrich von Wieser and Othmar Spann but was more interested in methodology—inspired by reading Ernst Mach and Max Weber—and in psychology; indeed, in 1920 Hayek wrote a draft of a paper on psychology to which he returned 32 years later with a book on *The Sensory Order* (1952b).

Upon his return to civilian life, Hayek founded, together with some friends, the Association of Democratic Students—his first action in his lifelong battle against the forces of nationalism and socialism. In November 1921, he obtained the degree of DR. JURIS and started to work in the war-claims settlement office, directed by Ludwig von Mises. At the same time, he continued to study at the university for a second doctorate, in economics. He wrote a dissertation on the theory of imputation and in March 1923 obtained the degree of DR. RERUM POLITICARUM.

Immediately afterwards Hayek took a leave of absence from his job in order to continue his studies of economics in the United States. He worked as a research assistant to Jeremiah W. Jenks of New York University, audited lectures and seminars of Wesley C. Mitchell and John Bates Clark at Columbia University, and assisted Willard Thorp with material for *Business Annals*. He returned to Vienna in May 1924, resumed his government work, finished articles on the incompatibility of stable price levels and fixed exchange rates (1924), American monetary policy (1925), and imputation (1926a), and worked on the concept of neutral money. In 1926 he married Helene von Fritsch; the couple had two children, Christine and Lorenz.

Vienna, 1924–1931. In 1921, still before his first university degree, Hayek had helped to found a circle of young scholars, whose influence on his thinking he often acknowledged. The group included not only economists (such as Gottfried Haberler, Fritz Machlup, Oskar

Morgenstern) but also social philosophers (such as Alfred Schutz), some members of the “Vienna Circle” of logical positivists, sociologists, historians, art historians, musicologists, literary critics, and lawyers (including Herbert Fürth, cofounder of the group). Of the twenty-odd members of the circle, many emigrated later to the United States and some of them exerted a strong influence on social science and philosophy.

In 1924, von Mises invited Hayek to join his private seminar, probably the most important center of economic discussion in Austria. It was a selected group of postdoctoral economists and methodologists, including many members of Hayek’s “circle,” all of them engaged in professional or avocational research. Its members later formed the core of the Nationalökonomische Gesellschaft (Economic Society), which was founded in 1927 at the initiative of von Mises and Hayek. The society met two or three times a month and many foreign visitors presented important papers.

Both Hayek and von Mises had seen, on their visits to the United States, the new empirical research programs on industrial fluctuations. Von Mises persuaded Austrian financial, industrial, and labor organizations as well as the government to join in the establishment and funding of the Austrian Institute for Business Cycle Research, with Hayek as its director. It started its monthly reports in 1927; after three years, with the help of an American grant, Hayek obtained Oskar Morgenstern as collaborator.

Von Mises, as Hayek’s patron and superior—first in the government office, then in the research institute—as his fellow officer in the Economic Society, and as discussion partner in the von Mises circle, could not help influencing Hayek’s thought and work. But far beyond these institutionalized associations go the intellectual ties of shared interests in specific economic and philosophical issues: the theory of money and the trade cycle, the problem of economic calculation under socialism, and the foundations of classical liberalism. These had been the major subjects of von Mises’ research and they became the foci of Hayek’s work. Three other economists were among Hayek’s closest associates in his Vienna period: Haberler, Morgenstern, and Machlup.

In 1929 Hayek submitted his book, *Geldtheorie und Konjunkturtheorie* as *habilitation* to the University of Vienna and was admitted as *Privatdozent* (lecturer). His trial lecture on “The

Paradox of Saving" (1929c) came to the attention of Lionel Robbins, who invited Hayek to present four lectures at the London School of Economics. These lectures on *Prices and Production* (1931b) led to the offer of a visiting professorship, which was followed by a regular appointment to the Tooke professorship of economic science and statistics at the University of London.

London, 1932–1950. Hayek's tenure at London began with a dramatic controversy with John Maynard Keynes. Hayek had been asked by Robbins to review Keynes's *Treatise on Money* (1930) for *Economica* (1931–1932), and Keynes had asked Piero Sraffa to review Hayek's *Prices and Production* for the *Economic Journal* (1932a). Keynes replied (1931) to Hayek's review, Hayek wrote a rejoinder to Keynes (1931c) and a reply to Sraffa (1932c), and Sraffa wrote a rejoinder to Hayek (1932b). The controversy was joined by Ralph G. Hawtrey, Arthur C. Pigou, Dennis H. Robertson, Arthur Marget, Alvin Hansen, and others in notes, reviews, and replies. In addition, Hayek published, between 1932 and 1937, ten articles on such controversial issues as the pure theory of money, the relation between saving and investment, the formation and maintenance of capital, and the causes of industrial fluctuations. The "drama," as John Hicks called it (1967), ended with a majority decision of the profession in favor of the modified expansionist views of Keynes, as expressed in his *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* (1936), which fitted the times of deflation and mass unemployment better than Hayek's monetary temperance did.

Although Hayek continued to work on the theory of capital, leading to his books on *Profits, Interest and Investment* (1939c) and *The Pure Theory of Capital* (1941b), he devoted increasing amounts of effort to philosophical problems and intellectual history. In 1935 he edited a volume on *Collectivist Economic Planning* for which he wrote two essays. In 1937 appeared his presidential address to the London Economic Club on "Economics and Knowledge"; in 1940, "Socialist Calculation: The Competitive 'Solution'"; in 1941, "The Counter-revolution of Science," largely an analysis of the teachings of Saint-Simon and Auguste Comte; in 1942–1944, in three parts, "Scientism and the Study of Society"; and in 1943, "The Facts of the Social Sciences." In 1944 Hayek published his bestseller, *The Road to Serfdom*, a severe con-

demnation of socialism in all its forms. The book, dedicated to "the socialists of all parties," was lavishly praised and roundly panned, and often distorted by admirers as well as critics.

In October 1940, the London School of Economics (L.S.E.) was evacuated to Cambridge, which afforded Hayek closer relationships with economists at Cambridge—including Keynes—when they were not involved in wartime duties.

In 1941 Hayek was awarded the degree of D.Sc. (Econ.) of the University of London. His closest associates at the London School of Economics were Lionel Robbins, Arnold Plant, and Karl R. Popper. Robbins was a faithful friend, an invaluable critic, and a treasure house of knowledge on the history of doctrines. Popper, the Austrian-born philosopher, was helpful in destroying the myth of the so-called scientific method in empirical disciplines. Plant earned Hayek's gratitude as the man who guided him towards rediscovering David Hume, who "not only laid . . . the foundation of the liberal theory of law, but . . . also provided an interpretation of English history as the gradual emergence of the Rule of Law" (Hayek 1978a, p. 124). Besides Hume, the voices of the past that seem to have had the most profound influence on Hayek's thinking on society, law, and liberty were John Locke, Bernard Mandeville, Adam Smith, Edmund Burke, Alexis de Tocqueville, Lord Acton, and Albert Venn Dicey.

In 1945 Hayek published an article on "The Use of Knowledge in Society," another fundamental disquisition on the division of knowledge in society. In a pamphlet on *Individualism: True and False* (1946a) he contrasted a voluntaristic, spontaneous, undesigned order of freedom of the individual with a rationalistically designed and constructed system. "True" was the undesigned individualism described and esteemed by Hume, Smith, Burke, Acton, and de Tocqueville; "false" the individualism designed and promoted by the encyclopedists, Jean Jacques Rousseau, and the Physiocrats. Most of Hayek's essays completed in these years were collected in a volume on *Individualism and Economic Order* (1948a).

In his last five years at the L.S.E., Hayek made several foreign trips, mostly to the United States. The success of *The Road to Serfdom* led to a lecture tour in the spring of 1945. He came again in 1946, to lecture at the University of Chicago in April and May and at Stanford and in Mexico during the summer. In

April 1947, Hayek convened a group of 39 liberal thinkers in a conference on Mont Pélérin, near Vevey, Switzerland. (The participants—economists, philosophers, jurists, historians, political scientists, literary critics, and publicists—founded the Mont Pélérin Society. Hayek served as president for more than 12 years, and as honorary president since 1960. This exclusive society has admitted some 400 members from 33 countries.) In 1948 Hayek spent the spring in Chicago and the summer at the University of Vienna; in 1950, January to March in Chicago and April at the University of Arkansas in Fayetteville. It was then that he obtained a divorce from his first wife to marry his Viennese cousin and childhood sweetheart, Helene Warhanek, née Bitterlich, and resigned from the L.S.E. to assume a professorship at the University of Chicago.

Chicago, 1950–1962. At the University of Chicago Hayek was professor of social and moral sciences and a member of the committee on social thought. He offered courses in the department of economics, but his major function was to conduct a seminar, mostly on intellectual history. It was attended by senior specialists in various fields, including physics, classical and modern literature, art, archeology, history, sociology, as well as economics (Letwin 1976). His closest associates were John V. Nef, Frank H. Knight, Aaron Director, George Stigler, and Milton Friedman. The first book Hayek published in this period was the product of research done previously in England and in America, *John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor: Their Friendship and Subsequent Marriage* (1951b). It was an "impartial presentation of documents," virtually all letters they exchanged during the first 18 years of their friendship and some after her first husband's death in 1849 and their marriage in 1851. Hayek had himself followed Mill's itinerary on a journey through Italy and Greece, as described in Mill's letters. Three other books followed in quick succession: *The Counter-revolution of Science* (1952a) containing his earlier articles; *The Sensory Order* (1952b), his tract in psychology elaborating his draft paper of 1920; and *Capitalism and the Historians* (1954), a collection, edited and introduced by Hayek, of essays by economic historians exposing the anticapitalist bias of much historical research. Important new articles and papers in epistemology, methodology, and political philosophy were completed in subsequent years

(1955a; 1956; 1958; 1963c). The chief work of Hayek's Chicago period was *The Constitution of Liberty* (1960), an ambitious "restatement of the basic principles of a philosophy of freedom" (p. 3).

After 12 productive years in Chicago, Hayek returned to Europe in 1962 as professor of economic policy at the University of Freiburg im Breisgau, in Western Germany.

Freiburg, 1962–1968. Hayek's inaugural lecture at Freiburg, on "The Economy, Science and Politics" (1963a), was a very personal statement of his scientific and political philosophy. He paid his respects to the late Walter Eucken, the eminent representative of libertarian economics, who had taught at Freiburg for many years, and to Max Weber, the influential social scientist who had forcefully explained the role of value judgments in academic teaching.

During his 6 years at Freiburg, Hayek published 2 books, 5 pamphlets, and 24 articles, not counting numerous reproductions and translations. Of the articles, 17 were collected in a volume of *Freiburger Studien* (1969a), and 6 of these were also included in an English volume of 29 collected papers, *Studies in Philosophy, Politics and Economics* (1967b).

