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Medal of Freedom Awards 12/11/92 [OA 7583] [1]

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release December 11, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT PRESIDENTIAL MEDAL OF FREEDOM PRESENTATION CEREMONY

The East Room

11:45 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Barbara and I thank you all very much. Barbara and I are just delighted to have you here on this special occasion. Welcome to the White House.

I'm going to keep this relatively short today because afterwards Richard Petty and I are going to take a few laps around the Ellipse in No. 43 -- (laughter) -- so we've got plenty to do.

Mr. Vice President and Mrs. Quayle and members of our Cabinet, a special welcome to all of you.

One of the great privileges of being President is being able to recognize and honor some of our finest Americans. And that's exactly what I'm doing today by awarding the Presidential Medal of Freedom to 10 people who have made extraordinary contributions to our country.

Today, freedom is mankind's North Star. And I am grateful that more people have breathed their first breath of freedom over the last four years than at any time in history. And the great question of the Cold War was whether people would put their faith in the state or in themselves. And freedom won, and America enjoys the fruits of victory as people around the world join in the great democratic experiment that we began some 216 years ago.

History honors those people who wrest the torch of freedom from the hands of their oppressors. But in America, that torch lies safely in the hands of the people. And the Presidential Medal of Freedom honors those who carry that torch. And our light of freedom is bright enough to light the world.

Today, every man on the street in Moscow realizes what Americans have always understood. And it is human nature to be free. And just as nature abhors a vacuum, so does human nature abhor the absence of freedom.

And so today in essence by awarding people from these various different pursuits, we celebrate the triumph for freedom by recognizing these 10 American greats who have set an example for the world.

The Presidential Medal of Freedom was reestablished by President John F. Kennedy who tragically did not live to award it. And when President Johnson awarded the medal to its first recipients, he said that President Kennedy had intended the awards as, and here's the quote, "a means of national thanks and encouragement for the selfless effort and the brilliant task." In a sense he was talking about what we refer to here as Points of Light, as a Point of Light, because the definition of a successful life must include serving others. And America's greatness lies not in its government but in

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The President today awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom to the following individuals. The texts of the accompanying citations read as follows:

David Brinkley

"The name David Brinkley is synonymous with television news. From his days as NBC's White House correspondent to his time as co-anchor of the Huntley-Brinkley Report to his Sunday morning show on ABC, David Brinkley has explained the complexities of current events to generations of Americans. With the wisdom of experience and a wry wit, he has informed the Nation's citizens and helped hold its leaders accountable. The United States recognizes his contributions to broadcast journalism."

Johnny Carson

"One of America's greatest television personalities, Johnny Carson left the Nebraska plains to preside over late night TV for almost 30 years. With a quick wit and a sure golf swing, Johnny's good-natured humor kept the pulse of the Nation, and assured us that even in the most difficult times, it was still okay to laugh. The United States honors Johnny Carson, who personifies the heart and humor of America."

Ella Fitzgerald

"Discovered as a teenager at the Apollo Theatre in Harlem, Ella Fitzgerald and her swing style of vocal jazz transcend the times. Her trademark scat captivates audiences, and as a cultural ambassador, her impressive vocal range stretches across oceans and political boundaries. Honored by the Kennedy Center for her lifetime achievements, inducted into the Jazz Hall of Fame, and awarded the National Medal of Arts, it is fitting that the United States honors this "First Lady of Song.""

Audrey Hepburn

"As a gifted actress, Audrey Hepburn captured the hearts of millions. Yet she has a most profound effect on young people who will never know her as a princess in "Roman Holiday," as a model in "Funny Face," or as the woman in black in "Breakfast at Tiffany's." With a passion that rivals her beauty, Audrey Hepburn is a tireless worker and a devoted Special Ambassador for the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. America is proud to honor Audrey Hepburn, a star whose light is reflected not only on movie screens but in the bright smiles of children around the world."

Ieoh Ming Pei

"Perhaps the most famous architect in the world today, I. M. Pei's architectural feats represent the pinnacle of classic modernism. His very name, Ieoh Ming, means "to inscribe brightly," as his buildings have illuminated skylines worldwide. I. M. Pei has found beauty in simplicity and boldness in geometry, setting the standard for modern architecture. For the legacy of artistic elegance he has inscribed in our cities, America honors I. M. Pei."

Richard Lee Petty

"In the world of stock car racing, there is only one King. Richard Petty is more than racing's monarch, he is an American legend. From humble beginnings in Level Cross, North Carolina, Number 43 became one of racing's finest -- and fastest. Winning a record 200 races and seven Daytona 500 victories, Richard Petty found freedom at 175 miles per hour. The United States honors this American hero for exemplifying the dreams, dedication, and drive that make this Nation great."

Harry W. Shlaudeman

"Ambassador Harry Shlaudeman is one of Americas most decorated and masterful Foreign Service officers. In almost four decades of service to eight Presidents, through international crises and war, he has faced every challenge with personal bravery and professional skill. He has demonstrated his loyalty again in 1990, when at the request of the President, he came out of retirement to serve as Ambassador to Nicaragua and helped ensure that nation's peaceful transition to democracy. For his decades of meritorious service, courageous diplomacy, and protection of our interests abroad, the United States commemorates the service of Ambassador Harry Shlaudeman."

Isaac Stern

"Since his debut 56 years ago, Isaac Stern has become one of the world's preeminent violinists. His warm and vibrant interpretations have brought him international acclaim and our Nation's highest honor for artistic merit, the National Medal of Arts. But even beyond his triumphant career, Isaac Stern has enriched the human spirit by broadening the scope of music -- supporting artists from all corners of the world; helping to found the National Endowment for the Arts; and rescuing Carnegie Hall from the wrecking ball. For his support of the arts and his lifetime of achievement, the United States recognizes master violinist Isaac Stern."

General John W. Vessey

General John W. Vessey was the last four-star combat veteran of World War II to retire from active duty. A self-described "mud soldier," the former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff never forgot the men in the field, and he returned from retirement to search for soldiers missing in action in Vietnam. His wise counsel to two Presidents has helped to break an impasse with Hanoi, culminating in Vietnam's recent offer to provide all information about Americans missing in action. The United States honors General John W. Vessey, a soldier/statesman who could not leave anyone behind.

Elie Wiesel

"Few people have seen a darker side of humanity than Elie Wiesel. During World War II, he saw most of his family killed while imprisoned in the Auschwitz and Buchenwald concentration camps. And yet this author, philosopher, and winner of the 1986 Nobel Peace Prize still sees the promise of human tolerance, hope, and faith. He challenges people of all religions to remember the Holocaust, that it may never happen again. His deeply spiritual life and literature remind us that to protect freedom's flame, we must remember that which threatens it. The United States honors this keeper of that flame, Elie Wiesel."

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its people. And it's not enough to be free, we must serve each other.

And each of us -- each of today's award winners certainly understands this. And each is a great American. Their names read like a roll call of American heroes:

Harry Schlaudeman, a tireless crusader for democracy, who after a life of public service came out of retirement two years ago to ensure Nicaragua's peaceful transition to democracy.

And David Brinkley, the elder statesman of broadcast journalism. His record speaks for itself.

Richard Petty, who rose from humble beginnings in Level Cross, North Carolina, to become "The King" of stockcar racing.

General Vessey, who was the ultimate never-say-die soldier, the last four-star combat veteran of World War II to retire. And General Vessey came out of retirement to counsel my predecessor and me and to help us reach full accounting of all of our Vietnam veterans. And he's still engaged in this pursuit.

Elie Wiesel is another type of veteran of World War II who survived the Holocaust and still today keeps watch against the forces of hatred.

And Isaac Stern, one of the greatest violinists of our time who has brought music to countless others.

And I.M. Pei, the modern -- modernist architect whose work graces skylines worldwide.

To much of America Johnny Carson was late-night TV. And with decency and style, he's made America laugh and think. And Johnny, I don't care what you say, I still think Dana Carvey does a better impersonation of you than he does of me. (Laughter.)

And finally, two special medal recipients who couldn't be with us today, by doctors orders, Ella Fitzgerald and Audrey Hepburn are unable to join us. Ella Fitzgerald has changed the face of jazz since she was discovered as a teenager. And she is an American music legend.

And Audrey Hepburn, whose acting career put her among out most talented artists, but whose work with the International Children's Emergency Fund put her in our hearts. And I wish they could be with us today so that I could recognize them personally on behalf of our nation.

Today, we reward your greatness with America's highest civilian honor, the Presidential Medal of Freedom. And you will join the ranks of our nation's greatest public servants, scholars and entertainers. And if you'll please step forward to receive your medal, as Commander Joe Walsh reads the citation.

(Medals are presented.)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think that concludes are ceremony. And Barbara and I would love to greet you all out here. And it's been a great pleasure to have everybody here, but a special pleasure to be able to honor the 10 so recognized today.

Thank you all for coming. (Applause.)

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Remarks on Presenting the Presidential Medal of Freedom Awards

November 18, 1991

Welcome. Welcome, and please be seated. Let me first single out President Ford and say how pleased we are to have him here. And of course, members of our Cabinet over here. And especially today, the families and friends of the recipients.

It's a special honor to have the privilege of presenting the Nation's highest civilian award: the Presidential Medal of Freedom. Since the first Presidential Medal, since those first 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 is awarded to war heroes like General Doolittle, Jimmy Doolittle; General Schwarzkopf; diplomats and public servants like Jim Baker and 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.

And each of these extraordinary individuals were pioneers in their own right, each a monument to individual achievement. I'll never forget that November night 2 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 10 men and women who have enriched our 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 one of the largest journals 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. Leon has been a voice of reason throughout the latter half of this century. A vigorous proponent of equal rights for all, Reverend Sullivan founded OIC, 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 referred to 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 whom I don't see sitting here—oops, there he is over on the—don't say anything—[*laughter*]—is an American legend, a remarkable figure in American sports and a twice-tested war hero. At the height of his athletic career, he answered the call of patriotism, serving his country in both World War II and the Korean war—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." [*Laughter*] Ted, congratulations.

Former First Lady Betty Ford, she 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 50 years ago, Tip entered the rough-and-tumble of Massachusetts politics and soon became the Bay State's first Democratic speaker. Throughout 40 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. He is a tough partisan. Jerry, would you agree to that? [*Laughter*] But above all, far more important, a true patriot. Congratulations.

And to former Puerto Rico Governor Don Luis Ferré, an old friend. He's known as the grand old man of Puerto Rico. Beloved by his people as a patron 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. And sir, we honor you today as an extraordinary leader in the life of Puerto Rico.

Historian and humanist Hanna Gray is a world-class educator, the first woman to serve as president of a major university, the University of Chicago. Throughout her career, Mrs. Gray has 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 World War II. Nearly half a century later, he was our Ambassador to Germany during the fall of the Berlin Wall. In the years between, he served six Presidents as a statesman, an ambassador, and a 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, sir, to the cause of peace and the American ideal, we thank you.

And 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 40 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. Professor von Hayek is revered by the free people of Central and Eastern Europe as a true visionary, and recognized worldwide as a revolutionary in intellectual and political thought. 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 indeed indebted to each of our honorees. You have touched us. You have enriched us. You have shaped our Nation's destiny. And you've also shown us the strength and joy of a simple but powerful idea: the idea of freedom.