In Freiburg, the Austrian Erich Streissler (later at Vienna) was Hayek's closest associate. Both the university and the Walter Eucken Institute gave technical assistance to Hayek's publishing activities.

Salzburg, 1968–1977. Professor emeritus of Freiburg University in 1968, Hayek accepted an invitation to the University of Salzburg. His inaugural lecture, on "The Errors of Constructivism," was published (1970). The move to Salzburg proved rather unsatisfactory. The university had no degree program in economics, and few law students had serious interests in either economics or political philosophy. Thus he was cut off from the scholars who had everywhere been his stimulating and sympathetic discussion partners. This, combined with ill health, delayed completion of his ambitious three-volume work on *Law, Legislation and Liberty*. The first volume, *Rules and Order*, appeared in 1973, the second, *The Mirage of Social Justice*, in 1976; and the third, *The Political Order of a Free Society*, is expected in 1979.

The biggest event during Hayek's Salzburg period was the award of the Nobel Prize for economic science, shared with Gunnar Myrdal. His Nobel lecture on "The Pretence of Knowl-

edge" (1975) was a fervent condemnation of the propensity of economists to predict on the basis of too limited knowledge macroeconomic results of expansionary policies. Hayek's prescription for ending the ongoing inflations of moneys and prices was to terminate the governments' monopolies in the creation of money, a *Denationalisation of Money* (1976). The Nobel award led to such a flood of invitations that even selective acceptances put Hayek "on the road" for large portions of the years, traveling to all continents.

Back to Freiburg, 1977. Disappointed with his working conditions in Salzburg, Hayek returned to live in Freiburg. Another volume of collected essays, *New Studies in Philosophy, Politics, Economics and the History of Ideas* (1978a), contains six pieces previously published in German in the *Freiburger Studien* (1969a), and other papers, including his Salzburg inaugural lecture and several contributions to intellectual history. In 1978, he also completed the third and last volume of *Law, Legislation and Liberty* with an epilogue on "The Three Sources of Human Values," which he regards as his intellectual last will and testament.

Honors and awards. Besides his three earned doctorates, Hayek received honorary doctorates from Rikkyo University (Tokyo, 1964), University of Salzburg (1974), University of Dallas (1975), Marroquin University (Guatemala, 1977), Santa Maria University of Valparaiso (Chile, 1977), and University of Buenos Aires (Argentina, 1977); he also was made honorary senator of the University of Vienna (1971). He became fellow of the British Academy (1945), honorary member of the Austrian Academy of Sciences (1976), honorary fellow of the London School of Economics (1976), fellow of the Econometric Society (1947), foreign honorary member of the American Economic Association (1976), and honorary fellow of the Argentine Academy of Economic Science (1977) and of the Academia Sinica (Taipei, 1969). After receiving the Nobel Prize in economic science in 1974, he was decorated with the Austrian medal of honor for science and art (1976) and the German order *pour le mérite* for science and arts (1977).

Highlights of Hayek's work

With a publication record of 185 titles—18 volumes of sole authorship, 10 volumes edited and/or introduced, 15 pamphlets, and 142 articles in journals and chapters in collective books (not counting new editions and translations)—it

would be impossible to give a digest of Hayek's ideas in a short space. Some highlights, however, may be noted.

Money, prices, investments, and fluctuations. Preoccupation with price levels and disregard of relative prices obscure the effects of money creation upon investment and the structure of production. Stability of the price level does not prevent credit expansion from "distorting" prices and production (1925; 1929b; 1931b). A rate of investment accelerated through monetary stimulus is not sustainable and the inevitable retrenchment generates unemployment of both labor and specific capital goods. Thus, monetary causes can lead to structural disturbances (1929b). The natural rate of interest (Wicksell 1898) is not the same as the rate that stabilizes the price level when physical output increases and increased demand for credit is met by a supply of loanable and investible funds in excess of voluntary saving (1931b). Changes in the ratio of demand for investment goods and consumer goods can cause prosperity and depression. Since the depression is usually associated with an induced reduction in investment, an additional extension of consumption is not the appropriate remedy; it may reduce employment even further (1931b).

Capital theory. Internal rates of interest are reflected in the margins between the costs of inputs and the prices of (intermediate) outputs in various stages of production. An increase in interest rates will be indicative of a need to widen the margins between costs and prices, and the production stages requiring relatively much capital become unprofitable (1931b). This is equivalent to a "shortening" of the period of production or investment (Böhm-Bawerk). Hayek's *Pure Theory of Capital* (1941b) provides lucid expositions of his notions of "inter-temporal equilibrium," the "physical productivity of investment," and the "vertical or successive division of labor" (pp. 72–73). Although Hayek rejects the concept of a "supply of capital" as a measurable quantity (p. 147), he derives a meaningful "marginal productivity of investment" (p. 179).

The popular notion that an expansion of consumer demand will always increase demand for and production of investment goods is shown to be a fallacy. Under conditions of full employment it is obvious that either of the two departments of production can increase only at the expense of the other. However, when wage rates behave as if there were full employment—

i.e., when they are raised whenever total demand is expanded—the same condition holds: an increase in consumption will reduce real investment (1969c, pp. 284–285).

Socialism, planning, and competitive capitalism. Hayek added important arguments to the problem of the possibility of rational economic calculation in socialist central planning (1935a; 1940). Although he had in 1935 anticipated the so called “competitive solution,” or “market socialism,” Oskar Lange and Henry D. Dickinson actually proposed this “solution” in 1937 and 1939. This prompted Hayek to explain why the required decentralization of decision making would be too complicated, and too unorthodox to be acceptable to hard-line socialists (1940). (One may hold that the Czechoslovakian events of 1968 proved this hypothesis.)

More fundamental was Hayek’s realization of the role of the “division of knowledge” in economic society (1937a; 1945b), not of scientific or technological knowledge but of the unorganized “knowledge of the particular circumstances of time and place.” Practically every individual “possesses unique information of which beneficial use might be made” (1945b, p. 521) but which “cannot be conveyed to any central authority in statistical form”; decisions based on such knowledge must be “left to the ‘man on the spot’” (p. 524). The problem is not that a unique rational solution *could* be derived from a complete set of data but “how a solution is produced by the interaction of people each of whom possesses only partial knowledge” (p. 530). The price system is the “mechanism for communicating information.”

As to the organization of competitive capitalism, Hayek is not impressed with the modern theories of imperfect and oligopolistic competition. Important are only the institutional and contractual obstacles to competition as a dynamic process, restrictions on entry and on attempts to “discover new ways of doing things better than they have been done before” (1948a, p. 101). He condemns the “mechanical extension of the property concept by lawyers” to non-tangible things such as inventions (p. 114). In a lecture on “Competition as a Discovery Procedure” (1968b), Hayek holds that competition is important “as a process of exploration in which prospectors search for unused opportunities that, when discovered, can also be used by others” (p. 188). Competition produces “a kind of impersonal compulsion . . . for numerous individuals to adjust their way of life in a man-

ner that no deliberate instructions or commands could bring about” (p. 189).

Liberty and the law. Hayek showed the conceptual and empirical links between an economic system based on free markets and a political system based on “liberty under law.” The latter rules out coercion and arbitrariness; the former, i.e., the impersonal mechanism of market prices, communicates dispersed knowledge to masses of free individuals acting and reacting to it without commands. These ideas were gradually refined, starting from the essays on the division of knowledge in society (1937a; 1945b) and a pamphlet on *Freedom and the Economic System* (1939a), continuing with the books *Road to Serfdom* (1944b) and *Constitution of Liberty* (1960), and culminating in *Law, Legislation and Liberty* (1973–1979). There he showed the fundamental contradiction between the idea of constitutionalism—“limited government”—and the [mis]conception of a democracy “where the will of the majority on any particular matter is unlimited” (1973–1979, vol. 1, p. 1); he emphasized the difference between the rules of a spontaneous order and the rules of organization (p. 48), i.e., between *cosmos* (“the law of liberty”) and *taxis* (“the law of legislation”).

Of all of Hayek’s pronouncements the one that most flagrantly negates the tenets of dominant schools of social philosophy is his claim that in a free society the concept of “social justice” is void of meaning. It may have meaning in a “command economy”; but where people are free, guided only “by rules of just individual conduct,” the notion of social justice—epitomized by a call for equality of incomes—is meaningless (1973–1979, vol. 2, pp. 62–100).

Philosophy of science. Hayek’s condemnation of “scientism” (1942–1944) was originally a protest against the fallacy of regarding certain procedures of the natural sciences as the only “scientific method.” Later he learned from Popper ([1935] 1959) “that natural scientists did not really do what most of them not only told us that they did but also urged the representatives of other disciplines to imitate” (1967b, p. viii). Hayek emphasized the differences between the kinds of “facts” observed, described, and explained by the physical and the social sciences. The facts of the social sciences are “opinions—not opinions of the student of social phenomena, of course, but opinions of those whose actions produce his ‘object’”; moreover, we cannot “observe” these opinions directly “in the

minds of the people but [only] recognize [them] from what they do and say merely because we have ourselves a mind similar to theirs" (1942-1944, p. 279).

In his essay on "Degrees of Explanation" (1955a), Hayek distinguished positive and negative predictions, with those of disjunctive alternatives between the two. He stressed the difficulty, in as complex situations as in economics, of ascertaining "by observation the presence and specific arrangement of the multiplicity of factors which form the starting point of our deductive reasoning" (1955a, p. 216). He did not, however, deny the possibility of testing and falsifying propositions about such complex situations. Yet he stressed the importance of "orientation" where prediction is not possible, and of "cultivation" where control is beyond our capacity (p. 225).

Hayek warned of the consequences of excessive specialization:

The physicist who is only a physicist can still be a first-class physicist. . . . But . . . the economist who is only an economist is likely to become a nuisance if not a positive danger. The degree of abstraction which the theoretical disciplines in our field requires makes them at least as theoretical, if not more so, than any in the natural sciences. This, however is precisely the source of our difficulty. Not only is the individual concrete instance much more important to us than it is in the natural sciences, but the way from the theoretical construction to the explanation of the particular is also much longer. (1956, pp. 463-464)

In an important paper on "Rules, Perception and Intelligibility" (1963c) Hayek pointed to "rule-guided perception" and "rule-guided action," neither of which presupposes that we can state or describe the guiding rules. He elaborated the existence of subconscious rules that guide perception and defended the proposition that perception of the concrete presupposes an organizing capacity of the mind. Against the numerous believers in the primacy of the concrete, Hayek went back to the tenet of major philosophers and psychologists who recognized the primacy of the abstract (1969b).