God bless each of you, and may God bless our country. And now Barbara and I have the honor to present these awards, and the aide will read the citations for us.

[*At this point the President and Mrs. Bush presented the Medals of Freedom.*]

That concludes the ceremony. And Barbara and I look forward to greeting all of you out here. And we'll see you in a minute.

Note: The President spoke at 11:30 a.m. on the State Floor at the White House.

Nomination of John Hubert Kelly To Be United States Ambassador to the Republic of Finland

November 18, 1991

The President today announced his intention to nominate John Hubert Kelly, of

democracy in Korea is on course and is moving inexorably forward. Commensurate with its political economic development, Korea is determined to assume appropriate roles and responsibilities in the international community. I believe that Korea and the United States should closely cooperate and encourage changes that will remove tension, instability, and the barrier which divides the Korea peninsula.

Mr. President, as valued partners, Korea and the United States together shall usher in a free, new, peaceful, and prosperous Pacific era in the 21st century. Our meeting today heralds this commitment to the Pacific and to the world.

Ladies and gentlemen, please join me in a toast to the health of President and Mrs. Bush, to the ever-enduring prosperity of the United States of America, and to the lasting friendship between Korea and the United States. Thank you.

Note: President Bush spoke at 8:07 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House. President Roh spoke in Korean, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the Presidential Medals of Freedom and Presidential Citizen's Medals
July 3, 1991

Thank you all very much. Welcome, all of you, to the White House. And particular greetings to those who have come from State, Defense, the intelligence community, the NSC, and other Agencies in this big government. And a special welcome to the Cabinet members who are here and to our diplomats who are honoring us with their presence and to those outside of government who played such a crucial role in building public support for Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm.

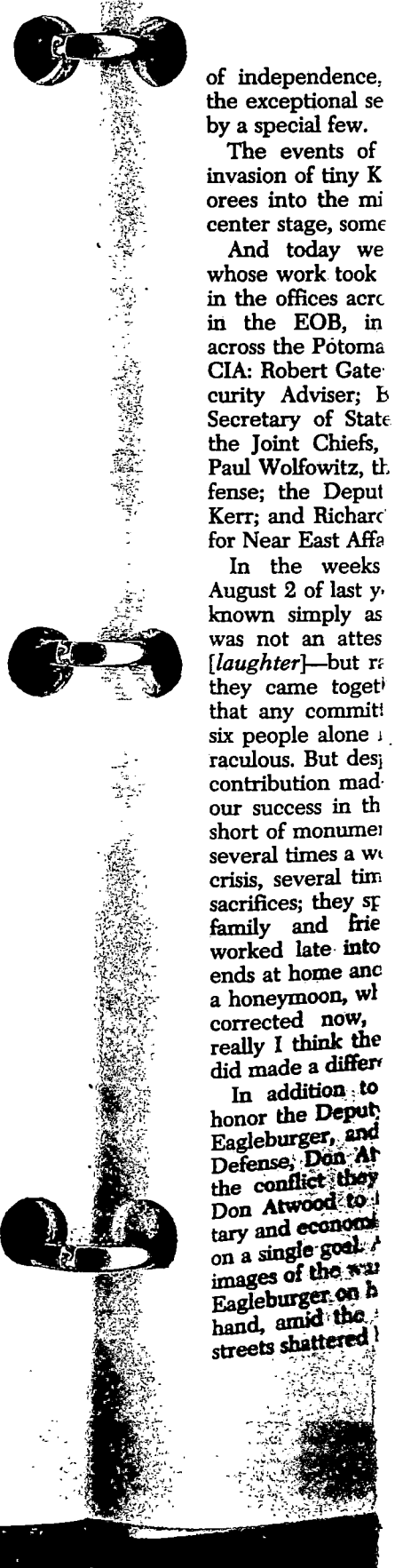
Tomorrow, all across this country, Americans will celebrate the birth of our nation, a day of fireworks and family and parades. And I know many of us are going to participate. I'm looking forward to a small-town parade and then another one in Michigan in the afternoon. And it will be a great Fourth of July. But I think this year, these festivities take on a very special significance, as we properly celebrate the safe return of our sons and daughters from the Gulf. And we honor those who have fallen in the cause of freedom.

We date our independence from the Declaration of July 4, 1776. But the truth is, that in the eyes of the world, the full meaning of America's triumph remained in question well after our revolution was won. And it wasn't until the War of 1812 and the decisive defeat—with all respect Ambassador Acland—[*laughter*]—of the British forces—if I'd known you were going to be here, I'd have changed this—[*laughter*]—at the Battle of New Orleans. This is historical fact—[*laughter*]—that America truly seized the world's attention, and Americans truly believed that they had arrived as a nation. That victory helped to shape our new nation and move our country toward a destiny that few dreamed possible.

Like that early battle, Desert Storm marks another turning point in America's destiny. The young men and women we've welcomed home from the Gulf return to a nation far different than the one they left: They come home to a country that is confident and proud, an America that is sure of itself and strong, an America other nations look to for leadership. That's been true in the past, but I think there is a newfound credibility around the world. And Desert Storm proved once more that America's strength of character begins in the heart of every individual.

And it's always risky to single out a few for special honors, especially in this case, where so many inside the Government and out of government played such vital roles in Desert Storm. Today, here in the White House, we honor 10 Americans, 10 of the hundreds of thousands of heroes who answered the call, who honored the American ideal in ways that warrant special recognition.

Normally, the honors conferred today are given for a lifetime of service or near the end of a long career marked by distinction. But in Desert Storm, we have, you see, a watershed event—so unique, so singular given the history of the past half-century—that it is fitting, particularly before our day



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of independence, that we recognize now the exceptional service which was rendered by a special few.