History of ideas

As a dedicated historian of ideas Hayek presented the descendancy of virtually every major issue that figured in the development of his thoughts. Besides such incidental intellectual history, he wrote about the lives and works of Mandeville (1961; 1966), Cantillon (1931a),

Thornton (1939b), Ricardo (1950), John Stuart Mill (1942; 1943b; 1945a; 1951b), Macleod (1934d), Gossen (1932a), Carl Menger (1934b; 1934c; 1968d; 1972), Wieser (1926b; 1929a; 1968e), and Philippovich (1934f); also obituaries for Cannan (1935b), Strigl (1944a), Mitchell (1948b), and Leoni (1968a); he appraised schools of thought such as the École Polytechnique (1941a), the L.S.E. (1946b), and the Austrian School (1965; 1968c); noted some parallelisms in Comte and Hegel (1951a); examined the methodological position of Mach (1967a) and the philosophical and historical ideas of Hume (1955b; 1960; 1963b; 1967a). Hayek's writings on intellectual history are testimonies to his profound and assiduous scholarship.

Memorable traits noticeable in almost all of his writings are Hayek's chivalry and tolerance in criticism and polemics, and his modesty and humility not only in acknowledging the contributions of his intellectual forebears but also in arguing against the views of his intellectual opponents.

Fritz Machlup

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HEBB, D. O.

Donald Olding Hebb, the Canadian psychologist who spurred the mid-century resurgence of neuropsychological theory, was born in Chester, Nova Scotia, in 1904. He received his B.A. degree from Dalhousie University in 1925 and worked for several years as a teacher in Canada. Having developed an interest in psychology through reading Sigmund Freud, he completed

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Dueback: Friday
9am

Grant/Aarhus
A:MEDALS Draft one
November 12, 1991

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: MEDAL OF FREEDOM AWARDS CEREMONY
THE EAST ROOM
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1991
TIME? 11:30am

Thank you, and welcome to the White House. It gives me great pleasure to indulge in one of the most unique honors of being President: the privilege of presenting the Nation's highest civilian honor, the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

Since the first Presidential Medal recipients were ~~chosen~~ ^{announced} by ^{step} ~~John~~ ^{President} Kennedy in 1963, some of America's greatest heroes have been honored -- the likes of presidents and popes, artists and astronauts, statesmen and scientists.

I myself have had the pleasure of presenting this medal to war heroes like Generals Jimmy Doolittle and Norman Schwarzkopf; diplomats and public servants like Jim Baker, Margaret Chase Smith and Douglas Dillon; world-famous entertainers such as Lucille Ball, and international statesmen such as Prime Minister Thatcher -- each of them pioneers in their own right, each a monument to individual achievement. I'll never forget that November night two years ago when Lech Walesa accepted his medal right here in this room -- saying that now, one of the greatest dreams of his life had been fulfilled, because this medal stood for the freedom of a nation and the freedom of mankind.

Today, we have with us ten awardees whose life work has enriched this Nation -- whether as leaders of popular movements, as icons of the common man, or as intellectual giants. Your

achievement and dedication are unparalleled in America, and your standards of excellence are just as towering as your commitment to the ideal of freedom. //

? Author **Bill Buckley** is the celebrated founder of the largest journal of opinion in America. A preeminent intellectual in the American conservative movement, Bill Buckley raised the level of political debate in this country -- and our Nation is better for it. A true "Renaissance Man," we honor him today for a lifetime of achievement in American political thought. //

Clergyman and civil rights leader Rev. **Leon Sullivan** has been a voice of reason throughout the latter half of this century. A vigorous proponent of equal rights for all Americans, Reverend Sullivan founded the Opportunities Industrializations Centers, one of the world's largest self-help and job training facilities. Reverend, we salute your leadership in one of the great movements of our time, here and throughout the world: civil rights under law. //

Conservationist **Russell Train** is widely recognized as the founder of the environmental movement in this country. He has devoted his life to the protection and conservation of our land and wildlife. I've often quoted President Theodore Roosevelt's idea that we don't inherit our environment from our parents so much as borrow it from our children. For the legacy you are helping us leave to the children of America, sir, we thank you.//

Baseball great **Ted Williams** is an American legend -- a virtual deity in American sports and a twice-tested war hero. At

the height of his athletic career, "~~Teddy Ballgame~~", as he was known, answered the call of patriotism -- serving his country ~~for five and a half years~~, in both World War II and Korea. A true champion in the eyes of many Americans, an author wrote of his retirement from baseball: "And now Boston knows how England felt when it lost India." Ted, congratulations. //

Former First Lady **Betty Ford** first inspired the world when, despite her own battle against breast cancer, ~~drawing~~ ^{drew?} national attention to the importance of early detection. Later, as president of the Betty Ford Center, she restored hope and dignity to those lost in the desperation of drug and alcohol dependency. Mrs. Ford, your compassion and caring have led millions to new lives of freedom. //

Former Speaker of the House **Tip O'Neill** is a legendary figure in American politics, blessed with the common touch like few others. Over fifty years ago, O'Neill entered politics and soon became the first Democratic Speaker of the Massachusetts House. Throughout 34 years as a member of Congress and a decade as Speaker of the House, Tip O'Neill built one of the most remarkable political careers of this century. Tip, you were a tough partisan -- but above all, you are a true patriot. Congratulations.//

Former Puerto Rico Governor **Don Luis Ferre** is known as the grand old man of Puerto Rico. ^{He is} beloved by his people as a patron of the arts, a major businessman and a public servant of the first order. Don Luis is a lifelong advocate of equal

"the Kid"

John Updike?
The New Yorker
NOV. 1960
or Curt's
book.

partnership for Puerto Rico in our great union. We honor him today as a extraordinary leader in the life of Puerto Rico. //

Historian and humanist **Hanna Holborn Gray** is a world-class educator, the first woman to serve as president of a major American university. Throughout her career, Mrs. Gray has achieved a number of "first woman" milestones and is widely regarded as an outstanding Renaissance scholar. An example for others in her profession, she continues to teach at least one class a semester. Mrs. Gray, for your pursuit of highest ideals in your profession and your commitment to American education, we salute you. //

Vernon Walters enlisted in the Army as a private in 1941, before the outbreak of WWII; nearly a half-century later, he was ambassador to Germany during the fall of the Berlin Wall. In the years between, he served six Presidents as a soldier and statesman, ambassador and aide. His brilliant mastery of the art of diplomacy is renowned; in fact, it's been said of him that he is the right man in the right place at the wrong time. For your tireless service to the cause of freedom and the American ideal, we thank you. //

Finally, we honor Professor **Friedrich von Hayek**, for a lifetime of looking beyond the horizon. At a time when many saw socialism as ordained by history, he foresaw freedom's triumph. Over fifty years ago, Professor von Hayek wrote that the Road to Serfdom was not the road to the future -- or to the political and economic freedom of man. He is widely credited as the most

influential economic writer of our century. An idol of the free people of Eastern Europe, Professor von Hayek's writings just recently were translated into Lithuanian. The people of the United States recognize Professor von Hayek for the revolutions in intellectual and political thought he sparked throughout the world. How magnificent it must be to witness your ideas validated before the eyes of the world. We salute you. //

The people of the United States are indebted to each of you. You have touched each of us, in ways both seen and unseen -- and shaped the destiny of this Nation. And you have shown us the strength of a simple idea: the idea of freedom -- in the words of Lech Walesa, freedom of a nation and freedom of mankind. God bless each of you, and God bless this great country of ours.

And now, Barbara and I will present the medals to the recipients.

#



quintessentially "nostalgic, first-teenage-love" picture, *The Summer of '42*, in which she played a luminously beautiful young war widow, subject of an adolescent's crush. Even today many men, hearing Michel Legrand's Oscar-winning title song from the movie, automatically dream of girls who look like Jennifer O'Neill. O'Neill herself, in fact, may have some nostalgic yearnings for her "summer" days. Both her career and her life, since then, have had a number of plunging downs. One of the worst was when Jon-Erik Hexum, her co-star on the 1984-85 CBS-TV series, "Cover-Up," accidentally shot himself to death on the set.

The tragedy was a grim parallel to her own "accidental" self-inflicted gunshot wound to the stomach in 1982, which led to a headline-making trial and a divorce and also kept her away from the cameras for some time. "A pattern of mine used to be terrific highs and lows," the actress once said. "Now I operate more in the middle. You sacrifice some fantastic highs, but you get rid of the lows."

Jennifer Lee O'Neill was born in Rio de Janeiro on 20 February 1948, and raised in the suburban expanses north of New York City. As a young girl she cleaned out stables to pay for her own horse and, in her teens, became a trophy-winning equestrienne. Also in her teens she became a top model ("The money was terrific, but I didn't enjoy the work, and at the end, it wasn't a challenge") and also a wife at age 17 and a mother of a baby girl two years later. But she was still able to snare the small movie parts which led up to *The Summer of '42*.

Although she says she once feared she was accident-prone, she realized later that "I was letting . . . things happen to me." Some may still view her three car accidents, serious riding fall (all resulting in a bad back) and gunshot incident more than coincidence. O'Neill's refusal to do nude scenes lost her many parts, she says. She later decided to begin a sportswear line, which fizzled, and a production company, which also failed to take flight. Divorced by the 1980s a total of five times, she married her sixth husband, Richard Alan Brown in 1986 (filed for divorce in 1989). All told she has three children. Some of her recent movies include *I Love New York* (1986), *Committed* (1988), *Keys to Freedom* (1989) and the CBS-TV telefilm "The Red Spider" (1988).

Thomas P. O'Neill



"It was at Harvard University in 1927 that I first decided to go into politics," begins Thomas (Tip) O'Neill Jr.'s extremely candid and fascinating book, *Man of the House: The Life and Political Memoirs of Speaker Tip O'Neill* written with William Novak and published in 1987. (Mind you, O'Neill did not attend Harvard; he was mowing the lawn there, eavesdropping on the chatter of the commencement class and it convinced him he had to do something.) When one of the most extraordinary political careers of our century came to a close in 1986, O'Neill had completed 34 years as a member of Congress and a decade as Speaker of the

House. In his book he shares inside stories of American politics over the past five decades.

O'Neill was married in 1941 to his high school sweetheart, Mildred Anne Miller, and their five children include Tom III, who followed his father in Bay State politics. The son of a "two-boat" (the two-boaters were those emigrants who had money enough only for passage to Nova Scotia and had to work to save up enough for the second leg to Massachusetts) bricklayer from County Cork, Tom II was born in Cambridge 9 December 1912. He was nicknamed "Tip" after an 1830s ballplayer named O'Neill who had a habit of tipping foul balls. After graduation from Boston College in 1936 he

entered the insurance business and the Massachusetts Legislature, where he became, in 1948, the first Democratic Speaker of the Massachusetts House. He remained that until 1952, when he ran for the U.S. House seat vacated by John F. Kennedy. Even his most severe critics praise unaffected style. "It's difficult to imagine life in Washington with Thomas P. O'Neill," muses a *Nation* critic.

O'Neill's frankness and humor surfaces throughout his book. While writing it, he said: "What I'm trying to do is give a picture of what life was like in the United States, the power of local politics, and the fact that two-thirds of the people were poor back in the 30's, and it all changed during New Deal and President Roosevelt, and we saw the growth of the middle class . . . I wanted people to read it. So I enjoyed writing it."