The events of August 2d—Iraq's brutal invasion of tiny Kuwait—thrust today's honorees into the midst of history; some were center stage, some behind the scenes.

And today we begin by honoring six whose work took place out of the spotlight, in the offices across from the White House, in the EOB, in the State Department, across the Potomac at the Pentagon and the CIA: Robert Gates, the Deputy National Security Adviser; Bob Kimmitt, the Under Secretary of State; the Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, Admiral Dave Jeremiah; Paul Wolfowitz, the Under Secretary of Defense; the Deputy Director of CIA, Dick Kerr; and Richard Haass, the NSC Director for Near East Affairs.

In the weeks and the months after August 2 of last year, these six men became known simply as the "small group." This was not an attestation to their intellect—[*laughter*]—but rather to the way in which they came together. And now you know that any committee in this city limited to six people alone is indeed small. It was miraculous. But despite the modest name, the contribution made by the "small group" to our success in the Gulf was really nothing short of monumental. That small group met several times a week, and at the peak of the crisis, several times a day. And they made sacrifices; they spent long hours away from family and friends. And literally they worked late into the night, missed weekends at home and holidays and, in one case, a honeymoon, which I understand has been corrected now, Richard. [*Laughter*] But really I think the bottom line is what they did made a difference.

In addition to these six men, we also honor the Deputy Secretary of State, Larry Eagleburger, and the Deputy Secretary of Defense, Don Atwood, because throughout the conflict they both worked tirelessly—Don Atwood to focus the formidable military and economic resources of the coalition on a single goal. And among the many vivid images of the war, we will remember Larry Eagleburger on his mission to Israel, cane in hand, amid the torn and twisted ruins on streets shattered by a Scud attack.

To Larry and Don and to Bob Gates and Bob Kimmitt, to Paul and Dick and Dave and Richard: our heartfelt thanks. Your nation honors you. In recognition of your critical contributions to the success of Desert Storm, I take pride in presenting to each of you the Presidential Citizen's Medal.

[*At this point, the medals were presented.*]

The next two men that we honor today need little in the way of introduction. They would be the first to tell us that we owe our success in Desert Storm to the real heroes, the brave men and women who served so proudly in the Gulf, who, half a world away, upheld the American ideal. Well, I've met with many of our sons and daughters who fought in the Gulf, and they are the heroes of Desert Storm. No question about that, they are the ones. But let me tell you what I know, something that speaks volumes about the stature of the two men we now honor. These are the men that our heroes look up to: General Norman Schwarzkopf and General Colin Powell.

General Schwarzkopf and Chairman Powell, your commitment and good counsel, your deep compassion for every one of the thousands of men and women under your command will always be remembered. Your objective was clear: It was the liberation of Kuwait. But our victory secured more than even the precious freedom of that small country. Desert Storm marked the end of an era of self-doubt and lingering uncertainty about America's staying power and sense of purpose.

Under your leadership, America sent its sons and daughters to confront an enemy abroad, and in the process, you transformed a nation here at home. Desert Storm dispelled all doubt: America is and America always will be a force for good in the world.

As President, and in this instance as Commander in Chief, on behalf of a grateful nation I now present to General Schwarzkopf and to General Powell the highest civil honor that this country can bestow: the Medal of Freedom.

[*At this point, the medals were presented.*]

Well, as I think history will show that we had a great team here, at the Pentagon, out at Langley, and in many other departments

of this government. It was a team effort, and I will always be very grateful to those who were at my side here in the White House, particularly the Vice President and the Chief of Staff, to the Director of Central Intelligence, Bill Webster.

Having said that, in my view, this ceremony would not be complete without honoring three more American leaders, exceptional public servants who each contributed singularly to our success in the Gulf: Secretary of State Jim Baker, Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney, and National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft.

Few Presidents have been better served at a crucial point in American history than I have by these three and by the men and women who work for them at State and Defense and at NSC.

Secretary Baker pursued every avenue to a diplomatic solution to this crisis, traveling tens of thousands of miles to seek any way possible to achieve Iraq's unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait.

I think history, as we look back, will say that nowhere were his achievements more marked than at the United Nations. The U.N. Security Council adopted 12 resolutions dealing with the Gulf crisis, including an historic—perhaps unprecedented—resolution authorizing the use of force to expel Iraq from Kuwait.

Jim worked with our European allies, the Congress, our friends in the Middle East, the Soviets, and countries around the world to achieve our goals. And he stood up for American principles and in the process he earned the admiration of the world.

As to Dick Cheney—Secretary Cheney not only oversaw one of the largest deployments of forces in American history but also worked hard at the beginning of the crisis to ensure that America would respond decisively to aggression. His effective testimony before the United States Congress helped all our fellow countrymen understand what was at stake in the Gulf. Working swiftly, yet skillfully when time was truly of the essence, he traveled to Saudi Arabia and arranged for the first deployment of U.S. and coalition troops to that nation. And when war came America was ready, and Secretary Cheney's leadership contributed enormously to the victory.

And lastly, but not leastly, Brent Scowcroft. As National Security Adviser, he was at my side—poor guy—[*laughter*] throughout the crisis, quite literally, from the early morning hours on August 2d until victory. He performed superbly every step of the way, coordinating the various national security agencies as they prepared recommendations for the National Security Council and for me, and working with our coalition partners. Put simply, he ensured that I received the unfettered advice of our key national security members. He offered his own consistently sage counsel and practical advice on all aspects of the crisis. A true patriot, General Scowcroft is, in a very real sense, one of the unsung heroes of the Gulf war.