Yoko Ono



"When John died, I thought it was the worst thing that could ever happen," this avant-garde artist and widow of Beatle John Lennon declared in 1984. "But that was just the beginning." Since Lennon was shot down in front of his Dakota apartment in December 1980, Yoko Ono has received sporadic death threats, her apartment was burglarized and electronic bugs, an employee stole personal papers. But there were bright spots, too. Her albums released after John's death did extremely well. In early 1984, she took son Sean on a happy sentimental journey to Liverpool

to visit Lennon's youthful haunts. Also in 1984, Yoko and Sean presided over the groundbreaking for a \$1 million 2.5 acre memorial garden to John Lennon in his beloved Central Park. The garden, to be planted with 25,000 strawberry plants, bears the name Strawberry Fields, after one of Beatle's most popular songs. Inheriting John's \$150 million estate, she presides over the Lennon-Ono enterprises, giving generously to charity through the Spirit Foundation they founded and continuing the tradition she started with John of promoting world peace through newspaper ads.

Born 18 February 1933 in Tokyo, Yoko Ono moved with her affluent parents to Scarsdale, New York, when she was 19 and inhaled her first dose of the local art and literary atmosphere as a student at Sarah Lawrence. Supporting herself as a building superintendent and wait tables at a macrobiotic restaurant, she became a familiar figure in gatherings of the New York avant-garde, staging "events" and giving concerts with, among others, John Cage and David Tudor. Her work includes paintings, sculpture, notational poetic writings, and what Yoko terms "Pieces," many of which require the participation of the viewer. (Sample row of empty flowerpots entitled "Imagine the Flowers.") Also a filmmaker of underground renown, she created such films as *Fly* (in which a housefly closeup, crawls across a woman's body for 23 minutes) and *Legs* (with zeros in on 331 pairs of legs). Shortly before his death, John and Yoko recorded the album *Double Fantasy* and since then, she's turned out several albums that have won over some mainstream critics. Well known for her spiritual leanings, she takes a minutely detailed interest in her records, to the extent of using numerology to decide the number of seconds between tracks.

Previously married to film producer Anthony Cox (one daughter), Yoko met John Lennon in 1966 at a London gallery and wed him in 1969. During John's reclusive period, Yoko ran his business empire (music company, real estate, copyrights, cattle, etc.), making him the world's richest husband. Now Yoko's ranked among the richest in the *Forbes 400* list. She considers business an extension of her art. Asked why she continues living in the Dakota, she told *People* magazine: "This is where John and I built a beautiful life for ourselves, and being here is almost like still being with John. There are still a lot of things from the life we had together that are unfinished. You just can't walk away from them."

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Von Hayek - Eastern Europe
comes to fruition - Lithuania
Road to Serfdom mid '40s.
socialism / communism doesn't
work. Nobel Laureate
Hrs life validated - ideas
still have life. econ + pol freedom
are linked

Sullivan - voice of reason
~~the~~ self-help - investment
great dedication to Africa

Train - founder of environmental
movement - first CEO
O'Neill - constituents Cambridge

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Buckley - lifetime of achievement
intellectual giant - preeminent
conservative human face
Renaissance man just retired
largest journal of opinion in America
Ferre - grand old man of PR
loved by all parties & all sides.
Lifelong advocate of PR equal partner
B.F. - enhanced awareness ^{in one} great
of breast cancer personal
crisis. BF Center

Gray - 1st woman pres of
a major univ in US.
Still ^{insists on} teaching classes.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Vernon Walters - seen it all.

Ted Williams - War hero +
patriot at height of his
sport.

Presidents

Popes

Artists

Astronauts

Statesmen

Research

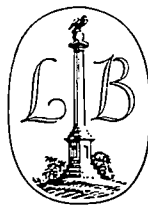
Familiar Quotations

*A collection of passages, phrases and
proverbs traced to their sources in
ancient and modern literature*

FIFTEENTH AND 125TH ANNIVERSARY EDITION
REVISED AND ENLARGED

John Bartlett

*Edited by EMILY MORISON BECK
and the editorial staff of Little, Brown and Company*



LITTLE, BROWN AND COMPANY • BOSTON • TORONTO

¹ Bunched in mutual glee
The bearings glint—O murmurless and
shined
In oilrinsed circles of blind ecstasy!

Ib. Power: Cape Hatteras

² And why do I often meet your visage here,
Your eyes like agate lanterns—on and on
Below the toothpaste and the dandruff ads?
And did their riding eyes right through your
side,
And did their eyes like unwashed platters
ride?

And Death, aloft—gigantically down!¹
Probing through you toward me, O evermore!

Ib. The Tunnel

Friedrich August von Hayek

1899–

³ The system of private property is the most
important guaranty of freedom, not only for
those who own property, but scarcely less for
those who do not.

The Road to Serfdom [1944], ch. 8

⁴ The power which a multiple millionaire,
who may be my neighbor and perhaps my
employer, has over me is very much less than
that which the smallest *fonctionnaire* pos-
sesses who wields the coercive power of the
state, and on whose discretion it depends
whether and how I am to be allowed to live or
to work.

Ib.

⁵ Competition means decentralized planning
by many separate persons.

*The Use of Knowledge in Society,
in Individualism and Economic
Order [1948], ch. 4*

⁶ We must look at the price system as . . .
a mechanism for communicating informa-
tion if we want to understand its real func-
tion.

Ib.

⁷ Many of the greatest things man has
achieved are not the result of consciously di-
rected thought, and still less the product of a
deliberately coordinated effort of many in-
dividuals, but of a process in which the indi-
vidual plays a part which he can never fully
understand.

*The Counterrevolution of Science
[1952], ch. 8*

⁸ The rationalist whose reason is not suffi-
cient to teach him those limitations of the
powers of conscious reason, and who despises
all the institutions and customs which have
not been consciously designed, would thus be-

¹ See Poe, 525:13.

come the destroyer of the civilization built
upon them.

⁹ I am certain that nothing has done so much
to destroy the juridical safeguards of individ-
ual freedom as the striving after this mirage
of social justice.

*Economic Freedom and Represen-
tative Government [1973]*

¹⁰ Inflation . . . sooner or later makes a
more extensive unemployment inevitable
than that which that policy was intended to
prevent. It does so by drawing more and more
workers into kinds of jobs which depend on
continuing or even accelerating inflation.

*From the New York Times
[November 15, 1974]*

Ernest Hemingway

1899–1961

¹¹ You and me, we've made a separate peace.
*In Our Time [1924]. A Very
Short Story*

¹² It makes one feel rather good deciding not
to be a bitch. . . . It's sort of what we have
instead of God.

The Sun Also Rises [1926], ch. 19

¹³ "Oh, Jake," Brett said, "we could have had
such a damned good time together." . . .
"Yes," I said. "Isn't it pretty to think so?"

Ib. last lines

¹⁴ I had seen nothing sacred, and the things
that were glorious had no glory and the sac-
rifices were like the stockyards at Chicago if
nothing was done with the meat except to
bury it . . . Abstract words such as glory,
honor, courage, or hallow were obscene.

A Farewell to Arms [1929], ch. 27

¹⁵ The world breaks everyone and afterward
many are strong at the broken places. But
those that will not break it kills. It kills the
very good and the very gentle and the very
brave impartially. If you are none of these
you can be sure that it will kill you too but
there will be no special hurry.

Ib. 34

¹⁶ You never had time to learn. They threw
you in and told you the rules and the first
time they caught you off base they killed you.

Ib. 41

¹⁷ It was like saying goodbye to a statue. After
a while I went out and left the hospital and
walked back to the hotel in the rain.

Ib. 47

¹⁸ Grace under pressure.
*Definition of "guts" in The New
Yorker [November 30, 1929]*

lege, Colgate College, Marietta College, Yale College, and Washington and Jefferson College. He has received the French Croix de Guerre, with two Palms, the D.S.M. from both the United States Army and Navy; he is a Knight Commander of St. Michael and St. George, a Commander of the French Legion of Honor; and he has been decorated with high honors by Belgium, Italy, Montenegro, Panama, and Poland. In 1937 he received the Ordnance Medal of Merit from the Army Ordnance Association. He is a member of several clubs and is a Mason, thirty-second degree.

A voracious reader, and prolific writer of magazine articles, Harbord is said to possess a keen memory and an ability to express himself succinctly. He was married to Emma Yeatman Ovenshine in January 1899, and in December 1938, a year and a half after her death, he was married to Mrs. Anne Lee Brown.

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pors
National Cyclopædia of American Biography Current vol A p281
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Who's Who in Commerce and Industry (1944)

HARDING, NELSON Oct. 31, 1879—Dec. 30, 1944 American newspaper cartoonist and humorist; winner of the Pulitzer Prize in 1927 and 1928, while with the Brooklyn *Eagle*, for the best cartoon published in an American newspaper during each of those years; veteran of the Spanish American War.

Obituary

N Y Times p19 Ja 2 '45 por

HARMON, MILLARD F(ILLMORE) Jan. 19, 1888—Mar. (?), 1945 United States Army officer, lieutenant general in command of the Army Air Forces of the Pacific Ocean areas since August 1944, and deputy commander of the Twentieth Air Force; reported missing in flight; assumed command of the Second Air Force in July 1941 and the next year was named chief of Air Staff. See *Current Biography* 1942 Yearbook.

Obituary

N Y Times p13 Mr 4 '45 por

HAY, CHARLES M(ARTIN) Nov. 10, 1879—Jan. 16, 1945 Deputy chairman and executive director of the United States War Manpower Commission since July 1944; lawyer; served in the Missouri House of Representatives (1913-14); counselor of St. Louis City (1932-35); part-time member of the Seventh Regional War Labor Board (1942-43); general counsel of the War Manpower Commission since 1943.

Obituary

N Y Times p21 Ja 17 '45

HAYEK, FRIEDRICH A(UGUST VON) (hī'yēk frē'drīk) May 8, 1899- Economist; author

Address: b. c/o London School of Economics, Houghton St., Aldwych, London; h. 8 Turner Close, London

Friedrich A. Hayek, Austrian-born English economist, educator, and lecturer, is the author of the controversial book *The Road to Serfdom*. The economist is considered qualified to write on what he considers the dangers in central planning, not only because he has probed the subject at length but because, as he points out in the preface to his book, he has had the unique opportunity of experiencing



FRIEDRICH A. HAYEK

conditions and a development of ideas in present-day England which are disturbingly similar to conditions he knew and views he himself held in his early manhood in Vienna.

Friedrich August von Hayek was born in Vienna on May 8, 1899. He is the son of the late August von Hayek, who was professor of botany at the University of Vienna. It was at this university that he received his own education, and he also holds the degrees of D.J. and D. Pol Sc. from that university, and the degree of D.Sc. (Econ.) from the University of London.

In 1921 Hayek entered the Austrian Civil Service. Two years later he went on leave to the United States, where he worked first for some months as research assistant to Professor Jeremiah W. Jenks at New York University and then, for the 1923-24 session, as a research fellow of the university. Hayek returned in 1924 to his post in the Civil Service, retaining this until 1926, the year in which he was married to Helen von Frisch. (They have one son and one daughter.) The year after his marriage Hayek became director of the Austrian Institute of Economic Research, and in 1929 he accepted the post of lecturer in economics at the University of Vienna. This position he occupied simultaneously with the direc-

HAYEK, FRIEDRICH A.—Continued

torship until his eventual departure for England in 1931 to become Tooke Professor of Economic Science and Statistics at the University of London, a position in which he has since served as a member of the faculty of the London School of Economics. He is a member of the Council of the Royal Economic Society and since 1944 a Fellow of the British Academy. He became a British subject in 1938.

Professor Hayek's name first appeared on the title page of a book in 1927, when he edited the works of Herman Heinrich Gossen, the German economist, whose name has been given to the three economic theses he formulated. In 1929, while still in Vienna, Hayek published his own initial work in the field of theoretical economics, *Monetary Theory and The Trade Cycle* (the title is taken from the English edition, translated by N. Kaldor and H. M. Croome, which appeared in 1933). In this work he argues that the business cycle is caused not by variations in the value of money, but rather by fluctuations in the volume of money. In this same year Hayek also edited the works of Friedrich von Wieser, one of the leading exponents of the Austrian school of economics, in the atmosphere of whose doctrines Hayek had received his own early training.

In the two-year interval which preceded Hayek's next contribution to theoretical economic thought, *Prices and Production* (1931), he had gone to the University of London; his book, therefore, was appropriately published in English. The volume, a series of four papers read before the University of London in 1930-31, deals with, among other economic theories, the case for and against an "elastic" currency. Hayek next edited *Beiträge zur Geldtheorie* (1933), and in the same year, 1933, began editing the works of the founder of the Austrian, or "subjective," school of economics, Carl Menger, who considered primary in the study of economic phenomena "the values which men place on goods because of their utility." This task was not completed until 1936.

In the meantime, Hayek was also editing *Collectivist Economic Planning* (1935), his first appearance in print with the theme of *The Road to Serfdom*. The volume is a compilation of articles on the problem of central planning versus competition, written by leading twentieth century economists. These articles were selected by Hayek, who wrote for the book an introductory historical note and a concluding chapter setting forth the "Present State of the Debate."

During the year 1937 he had journeyed to Switzerland to lecture before the Graduate Institute of International Studies at Geneva, and upon his return to England in 1937 his lectures were published under the title of *Monetary Nationalism and International Stability*. Extending to the international field his belief in the cruciality of the volume of money, as propounded in *Prices and Production*, Hayek suggests as a cure for the great variability of liquidity of national currencies the amendment of present laws to permit 100 per cent coverage of bank deposits by paper money so that purchasing power shall hereafter move, in

the words of Honor Croome, "not merely in proportion to gold but actually to the same extent."

Although theoretical or academic economics is Hayek's main interest, in April 1938 he again paused to sound a warning against the danger of dictatorship he saw in central planning. His article, "Freedom and the Economic System," which appeared in the *Contemporary Review* that month, was reprinted in enlarged form as a *Public Policy Pamphlet* by the Chicago University Press in 1939, and this became the core of *The Road to Serfdom*. Afterward, he returned to his university studies, producing in 1939 *Profits, Interest, and Investments*, an edition of the works of H. Thornton, and, in 1941, *The Pure Theory of Capital*, written to supplement the brief treatment of this subject in his earlier *Prices and Production*. At the same time the economist was contributing frequently to several English economic and general periodicals. In these he advocated, among other policies, a commodity reserve currency (in 1943), and (in 1939) a plan that Britain join France in an economic federation which would form the skeleton for a federation of all Europe. He also defended his theories against attacks.

In the early 1940's Hayek was mainly engaged in a comprehensive study of the interaction of social and scientific trends during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, only parts of which have thus far appeared in the journal *Economica*; in connection with this he was also working on an edition of the letters of John Stuart Mill. But the dangers of totalitarianism seemed to him in the last years of the war with Germany to be increasing so alarmingly that he interrupted this work for an attempt at more popular exposition.

It was, in the economist's opinion, those concerned with the welfare of the laboring classes who in Great Britain were advocating the very policies which their counterparts had earlier advocated in Germany and which, according to Hayek, had made Hitler's rise possible. Fascism, he believes, is not a reaction to collectivist and communist policies but grows out of them, because the administrator of a central plan, in order to be successful, must impose his aims and values upon the people and must exclude all ideas or policies which might jeopardize the proper functioning of the plan. "There can be no freedom of thought, no freedom of the press, where it is necessary that everything should be governed by a single system of thought. In theory," he says, "socialism may wish to enhance freedom, but in practice . . . totalitarianism is nothing but consistent collectivism, the ruthless execution of the principle that 'the whole comes before the individual' and the direction of all members of society by a single will supposed to represent 'the whole.'" Hayek believes that not only is central planning a potentially dangerous weapon but that it is also an inefficient and unwieldy tool as compared with free competition: he maintains it is impossible for one bureau or government leader to know at one time all the factors which will affect production and consumption, whereas, "this is precisely what the price system brings about if competition is functioning."

Although Hayek strongly favors world-wide free trade, he does not oppose all governmental

regulation of mental control and to provide petition can o calls it. He a ernment invest ures, but he be left free t accordance wi restricted by minority in po the only meth coercive or arl

The Road England in September of States it ma almost at onc lantic it evok demnatory cri H. J. M. of Dealers will : praise it—but important bo *New Republi* "Poor Mr. H. and pathetica economic thea From the opp New York *Ti* important boo *Saturday Rev* "Its thesis w readers. It w refuse to rea run counter t and cherished the challenge. A shock of thi son whose re seems to carry *day Review's* a with having jo in which he : while having new socialist i convinced him Hayek's argu serious and re ideas later be two books—*H action and Ba Planning*.)

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This succes it also embar. in the Chicag had become States, becaus *Serfdom* with He explained

regulation of business. He supports governmental control of industry to prevent monopoly and to provide a framework within which competition can operate—"the rule of law," as he calls it. He also endorses some forms of government investment and social security measures, but he insists that the individual must be left free to determine his own destiny in accordance with the laws of his country, unrestricted by the whims of one man or a minority in power. Competition, he writes, "is the only method which does not require the coercive or arbitrary intervention of authority."

The Road to Serfdom was published in England in early 1944, and in America in September of the same year. In the United States it made the nonfiction best-seller list almost at once, and on both sides of the Atlantic it evoked vociferous laudatory and condemnatory criticism in equal measure. Wrote H. J. M. of the *Kansas City Star*, "New Dealers will attack it and Right-wingers will praise it—but nobody can deny that it is an important book." From one side came a *New Republic* comment in a note entitled "Poor Mr. Hayek": Unrealistic, unhistorical, and pathetically ineffectual to restore "the economic theories of the eighteen-eighties." From the opposite side Henry Hazlitt of the *New York Times* declared, "One of the most important books of our generation," while the *Saturday Review of Literature* critic wrote, "Its thesis will come as a shock to many readers. It would be good if they would not refuse to read the book because it seems to run counter to many of the widely accepted and cherished slogans of the day, but accept the challenge and enter into the discussion." A shock of this kind was felt by Paul Hutchinson whose review in the *Christian Century* seems to carry out the injunction of the *Saturday Review's* article. Hutchinson credits Hayek with having jolted him out of the complacency in which he saw himself as "left of center" while having only a vague notion of what a new socialist order would be. Hayek has not convinced him on all points, he says, but Hayek's argument seems to him "to demand serious and respectful consideration." (Hayek's ideas later became the subject of rebuttal in two books—Herman Finer's *The Road to Reaction* and Barbara Wootton's *Freedom Under Planning*.)

As a consequence of such reviews, in early 1945 the National Concert and Artists Corporation arranged a lecture tour of the United States for the author, during which he repeated and amplified his statements. He also appeared on the air on the *University of Chicago Round Table* in April, and his book was dramatized on the radio program *Words at War*. *Reader's Digest* printed a condensed version of the book in its April issue, and this condensation was reprinted in pamphlet form by the Book-of-the-Month Club, as well as in a series of ten daily articles distributed through Hearst's King Features Syndicate.

This success of course pleased Hayek. But it also embarrassed him somewhat, he declared in the *Chicago Sun*, to find that his arguments had become party weapons in the United States, because he had written *The Road to Serfdom* with very little thought of America. He explained that he had seen Britain selling

her birthright, her talent for adaptation and compromise, "the British capacity for muddling through," and he had set out to put his adopted country on her guard. "If in the growth of the social and political structure of Britain," he wrote in the *Spectator* of January 26, 1945, "the unforeseen and unintended has so frequently emerged, that is of course merely another way of saying that it has never been planned as a whole. In the piecemeal process of adaptation and change there has always been opportunity for the people to change institutions into something different from what they were intended to be, to create a society which was not the result of a single coherent plan but of innumerable decisions of free men and women."

Professor Hayek, who has brown eyes, is a man of commanding stature; he is over six feet in height and weighs nearly two hundred pounds. Book-collecting and mountaineering are his favorite forms of relaxation. One far-reaching effect of the economist's opinions was heard in his adopted land in June 1945 when Clement Attlee⁴⁰ remarked that Winston Churchill's⁴² Parliamentary campaign speeches that year seemed to be merely "a second-hand version of the academic views of . . . Professor Friedrich August von Hayek."

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Who's Who, 1945

HAYTER, STANLEY WILLIAM Dec. 27, 1901- Artist

Address: b. Atelier 17, 41 E. 8th St., New York City; h. 247 Waverly Pl., New York City

Under the auspices of New York's New School for Social Research, an English painter continues in America his experiments in the graphic arts in his communal workshop. The studio, Atelier 17, which had its inception in Paris, is the outgrowth of his researches in an almost forgotten art. Between the Italian line engraver, Andrea Mantegna, and Stanley William Hayter lie five centuries during which engraving had been almost completely neglected except for a brief reappearance in the nineteenth century in the work of William Blake. Until Hayter became attracted by the possibilities of the powerful incisive line which can be cut directly into the metal, engraving had been relegated primarily to use in reproductions, and then photography pushed it out of that field, too. To Hayter's studio come mature artists as well as students who are interested in exploring with him all the possibilities of the rediscovered art.