And now it is my great pleasure on behalf of the United States—and particularly on behalf of all those who served in Operation Desert Shield and Desert Storm—to conclude this ceremony by presenting the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Jim Baker, Dick Cheney, and Brent Scowcroft.

[*At this point, the medals were presented.*]

And now, in conclusion, may I ask the Ambassadors from the various countries represented here today to stand up. We've honored Americans today, but this was truly a coalition effort and we're very pleased to see you all here. Would you please stand?

Thank you all. That concludes the ceremony. And may everybody have a wonderful Fourth of July. Thank you all for coming.

***Note:** The President spoke at 10 a.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to British Ambassador to the United States Antony Acland; Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, Commander of the U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf; Gen. Colin L. Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; and John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President.*

Remarks on the F the Mount Rushn Memorial in the I Dakota

July 3, 1991

Thank you, and t
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Air Force. Thank yc

What a personal
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(Walters/Smith)
December 5, 1992
Draft One
[MEDAL]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: MEDAL OF FREEDOM AWARDS
DECEMBER 11, 1992, TIME T.B.A

[Acknowledgements] Thank you all for coming and welcome to the White House. [[I'm going to keep this short today, because afterwards, Richard Petty and I are going to take a few laps around the ellipse in Number 43.]]

One of the great privileges of being America's President is being able to recognize some of our finest Americans. And that is exactly what we're doing today by awarding the National Medal of Freedom to ten people who have made extraordinary contributions to our Nation.

Today, freedom is ~~truly~~ mankind's north star, and I'm proud to say that more people have breathed their first breath of freedom in the last four years than at any point in history. The great question of the Cold War was whether people would put their faith in the state, or in themselves. // Freedom won, and America enjoys the fruits of victory as people around the world join in the great democratic experiment we began 216 years ago.

History honors those people who wrest the torch of freedom from the hands of their oppressors. // But in America, that torch lies safely in the hands of the people, and the Medal of Freedom honors those who carry that torch. Our light of freedom is bright enough to light up the world.

Today, ~~even~~ every? ~~the~~ man on the street in Moscow realizes what Americans have always understood -- it is human nature to be free. Just as nature abhors a vacuum, so does human nature abhor the absence of freedom. So today we celebrate the triumph of freedom by recognizing ten American greats who have set an example for the world.

The National Medal of Freedom was conceived by President John F. Kennedy -- who, tragically, did not live to award ~~them~~ it. When President Johnson awarded the medal to its first recipients, he said that President Kennedy had intended the awards as --and I quote-- "a means of national thanks and encouragement for the selfless effort and the brilliant task." In a sense, he was talking about what I call a Point of Light, ~~recognizing that~~ it ~~means~~ means the definition of a successful life must include serving others.

America's greatness lies not in its government ~~programs~~, but in its people. It is not enough to be free; we must serve each other. Each of today's award winners understands this. Each is a great American.

Today we reward your greatness with America's highest civilian honor, the National Medal of Freedom. You will join the ranks of our Nation's greatest entertainers, heroes, public servants, and scholars. If you will please step forward to receive your medal as my military aide reads the citation:

[Military aide reads citations of medal winners, who receive the awards.]

That concludes the ceremony. It's a pleasure for [[Barbara and]] me to be in your company, and on behalf of the nation, you have our sincere gratitude. Thank you all for coming.

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December 7, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR DAN MC GROARTY

FROM: ED WALTERS

SUBJECT: LAW SCHOOL LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

Here it is -- the packet you've been waiting for. I have enclosed the recommendation forms for 11 law schools. Pink Post-it's mark the action areas of the forms. They are separated according to whether you should return them to me or send them directly to the school.

I know these are a real pain. I can't thank you enough for your help. If you have any questions, please don't hesitate to ask. Keep your fingers crossed!

Ed – I'd like to see the next draft this morning. Thanks Smitty DMcG

need set up before blanket joke – a reference to all winners, as segue to Petty.

(Walters)
December 5, 1992
Draft One
[MEDAL]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: MEDAL OF FREEDOM AWARDS
DECEMBER 11, 1992, TIME T.B.A

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Today, ~~even our counterparts~~ the man on the street in Moscow realize what Americans

have always understood -- it is human nature to be free. Just as nature abhors a vacuum, so does human nature abhor ~~the absence of~~ freedom. So today we celebrate the triumph of ~~human~~ freedom by celebrating ~~those~~ American greats who have ~~set an example the world can live by.~~

[Good freedom anecdote]

The National Medal of Freedom was conceived by President John F. Kennedy, who, ~~had selected winners, and then was assassinated before he could award them.~~ When President Johnson awarded the medal to its first recipients, he said that President Kennedy had intended the awards as "a means of national thanks and encouragement for the selfless effort and the brilliant task," what I ~~might call a~~ Point of Light.

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Walters/Martin/Aarhus
November 25, 1992
12:00 noon
[MOF]

CITATIONS FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL MEDALS OF FREEDOM,
DECEMBER 11, 1992
TIME TBD

JOHNNY CARSON

The greatest talk show host in television history, Johnny Carson left the Nebraska plains to preside over late night TV for almost 30 years. With a quick wit and a sure golf swing, Johnny kept the pulse of the nation, and assured us that even in the most difficult times, it was still okay to laugh. The United States honors Johnny Carson, who personifies American humor and America's heart.

HARRY SHLAUDEMAN

Ambassador Harry Shlaudeman is one of America's most decorated and masterful foreign service officers. In almost four decades of service to eight Presidents, he has faced adverse circumstances, crises, and war with personal bravery and professional skill. He demonstrated his loyalty again in 1990, when at the request of the President, he came out of retirement to serve as Ambassador to Nicaragua and helped ensure that nation's peaceful transition to democracy. For his decades of meritorious service, courageous diplomacy, and protection of our interests abroad, the United States commemorates the service of Ambassador Harry Shlaudeman.