The second son of William Harry and Ellen Mercy (Palmer) Hayter, Stanley William Hayter was born in London, December 27, 1901. (Later two daughters were born to the Hayters.) Although the painter's brush was a familiar object in this home—his father was an artist of no mean talent—the youth was persuaded to turn his back upon the art world. As if to escape the captiousness of the art critics and the coolness of the general public toward evolving art forms, he chose the career of a research chemist. After graduating from Whitgift, a secondary school founded by the



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Major Twentieth Century Writers

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LENGTH: 3535 words

NAME: Friedrich August von HAYEK

PERSONAL:

Born May 8, 1899, in Vienna, Austria; immigrated to Great Britain, 1931; naturalized British citizen, 1938; son of August (a physician and botany professor) and Felizitas (von Juraschek) von Hayek; married Helene von Fritsch, 1926 (marriage ended); married Helene Bitterlich, 1950; children: (first marriage) Christine M. F., Laurence J. H.

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EDUCATION: University of Vienna, Dr. Jur., 1921, Dr. Sc.Pol., 1923; graduate study at New York University, 1923-24.

CAREER:

Employed with the Austrian Civil Service, 1921-26; Austrian Institute for Economic Research, Vienna, Austria, director, 1927-31; University of Vienna, Vienna, lecturer in economics and statistics, 1929-31; University of London, London, England, Tooke Professor of Economic Sciences and Statistics, 1931-50; University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., professor of social and moral sciences, 1950-62; University of Freiburg, Freiburg, Federal Republic of Germany, professor of economics, 1962-69, professor emeritus, 1969--. Visiting professor at University of Salzburg, Salzburg, Austria, 1970-77.

MEMBERSHIPS:

British Academy (fellow), Austrian Academy of Science (honorary fellow), Academia Sinaica (honorary fellow), Reform Club (London).

AWARDS:

Nobel Prize for economic science, 1974; Austrian Distinction for Science and Art, 1975; Medal of Merit from Baden-Wuerttemberg, 1981; Ring of Honor from City of Vienna, 1983; Gold Medal from City of Paris, 1984. Honorary degrees: D.Sc., University of London, 1941; Dr. Jur., University of Rikkyo, Tokyo, 1964; Dr.Jur., University of Salzburg, 1974; Dr.Lit.Hum., University of Dallas, 1975; Dr.Soc.Sci., Marroquin University, Guatemala, 1977; also received degrees from Santa Maria University, Valparaiso, 1977, University of Buenos Aires, 1977, and University of Giessen, 1982.

WRITINGS:

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Rules, Perception, and Intelligibility, British Academy, 1976.

OTHER;

Contributor of articles to Economic Journal, Economica, and other publications in the United States and Europe.

SIDELITES:

A Nobel Prize-winning economist, F. A. Hayek advocates the classic liberal economic principles of the nineteenth century. These principles include an unhindered free enterprise system, a free market, and political democracy. These beliefs have led him to suggest that the form of government most conducive to freedom is one with impartial laws which guarantee social order and the unregulated expression of human life. Hayek is a major figure in contemporary economic thought and is generally credited with inspiring England's shift away from a government-controlled economy. But because his ideas ran counter to the prevailing collectivist views of other economists for several decades, Hayek's "fame and his influence have been achieved very much against the flow of fashionable opinion," Michael Ivens writes in the Spectator. Hayek has written on such diverse subjects as monetary theory, inflation, socialism, political freedom, unemployment, and scientific methodology, but he is most highly regarded for his books examining the relationship between economic systems and personal freedom.

Hayek first made his reputation in the 1930s as a monetary theorist. In Monetary Theory and the Trade Cycle (originally published as Geldtheorie und Konjunkturtheorie) and Monetary Nationalism and International Stability, Hayek presented his views on the subject. In Monetary Theory and the Trade Cycle he argues that business cycles are not caused by fluctuations in currency value but by the volume of currency in circulation. The reviewer for the Times Literary Supplement finds the book of "unquestioned importance" and praises "the great erudition, the logical austerity and the unusual power of sustained abstract reasoning which (Hayek) has at his command." In Monetary Nationalism and International Stability, Hayek calls for an international monetary standard. He argues that national currencies, with their varying exchange rates, inhibit free trade between nations. An international currency would lower trade barriers and thereby decrease international tensions. Honor Croome of Spectator believes that Hayek "treats his difficult subject both conscientiously and stimulatingly" and judges the book to be "intellectually satisfying."

In the 1930s, too, Hayek first turned his attention to the issue of government economic planning, a subject that would increasingly occupy a central position in his later work. His initial effort in this area was the 1935 anthology Collectivist Economic Planning: Critical Studies on the Possibilities of Socialism. This book brought together a number of articles debunking the efficiency of government economic planning. The Economist reviewer believes that "the case is a very strong one," while the critic for the Times Literary Supplement calls Collectivist Economic Planning "a book of outstanding



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interest."

Hayek's study of economic planning culminated in 1944 with the publication of perhaps his most famous book, *The Road to Serfdom*. Here he argues against state planning of the economy not because it is inefficient, as he had shown in *Collectivist Economic Planning*, but because it concentrates too much power in the hands of the state. Hayek holds that all state-controlled economies—including socialism, communism, fascism, and the welfare state--inevitably lead to totalitarian dictatorship because they require a strong, central government with enormous powers. Such a government, Hayek believes, is antithetical to personal freedom.

The book met with an enthusiastic response, even from many who found it essentially incorrect in its analysis. Henry Hazlitt of the *New York Times* calls *The Road to Serfdom* "one of the most important books of our generation" and "an arresting call to all well-intentioned planners and socialists, to all those who are sincere democrats and liberals at heart, to stop, look and listen." Hans Kohn of the *Saturday Review of Literature* describes the book as "cogent in its reasoning, gracious in its presentation, forceful in its plea." But T. V. Smith in *Ethics* calls the book "hysterical" because "it is agitated at heart and in turn agitates others." Eric Roll, writing in *American Economic Review*, finds that "Hayek presents his thesis with considerable skill" but that his "strong political prejudices show through the veneer of reasonableness coupled with high-mindedness with which he tries to impress the reader." But even John Maynard Keynes, an economist whose views are far removed from Hayek's own, admits, according to Ivens, that he was "in agreement with virtually the whole of (the book); and not only in agreement but in deeply moved agreement." Writing forty years after the initial publication of *The Road to Serfdom*, Edwin J. Feulner, Jr., of *American Spectator* describes the book in glowing terms. "I have never read a more profound work, nor a more eloquent warning against the dangers of government intervention," Feulner maintains. *The Road to Serfdom* has been surprisingly successful for a book of economic theory. It was a best-seller in both the United States and England, was adapted for radio, condensed in *Readers' Digest*, serialized by the *King Features Syndicate*, reprinted in pamphlet form by the *Book-of-the-Month Club*, and translated into a dozen languages.

In subsequent volumes Hayek continues to examine the relationship between freedom and economics, maintaining that only a free enterprise system is compatible with personal liberty. His *Individualism and Economic Order* covers a number of topics, ranging from socialist planning to the meaning of economic competition. Sidney Ratner of the *American Political Science Review* admits that "though many will disagree with some or all of his views, few will deny that he writes with vigor, considerable freshness and originality, and wide learning." George Soule of *Nation* believes that because Hayek is "among the most thoughtful and consistent supporters of a market economy, as against planning either by the state or by private monopoly, those who disagree with him cannot afford to ignore him."

In 1954 Hayek edited *Capitalism and the Historians*, a collection of essays on the effects the industrial revolution had on the British working class. These essays disprove the widely held idea that industrialization had harmed the working class. In fact, industrialization substantially improved the lives of the workers. Filled with contemporary eyewitness accounts and case histories, the book details the improvement in living standards for those who became factory workers. It shows that most of these workers had been poor farm



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laborers living in barns or ditches. They were often hungry; their health was poor. The conditions in the urban slums, where they moved after becoming factory workers, although unpleasant by today's standards, were a vast improvement over their previous lives. Leo Teplow of Management Review thinks the book is "a hundred years late, (but it) is still very badly needed and deserves a wide audience." Writing in the Christian Science Monitor, H. C. Kenney declares that "it is refreshing to have established experts provide a thoughtful, scholarly debunking of the long popular myth." Leo Rosten of the Saturday Review/World suggests reading this book, "and you will revise the stereotypes about socialism and capitalism that we all learned." He finds, too, that Capitalism and the Historians "makes hash out of our traditional picture of the evils, the horrors, and the 'inhumane' impact of the factory system."

Hayek extended the ideas first expressed in The Road to Serfdom in The Constitution of Liberty. This study of the nature of freedom and how it can be preserved under law examines the relationship between systems of government and citizens' personal freedom. Hayek outlines what he sees as the necessary prerequisites for a free society, primary among these being a free market. Milton Friedman, writing in the New York Times Book Review, believes the book "provides a comprehensive restatement of the fundamental values underlying a liberal view and applies those values to the concrete problems of our times." Commenting in the Chicago Sunday Tribune, George Morgenstern calls The Constitution of Liberty "the book of the year in the field of ideas...."

Hayek's far ranging work, encyclopedic in scope and disclosing a staggering learning, is written with coolness and clarity." Not all reviewers agreed with Hayek's formula for a free society. But as Sidney Hook observes in the New York Times Book Review, "even those who accept little of his argument will find ... Hayek's comprehensive analysis of the nature of freedom an interesting and provocative work."

The three-volume work Law, Legislation, and Liberty: A New Statement of the Liberal Principles of Justice and Political Economy is, M. Stanton Evans writes in the National Review, "the crowning achievement of (Hayek's) career." In it, Hayek elaborates upon his economic and political beliefs concerning a free society. As in previous works, he expresses his distrust of socialist economic systems, believing that they inevitably lead to dictatorial government. In the first volume of the massive work, entitled Rules and Order, Hayek stresses the necessity for government to serve as a legal framework to preserve the essentially spontaneous nature of human life. Evan Simpson of Library Journal finds that in Rules and Order, "the eminent economist and philosopher (Hayek) champions the free, spontaneous social order against attempts to direct society in desired paths."

In the second volume of the work, The Mirage of Social Justice, Hayek dismisses all arguments that justify government intervention into the economic or social life of its citizens. Such intervention is often sanctioned by the idea of social justice--the belief that the distribution of wealth in a society must meet some ethical or moral standard. Hayek emphasizes that the effects of a free market system--the distribution of wealth--cannot be found to be just or unjust because those effects are not the predetermined intentions of any individual. Evans describes The Mirage of Social Justice as "a work of sustained intellection that is truly awesome." The Economist critic agrees, stating that "it is impossible to give more than the slightest flavour of a work of this importance. The main task of the reviewer is not to assess it, but simply to underline how important it is as a contribution to the existing debate on

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social and political philosophy, and in particular on the meaning of and foundation of freedom and, dare one say it, justice."

The Political Order of a Free People completes Law, Legislation, and Liberty. Having examined in the first two volumes the tendency of government to intervene in the lives of its citizens and thereby inhibit personal freedom, Hayek in this book details the type of government needed to insure freedom. One chapter, entitled "A Model Constitution," proposes a return to the original form of the American government--a bicameral congress and a separation of political powers, something Hayek believes we have lost. These measures would return control of the legislative process, now in the hands of the politicians, back to the people again. The foundation for such a government, Hayek maintains, is "the recovery of the free market as the basis of politics and policy," as G. L. McDowell writes in the Virginia Quarterly Review. "Hayek," writes L. M. Lachmann in the Journal of Economic Literature, "is a bitterly disappointed, life-long democrat to whom the discrepancy between the ideals of his youth ... and the daily practice of contemporary democratic governments ... is not merely a spectacle painful to behold, but a symptom of a serious disease of modern society." McDowell finds Hayek "more polemical than philosophical" in this book, but judges The Political Order of a Free People "an important contribution to the dialectic of social thought."

For several decades Hayek has been a leading proponent of economic and political freedom, a role that earned him a Nobel Prize in economic science in 1974. His influence, particularly in England, has been substantial. British prime ministers Winston Churchill and Margaret Thatcher have both cited Hayek as the primary inspiration for their economic policies. His ideas have also inspired the Chicago school of economics, of which Milton Friedman is a prominent member, as well as many contemporary advocates of libertarianism. Hook describes Hayek as "one who is passionately opposed to the coercion of human beings by the arbitrary will of others, who puts liberty above welfare and is sanguine that greater welfare will thereby ensue." Simpson calls Hayek "an eloquent defender of classical liberalism in a period more receptive to an egalitarian understanding of liberal values." In his book Hayek on Liberty, John Gray praises Hayek as a philosopher who "gives us a defence of individual freedom without equal in modern thought," while Friedman finds Hayek to be "the leading philosopher of a liberal society (in the 19th-century sense of a society devoted to promoting freedom)." Ivens concludes that Hayek is "a model political and economic philosopher for the late 20th century."

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history and in us," is interpreted in such a way that the mind "in us," i.e., the 19th-century culturally conditioned mind, is made determinative in a too simple way.

—G. Wayne Glick

von HAYEK, Friedrich (August). British economist. Born in Vienna, Austria, 8 May 1899; emigrated to England, 1931; naturalized, 1938. Studied at the University of Vienna, Dr. Juris. and Ph.D.; University of London, D.Sc. Married Hella von Fritsch (died 1960); 2 children; married Helene Bitterlich. Served in Austrian Civil Service, 1921-26; Director, Austrian Institute for Economic Research, Vienna, 1927-31; Lecturer, University of Vienna, 1929-31; Tooke Professor of Economic Science and Statistics, University of London, 1931-50; Professor of Social and Moral Science, University of Chicago, 1950-62; Professor, University of Freiburg im Breisgau, 1962-70. Recipient: Nobel Prize in Economics, (jointly), 1974; Austrian Distinction for Science and Art, 1975. Honorary doctorate: Rikkyo University, Tokyo, 1964; University of Salzburg, 1974; University of Dallas, 1975; Marroquin University, Guatemala, 1977; Santa Maria University, Valparaiso, Chile, 1977; University of Buenos Aires, 1977. Fellow, British Academy, 1944. Honorary Fellow, London School of Economics; Austrian Academy of Science; American Economic Association; Hoover Institution; and Argentine Academy of Economic Science. Member, Orden pour le Mérite, 1977. Address: Urachstrasse 27, D-7800 Freiburg im Breisgau, Federal Republic of Germany.

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* * *

The significance of Friedrich von Hayek's work is twofold. He is the chief channel through which the Austrian tradition of economics, the main alternative to the British school founded by Adam Smith and David Ricardo, entered the mainstream of discussion in the English-speaking world; and he has created a system of thought which extends far beyond economics to embrace sociology, politics, and even cognitive psychology in a single coherent, unified account which has become increasingly influential in recent years.

A keynote of Austrian economics is that it presents a dynamic rather than static picture of economic life. The classical British approach suggested that movements of prices or levels of production away from "equilibrium" will be unusual, self-righting aberrations. For the Austrians, equilibria are purely hypothetical constructs: demand and supply schedules alter so constantly, in response to changing tastes and technical innovations, that the equilibrium-points where they meet are likely to move more rapidly than economic activity can adapt to them.

Hayek emphasizes the corollary that economic life is a process of discovery, offering many parallels to the process of scientific discovery described by his friend and colleague Karl Popper. Any society must try to discover how best

to use its multifarious means of production in order to satisfy the wants of its members. The potential uses of any particular good, and the goals of different individuals, are so diverse, ever-changing, and inscrutable that any hope of deducing an ideal solution from first principles is out of the question. Instead, economic life must advance by experimentation. Prices, wages, profits, and losses are the means by which information is distributed among the network of economic agents. From the unmanageable ocean of particular economically relevant facts these figures abstract just enough information to enable people to support successful economic experiments and abandon those which fail; but success in this domain is always provisional. We can discover that some productive arrangement is more satisfactory than others tried to date, but we can never know that it will not be made obsolete by an alternative that someone will think up tomorrow.

The notion that human problems are too complex, subjective, and mutable to be resolved by human intelligence applies not merely to economic life but more generally. Hayek's master-idea is that social institutions, in many cases, are "the result of human action but not of human design." Hayek rejects, as dangerously misleading, the Aristotelean dichotomy between the "natural" and the "artificial." Many of our most useful institutions—language is one example, the English Common Law is another—have emerged from a process of cultural evolution lasting over very many generations. They are not "natural" in the sense of being biologically determined, but at the same time they are clearly not "artificial" in the sense of being planned by a guiding intelligence. Hayek argues that such institutions are likely to be far superior in practice to any alternatives that might be created by conscious planning, because they will have been shaped through confrontation with a much wider range of practical considerations than a planner could hope to foresee, and the impact of which he would in any case be unable to assess.

Hayek thinks it dangerous to overlook the existence of such institutions, because this oversight encourages us to mutilate the subtle fabric of society in the attempt to realize simplistic theoretical ideals. Social practices which were not introduced by conscious decision will seem to be mere arbitrary traditional accretions; because we cannot see the point of inherited social conventions we will suppose that they have no point and should be swept away in favour of streamlined, rational alternatives. To ignore the role of cultural evolution is to encourage a kind of "social engineering" which Hayek sees as having emerged in Revolutionary France and spread throughout the 20th-century Western world.

Hayek is hostile to state intervention in the detailed arrangements of society. In the economic field, interventionist policies damage the process of knowledge-generation in two ways. By draining capital away from many private hands towards the central state machine, such policies tend to reduce the incidence of economic experimentation. Economic progress will be most successful when many entrepreneurs are trying out different money-making propositions, just as science advances most successfully when many scientists try out rival theories: competition is crucial in both domains. Perhaps more important, state intervention causes the information-network constituted by the price system to give false signals, so that the results of those economic experiments which are conducted cannot be correctly assessed. To give a simple example: a high

marginal rate of income tax will "tell" the possessor of a rare and valuable expertise that society prefers him to spend Saturdays on do-it-yourself work at home, rather than putting in an extra day at his profession and paying from taxed income for his odd jobs to be done by someone less skilled. This may be directly contrary to the true interests of society.

Many defenders of intervention would justify it in terms not of economic efficiency but of morality. Material equality ought to be promoted by political action, if necessary at some cost in terms of material progress. But for Hayek the notion of material equality as a *possible* (let alone desirable) goal of political action is a delusion: the interventionist policies which would have to be applied in order to approach equality themselves destroy the only yardstick by which inequality can be meaningfully measured. There can be no special virtue in equal money incomes, if the relative prices of the goods which money can buy are influenced by arbitrary State action.

But, while Hayek strongly defends individual freedom against state interference, he is no friend of the anarchic, self-willed approach to life. For Hayek, the advantages of civilization depend crucially on the acceptance by individuals of rules whose rationale will often be obscure and whose consequences in particular situations may be adverse. Hayek condemns Freud for having "destroyed culture" by encouraging people to liberate themselves from traditional emotional shackles. A society must have rules, and some at least of these will need to be state-enforced; but a good framework of rules will be general, will apply to all individuals equally, and will not aim at achieving specific outcomes (as contemporary state action often does)—because a society as a whole is not the kind of entity which can have goals, and the goals of its members are more diverse than a government can reckon with.

Hayek insists that his social philosophy is not conservative but liberal, in the classical sense. The social arrangements produced by cultural evolution should not be seen as unsurpassably excellent: further evolution must be allowed to improve on them, but successful evolution requires competition between alternative practices rather than the imposition of uniform innovation. At the individual level, though, Hayek does not make it wholly clear how one should distinguish a legitimate social experiment from the culture-destroying abandonment of a vital rule of behaviour. Furthermore, the idea of competition between variants leading to selection of the fittest is not wholly unproblematical in the biological field, and Hayek fails to consider problems (e.g., concerning small populations) which seem likely to be particularly troublesome when the units of selection are not individual traits but social institutions.

Hayek's reputation has fluctuated in accordance with the changing temper of the times. He first attracted widespread attention when *The Road to Serfdom* (1944) argued that the welfare state then being planned was not a continuation into peacetime of the battle for individual freedom but, rather, a step towards tyranny which Britain, of all countries, should have known better than to take. In the 1950's and 1960's the virtues of a mild, "mixed economy" type of socialism were so universally accepted that Hayek's social and political views simply ceased to be taken seriously (though his standing as an economist was always secure); in 1967 Anthony Quinton described the discipline of political philosophy as extinct, and dismissed Hayek's *The Constitution of Liberty* (1960) as a "magnificent dinosaur."

In the mid-1970's, as revulsion against the practical results of welfare-state policies spread, Hayek began to come into his own. In the USA he became the guru of the growing "libertarian" movement; in Britain Margaret Thatcher, arguably the most doctrine-minded, unpragmatic Prime Minister for many decades, acknowledged herself as Hayek's disciple. In his eighties Hayek is probably more influential than at any earlier period of his life.

—Geoffrey Sampson

von HÜGEL, Friedrich. British theologian. Born in Florence, Italy, 5 May 1852; succeeded his father as Baron von Hügel in 1870; emigrated to England in 1867; naturalized, 1914. Privately educated. Married Lady Mary Herbert in 1873; 3 daughters. Lived and wrote in London, 1876-1925. Honorary doctorate: University of St. Andrews, Scotland, 1919; Oxford University, 1920. *Died* (in London) 27 January 1925.

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PERSONAL:

Birth: May 08, 1899 in Vienna, Austria. Shared Nobel Prize in economics, 1974.