DAVID BRINKLEY

The name David Brinkley is synonymous with television news. From his days as NBC's White House correspondent to his time as co-anchor of the Huntley-Brinkley Report to his Sunday morning show on ABC, David Brinkley has explained the complexities of government to generations of Americans. With the wisdom of experience and a wry wit, he has informed our decisions and held our leaders accountable. The United States recognizes his contributions to broadcast journalism.

Walters/Martin/Aarhus
November 25, 1992
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[MOF]

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In the world of professional racing, there is only one King. Richard Petty is more than racing's monarch, he is an American legend. From humble beginnings in Level Cross, North Carolina, Number 43 became one of racing's finest -- and fastest. Winning a record 200 races and seven Daytona 500 victories, Richard Petty found freedom at 175 miles per hour. The United States honors this American hero for exemplifying the American dream and the dedication and drive that makes this nation great.

GENERAL JOHN M. VESSEY

General John M. Vessey was the last four-star combat veteran of World War II to retire from active duty. A self-described "mud soldier," the former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff never forgot the men in the field, and he returned from retirement to search for soldiers missing in action in Vietnam. His wise counsel to two Presidents has helped to break an impasse with Hanoi, culminating in Vietnam's recent offer to provide all information about Americans missing in action. The United States honors General John M. Vessey, a soldier/statesman who would not leave anyone behind.

ELIE WIESEL

Few people have seen a darker side of humanity than Elie Wiesel. During World War II, he saw most of his family killed while imprisoned in the Auschwitz and Buchenwald concentration camps. And yet this author, philosopher and winner of the 1986 Nobel Peace Prize still sees the promise of human tolerance, learning, and faith. He challenges people of all religions to remember the Holocaust, that it may never happen again. His deeply spiritual life and literature remind us that to protect freedom's flame, we must remember that which threatens it. The United States honors this keeper of that flame, Elie Wiesel.

ISAAC STERN

Since his debut 56 years ago, Isaac Stern has become one of the world's pre-eminent violinists. His warm and vibrant interpretations have brought him international acclaim and our nation's highest honor for artistic merit, the National Medal of Arts. But even beyond his triumphant career, Isaac Stern has enriched the human spirit by broadening the scope of music -- supporting artists from all corners of the world; helping to found the National Endowment for the Arts; and rescuing Carnegie Hall from the wrecking ball. For his support of the arts and his lifetime of achievement, the United States recognizes master violinist Isaac Stern.

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Discovered as a teenager at the Apollo Theatre in Harlem, Ella Fitzgerald and her swing style of vocal jazz transcend the times. As a cultural ambassador, her trademark scat captivates audiences, and her impressive vocal range stretches across oceans and political boundaries. Honored by the Kennedy Center for her lifetime achievements, inducted into the Jazz Hall of Fame, and awarded a Medal of Arts, it is fitting that the United States honors this "First Lady of Song".

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As a gifted actress, Audrey Hepburn captured the hearts of millions. Yet she has a most profound effect on young people who will never know her as a princess in "Roman Holiday", as a model in "Funny Face", or as the woman in black in "Breakfast at Tiffany's". With a passion that rivals her beauty, Audrey Hepburn is a tireless worker and a devoted Special Ambassador for the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. America is proud to honor Audrey Hepburn, a star whose light is reflected not only on movie screens but in the bright smiles of children around the world.

Walters/Martin/Aarhus
November 24, 1992
10:00 a.m.
[MOF]

CITATIONS FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL MEDALS OF FREEDOM,
DECEMBER 11, 1992
TIME TBD

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Walters/Martin/Aarhus
November 24, 1992
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The President of the United States of America

Awards this

Presidential Medal of Freedom

to

VERNON A. WALTERS

As a soldier and statesman, General Vernon Walters has made service to his country his life's work. He served six Presidents with distinction during a half century of kaleidoscopic change, from World War II through the long Cold War to the fall of the Berlin Wall. He has served on the battlefields of Europe and in the councils of NATO, at the UN and CIA, as Ambassador and aide to Presidents. This extraordinary adventurer and intellectual has offered his diplomatic, linguistic, and tactical skills to the cause of world peace and individual liberty. America honors this steadfast defender of our interests and ideals, this true champion of freedom.

George Bush

The White House
Washington, D.C., November 18, 1991

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release December 9, 1992

On December 11 the President will award the Presidential Medal of Freedom to the following individuals:

David Brinkley, broadcast journalist.

Johnny Carson, television personality.

Ella Fitzgerald, jazz vocalist.

Audrey Hepburn, actress, humanitarian.

Ieoh Ming Pei, architect.

Richard Lee Petty, professional stock car driver.

Harry W. Shlaudeman, diplomat, former Ambassador to Nicaragua.

Isaac Stern, violinist, patron of the arts.

General John W. Vessey, soldier/statesman, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Elie Wiesel, author, philosopher.

The Presidential Medal of Freedom is the Nation's highest civil award. It may be awarded only by the President of the United States to persons who have made especially meritorious contributions to the security or national interests of the United States, to world peace, or to cultural or other significant public or private endeavors.

# # #

Gold for Their Mettle

White House Honors 10 With Freedom Award

By Phil McCombs
Washington Post Staff Writer

On a raw and gloomy day, in the warm glow of the East Room of the White House, under sparkling chandeliers and flanked by four huge Christmas trees, the President and Barbara Bush presented the Medal of Freedom to 10 American "greats," including one who, the citation said, "found freedom at 175 miles per hour."

Bush himself may have found a kind of freedom, it seemed yesterday, judging by his relaxed and cheerful demeanor. He started off with a quip about how he wanted to keep it short, because he and stock car racing king Richard Lee Petty "are gonna take a few laps around the Ellipse in No. 43."

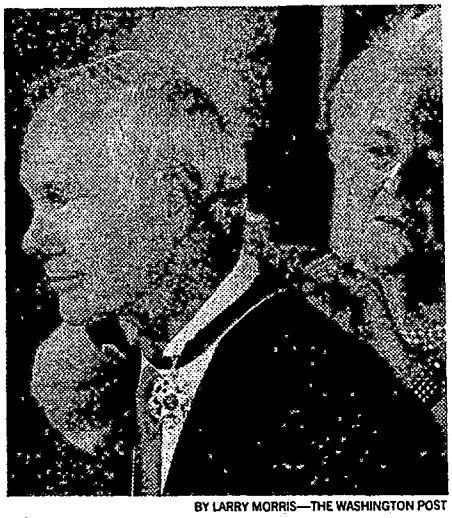
Bush called the honorees "a roll call of American heros," whom he chose for the nation's highest civilian honor for lifetimes of excelling at "the selfless effort and the brilliant task": broadcast newsman David Brinkley, television host Johnny Carson, singer Ella Fitzgerald, actor Audrey Hepburn, architect I.M. Pei, Petty, diplomat Harry W. Shlaudeman, violinist Isaac Stern, Army Gen. John W. Vessey and Holocaust survivor and memorialist Elie Wiesel.

And there they sat, all in a row up front, mostly white-haired heads, and balding heads, at least from what you could see from back in the press area. Fitzgerald and Hepburn weren't there, on "doctors' orders," according to Bush; Hepburn had surgery for colon cancer last month.

Vice President Quayle, chipper and pink-tied, went down the row shaking hands. He laughed with Carson, who had spent many a late hour cracking jokes about him. He gave Petty a man-to-man type shoulder shove, and Wiesel an empathetic hug.

"Our light of freedom is bright enough to light the world," Bush told an audience that included a couple hundred dignitaries and friends and relatives of the honorees. " . . . Today, every man on the street in Moscow realizes what Americans have always understood, that it is human nature to be free. . . . And America's greatness lies not in its government but in its people."

Then he gave a little rundown on each awardee, starting with "Shlaudeman, a tireless crusader for democracy who, after a life of public service, came out of retirement two years ago to ensure Nicaragua's peaceful transition to democracy. . . . Brinkley, the elder statesman of broadcast journalism. . . . Petty, who rose from humble beginnings in Level Cross, North Carolina. . . . Vessey, who was the ultimate never-say-die soldier, the last four-star combat veteran of World War II to retire. And General Vessey came out of retirement to counsel my predecessor and me and to help us reach full accounting of all of our Vietnam veterans, and he's still engaged in this pursuit.



BY LARRY MORRIS—THE WASHINGTON POST

Johnny Carson is decorated by the First Lady.

"Elie Wiesel is another type of veteran of World War II, who survived the Holocaust and still today keeps watch against the forces of hatred. And Isaac Stern, one of the greatest violinists of our time. . . . Pei, the modernist architect, whose work graces skylines worldwide. . . . Carson *was* late-night TV, and with decency and style he's made America laugh and think."

Here he looked at Carson, saying, "And Johnny, I don't care what you say, I still think Dana Carvey does a better impersonation of you than he does of me." It got a good laugh.

"Fitzgerald," he went on, "has changed the face of jazz since she was discovered as a teenager, and she is an American music legend. . . . Hepburn, whose acting career put her among our most talented artists, but whose work with the International Children's Emergency Fund put her in our hearts."

They came up one by one and the First Lady hung the gold medals, on wide blue-and-white ribbons, around their necks. Everyone smiled. Brinkley seemed stooped, Carson erect, Petty macho, Shlaudeman proper, Stern passionate, Vessey vigorous, Wiesel sad, Bush bright, Barbara beaming.

The formalities over, the soft strains of "Greensleeves" began drifting in from the foyer, where a military band was playing before the formal lunch. Leaving the White House later, Petty said, "I'm in a different world, that's for sure. I've heard tell of all these people. Then to be thrown into the same situation with them . . . makes you feel good, makes you feel big and really proud of what's going on," the Associated Press reported.

And Wiesel, the AP reported, called it a great honor.

"After all," said the Nobel laureate, who, as a Hungarian Jewish child, had suffered horrors beyond imagining in Auschwitz and Buchenwald, "I came here as a refugee and now, to get this medal of recognition, means something to me. It means so much to all the refugees who have come, and will come."

This decision does not represent a change in the attitude of the U.S. Government toward Libya. We remain deeply concerned about Qadhafi's continued support for terrorism and subversion as well as Libyan efforts to develop a chemical weapons capability.

Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the Presidential Medal of Freedom

January 19, 1989

The President. When we finish this luncheon, I hope you'll stick around a little while. We're having a tag sale upstairs, and everything must go. [*Laughter*] But, really, thank you all for coming to be with us here today.

Truly, one of the privileges of this office which I've found greatest joy in exercising has been the opportunity to present our nation's highest civilian honor, the Medal of Freedom. To stand, as I have had the honor of doing, with the recipients of this award has been to stand with the flesh and blood and spirit that is the greatness of America, men and women who have so greatly served our nation and helped keep her free. The contribution of each recipient has been unique and noteworthy, and today is no exception, as we honor two remarkable Americans: Mike Mansfield and George Shultz.

Mike Mansfield has dedicated the entirety of a very long and productive lifetime to public service. He served in both Houses of Congress, spanning seven Presidents, and held the post of Senate majority leader longer than any other person. A former professor of Far Eastern history, he played an important part in shaping America's Asian policy, serving on both the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and then as our Ambassador to Japan. For a sizable portion of America's history as a nation, Mike Mansfield has been in service to his country.