OCCUPATION: Economist, Author

NATIONALITY: British

SOURCES: Blue Book, 1976 Edition; Contemporary Authors, Volume 93. Gale, 1980; Current Biography, 1945; International Encl of Social Science: Biographical Sup, 1979; International Who's Who. 47th Ed. Europa, 1983; Who's Who, 1985-1986 edition. St. Martin's Press, 1985; Who's Who in America, 38th edition, Marquis, 1974; Who's Who in Economics, 1700-1986. 2nd ed. MIT Press, 1986; Who's Who in the World, 6th edition. Marquis, 1982; World Almanac Book of Who. H.U. Lane, ed. World Alm, 80; Writers Directory, 1986-88. St. James, 1986

Reverend Leon Sullivan is a civil rights leader and pastor emeritus of the Zion Baptist Church in Philadelphia. Reverend Sullivan founded the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America, one of the largest and most prestigious job training organizations in the world, and later founded the International Foundation for Education and Self-Help. In 1971, Leon Sullivan was elected to the Board of Directors of General Motors, becoming the first black man to participate in the direction of a U.S. auto company. A tireless advocate of civil justice in the world, his "Sullivan Principles" called for greater economic involvement by blacks and peaceful change in South Africa during the height of apartheid.

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African American

Fifth Edition

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CONSOLIDATION AND REVERSES (1971-1975)

The period between 1971 and 1975 was full of contrasts. Political leaders increasingly cooled to the political and economic demands of the black electorate, yet there were more black officeholders than at any time in American history, many elected in areas where whites comprise a majority. Opposition to school integration spread from the South to the North, and within the black community, but more blacks than ever were attending integrated schools and colleges. Discontent among blacks in the Armed Forces was manifest, particularly in the Navy, but there were more black servicemen and officers than ever. Many blacks, popularly classified as radicals, were apparently singled out for surveillance, harassment, and prosecution by federal and local officials, but black defendants were successful in a number of landmark courtroom battles. The federal government and much of the business sector clearly failed to follow up on the promise of the civil rights legislation and job training programs of the 1960s, yet more blacks than ever held skilled and responsible positions.

Much of the period was ugly. An increasing number of politicians appealed to, even stimulated, the fears and prejudices of white "ethnics." Instances of extra legal action by the police seemed to increase. But blacks increasingly united, at a series of caucuses and conventions, to present their demands and proclaim pride in their race and culture. This closing of the ranks was symbolized at the Gary Convention in 1972 where Coretta King, widow of the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., and Bobby Seale, a leader of the Black Panthers, sat side by side on the same podium.

1971, January 1 James A. Floyd, a black, is appointed Mayor of Princeton, New Jersey, an affluent university town. His Chief of Police is also black.

1971, January 4 Reverend Leon Howard Sullivan is elected to the Board of Directors of General Motors, the first black man to participate in the direction of a U.S. auto company.

1971, January 5 Bethlehem Steel is charged with job bias through the use of a seniority system which effectively discriminates against blacks. Bethlehem denies the charge, but agrees to establish new hiring, training, and promotion quotas for black employees.

1971, January 6 J. Edgar Hoover reports that attacks on police by black extremists are increasing, but that racial incidents in schools are declining. He concludes that America is "far from the realization of racial harmony."

1971, January 16 Preliminary reports on the 1970 census indicate that since 1960 black population in cities increased 3 million, and white urban population decreased about 2.5 million. Reports also indicate that 1.4 million blacks emigrated from the South in the 1960s and nearly half of these settled in New York or California. Since 1940, the percentage of blacks living in the South has declined from 77 to 53%.

1971, February 4 Eight black federal employees file suit in federal court claiming that the principal test qualifying college graduates for civil service posts is "culturally and racially discriminatory." Defendants in the suit include HUD Secretary Romney.

1971, March 8 FBI files stolen from a Pennsylvania office and released to the press reveal that in November 1970, J. Edgar Hoover ordered an investigation of all groups "organized to project the demands of black (college) students, because they posed a threat to the nation's stability and security."

1971, March 29 President Nixon grants audience to the Congressional black caucus which had been trying to see him for months. The black Congressmen request stronger

welfare services, desegregation, housing, and social justice programs. President Nixon reportedly promises stronger enforcement of civil rights laws. In May, he promises "jobs, income and tangible benefits." Caucus leaders express disappointment.

1971, April 8 Heavyweight champion Joe Frazier becomes the first black man to address the South Carolina Legislature since Reconstruction. He chides the Legislature for not having invited a black sooner.

1971, April 23 The African Heritage Studies Association meeting in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, urges black scholars to study their African heritage and use it to unify their "fragmented race."

1971, April 30 The Joint Center for Political Studies in Washington, D.C. reports that 1,860 blacks now hold elective office in the United States; almost four times the 475 who held office in 1967. However, only three of every 1,000 officeholders in the United States are black, while blacks now represent 12% of the population.

1971, May 4 Georgia's Governor Carter says that it is fortunate the North forced the South to deal with its racial problems and that the South now has a healthier racial climate than the North. Governor Carter's remarks come a week after Tom Wicker, Southern-born columnist for the *New York Times*, noted that Carter and Governor West of South Carolina believe that white Southerners are tired of old racial patterns and think the battle to maintain them has been lost.

1971, May 5 A riot erupts in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn, New York, after thousands of residents take to the streets to protest cuts in state welfare, Medicaid, food stamps, and educational programs. One policeman is shot; 12 are injured. Residents blame police for firing first shots. Police say it was in self-defense. The government is forced by a District Judge to release David Hilliard, Chief of Staff of the Black Panther Party, when it refuses to reveal wiretaps of Hilliard conversations. Hilliard had been arrested on charges of threatening the life of President Nixon during a speech in San Francisco.

REMBERT EDWARDS STOKES
Educator

A.M.E. minister Rembert Edwards Stokes has been president of Wilberforce University since 1956. Born in Dayton, Ohio, in 1917, he was formerly dean of the school's Payne Theological Seminary. He is a trustee of the Cleveland Chapter of the National Conference of Christians and Jews and a member of the Ohio Mental Health Association, the National Council of Churches, and the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

LEON HOWARD SULLIVAN
Clergyman, Executive

Founder and board chairman of the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America, the Reverend Leon Sullivan was born in Charleston, W. Va., in 1922 and ordained a Baptist minister in 1941. In 1944, he was a prominent figure in A. Philip Randolph's successful threat to march on Washington to obtain jobs for blacks. During this period, Sullivan served as an aide to the Rev. Adam Clayton Powell Jr., while the latter was running for Congress. In 1951, Sullivan was named pastor of the Zion Baptist Church, Philadelphia, and in 1964 formed OIC, which soon became one of the largest and most prestigious job training organizations in the world. In 1971, Rev. Sullivan was named a director of General Motors.

ALVIN I. THOMAS
Educator

President of Prairie View A & M College since 1966, Alvin I. Thomas had formerly served the school as industrial arts instructor, woodwork instructor, director of industrial education, and dean of the school of Industrial Education and Technology. Born in New Orleans in 1925, he has been a consultant for the public schools of Texas, Kansas, California, and Ohio, and for Dow Chemical, Litton Industries, and the U.S. Office of Education. He is a member of the National Education Association and the Texas Rural Development Commission.

FRANKLIN THOMAS
Attorney, Administrator

Franklin Thomas, president of the Ford Foundation, is the first black person to head a major philanthropic organization. An attorney, Thomas served as president and chief executive officer of the Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation in Brooklyn from 1967 to 1977, where he helped establish neighborhood businesses, renovate local residences, and create thousands of new jobs. Thomas was born in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn in a stable working-class environment and was the only member of his family to go to college. As a youngster growing up in Bed-Stuy, Thomas avoided street gangs and became active in the Boy Scouts. He developed his skill in basketball on black-top courts and went on to Franklin K. Lane High School where he was captain and star of the basketball team. He also

excelled academically. At Columbia University, Thomas starred on the basketball team and was voted the Ivy League's most valuable player in 1955 and 1956. He became the first black student to serve as captain of the team. In 1963 and 1964 Thomas worked as an adviser and attorney in the regional New York office of the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency, and in 1964, was appointed assistant United States attorney for the Southern District of New York. Thomas was appointed deputy police commissioner of New York City in 1965, the fourth black man to serve in that position. He has served as a director or trustee of several organizations, including the John Hay Whitney Foundation, the Foreign Policy Study Foundation, and the Columbia Law School Alumni Association. Thomas has been on the boards of directors of such corporations as the Columbia Broadcasting System, the Aluminum Corporation of America, the Cummins Engine Company, Allied Stores Corporation, and the New York Life Insurance Corporation.

JAMES S. THOMAS
Clergyman

Bishop James S. Thomas watches over the nearly 1,000 congregations of the United Methodist Church in Iowa and directs the Church's assistance programs. Born in Orangeburg, S.C., in 1919, he has been instrumental in



William Toby, Regional Administrator of the Health Care Financing Administration in Region II.

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SULLIVAN, MICHAEL J., governor, lawyer; b. Omaha, Sept. 23, 1939; s. Joseph Byrne and Margaret (Hamilton) S.; m. Jane Metzler, Sept. 2, 1961; children: Michelle, Patrick, Theresa. BS in Petroleum Engineering, Univ. Wyo., 1961; JD, 1964. Assoc. Brown, Drew, Apostolos, Baras & Massey, Casper, Wyo., 1964-67; ptnr. Brown, Drew, Apostolos, Baras & Massey, Casper, Wyo., 1967-; gov. State of Wyo., Casper, 1987-; Trustee St. Joseph's Children's Home, Torrington, Wyo., Casper, 1987-; bd. dir. Natrona County Meml. Hosp., Casper, 1976-86. Mem. ABA, Wyo. Bar Assn., Assn. Trial Lawyers Am. Wyo. Trial Lawyers Assn. Democrat. Roman Catholic. Lodge: Rotary (spokane river club). Avocations: fly fishing, golf, tennis, jogging. Home: 5001 Central Ave. Cheyenne WY 82002-0010 Office: Office of Gov. State Capitol, Cheyenne WY, 82002-0010*

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Val, 1952-61; Sch. Inf. Serv. Project, ALA, 1963-68; Jr. Coll. Library
 Publ. Dir., Knapp Sch. Library Project, ALA, 1963-68; Jr. Coll. Library
 Info. Ctr., 1968-69; asst. prof. U. Pitts., 1971-73; Jr. Office for Library
 Personnel Resources, ALA, Chgo., 1973-74; dean students, asso. prof. Grad.
 Library Sch., U. Pitts., 1974-77; asst. commr. for extension services Chgo.
 Public Library, 1977-83; dean Coll. Prof. Studies, No. Ill. U., DeKalb,
 1981-; instr. several grad. library edn. programs, 1958-73, UNESCO con-
 on sch. libraries, Australia, 1970; trustee Clarke Coll., 1969-72; sr. ptrn. Abc
 Consultants, 1987-; Author: The O'Donnells, 1956, 1961; *The School
 Library and the Instructional Program*, 1966, Many Names for Eileen, 1969,
Problems in School Media Management, 1971, Carl H. Milam and the
 American Library Association, 1976, *Opportunities in Library and Infor-
 mation Science*, 1977, *Realization: The Final Report of the Knapp School
 Libraries Project*, 1968; (with others) *Public Assn. Smart Practices in
 Personnel*, 1982, *Mem. ALA, Ill. Library Assn., Assn. Library and Info.
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