George Shultz—why did my voice crack just as I got to you—[*laughter*]—George Shultz has been a marine, an academic, and a businessman, and a public servant. He has held four Cabinet-level posts, distinguishing himself as a Secretary of Labor, Director of the Office of Management and Budget, Treasury Secretary, and finally as one of America's great Secretaries of State. Over the last 6½ years, in managing our foreign policy, he has served wisely and met great challenges and great opportunities. George Shultz has helped to make the world a freer and more peaceful place.

And there's nothing so precious and irreplaceable as America's freedom. In a speech I gave 25 years ago, I told a story that I think bears repeating. Two friends of mine were talking to a refugee from Communist Cuba. He had escaped from Castro, and as he told the story of his horrible experiences, one of my friends turned to the other and said, "We don't know how lucky we are." And the Cuban stopped and said, "How lucky you are? I had someplace to escape to."

Well, no, America's freedom does not belong to just one nation. We're custodians of freedom for the world. In Philadelphia, two centuries ago, James Allen wrote in his diary that "If we fail, liberty no longer continues an inhabitant of this globe." Well, we didn't fail. And still, we must not fail. For freedom is not the property of one generation; it's the obligation of this and every generation. It's our duty to protect it and expand it and pass it undiminished to those still unborn.

Now, tomorrow is a special day for me. I'm going to receive my gold watch. And since this is the last speech that I will give as President, I think it's fitting to leave one final thought, an observation about a country which I love. It was stated best in a letter I received not long ago. A man wrote me and said: "You can go to live in France, but you cannot become a Frenchman. You can go to live in Germany or Turkey or

Japan, but you cannot become a German, a Turk, or a Japanese. But anyone, from any corner of the Earth, can come to live in America and become an American."

Yes, the torch of Lady Liberty symbolizes our freedom and represents our heritage, the compact with our parents, our grandparents, and our ancestors. It is that lady who gives us our great and special place in the world. For it's the great life force of each generation of new Americans that guarantees that America's triumph shall continue unsurpassed into the next century and beyond. Other countries may seek to compete with us; but in one vital area, as a beacon of freedom and opportunity that draws the people of the world, no country on Earth comes close.

This, I believe, is one of the most important sources of America's greatness. We lead the world because, unique among nations, we draw our people—our strength—from every country and every corner of the world. And by doing so we continuously renew and enrich our nation. While other countries cling to the stale past, here in America we breathe life into dreams. We create the future, and the world follows us into tomorrow. Thanks to each wave of new arrivals to this land of opportunity, we're a nation forever young, forever bursting with energy and new ideas, and always on the cutting edge, always leading the world to the next frontier. This quality is vital to our future as a nation. If we ever closed the door to new Americans, our leadership in the world would soon be lost.

A number of years ago, an American student traveling in Europe took an East German ship across the Baltic Sea. One of the ship's crewmembers from East Germany, a man in his sixties, struck up a conversation with the American student. After a while the student asked the man how he had learned such good English. And the man explained that he had once lived in America. He said that for over a year he had worked as a farmer in Oklahoma and California, that he had planted tomatoes and picked ripe melons. It was, the man said, the happiest time of his life. Well, the student, who had seen the awful conditions behind the Iron Curtain, blurted out the question, "Well, why did you ever leave?" "I had to," he said, "the war ended." The man had been in America as a German prisoner of war.

Now, I don't tell this story to make the case for former POW's. Instead, I tell this story just to remind you of the magical, intoxicating power of America. We may sometimes forget it, but others do not. Even a man from a country at war with the United States, while held here as a prisoner, could fall in love with us. Those who become American citizens love this country even more. And that's why the Statue of Liberty lifts her lamp to welcome them to the golden door.

It is bold men and women, yearning for freedom and opportunity, who leave their homelands and come to a new country to start their lives over. They believe in the American dream. And over and over, they make it come true for themselves, for their children, and for others. They give more than they receive. They labor and succeed. And often they are entrepreneurs. But their greatest contribution is more than economic, because they understand in a special way how glorious it is to be an American. They renew our pride and gratitude in the United States of America, the greatest, freest nation in the world—the last, best hope of man on Earth.

The Medal of Freedom represents the reverence the American people have for liberty, and it honors the men and women who through their lives do greatest honor to that freedom. The lives of the two men we honor here today tell a story about freedom and all its possibilities and responsibilities, and, well, both those that inhere in each free man and woman and those that fall upon a great and free nation. Our honorees have dedicated their lives to preserving and protecting America's freedom. They have engaged themselves in the larger cause, that of humanity and of the world, to help extend freedom to people of other lands. There is no task more fitting for Americans than that.

So, I will now read the citations for our two very distinguished award recipients and present to them their medals. Perhaps I should mention that our first recipient today—the one who calls me kid—[*laughter*]—is the son of in
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ter]—is the son of immigrants, from a country called Ireland.

And now, if Michael Mansfield and George Shultz would please come forward. George, you're due here.

"During World War I, Mike Mansfield, not yet 15, enlisted in the United States Navy, crossing the Atlantic seven times before he was discharged. His service to country would span seven decades and would help shape America's destiny as a Pacific power. Through 34 years in Congress—including 16 as Senate majority leader—and with more than a decade as U.S. Ambassador to Japan, Mike Mansfield has set his indelible mark upon American foreign policy and distinguished himself as a dedicated public servant and loyal American."

Ambassador Mansfield. Mr. President, First Lady, Mr. Secretary of State and Mrs. Shultz, Ambassador Matsunaga and Mrs. Matsunaga, my former colleagues from both the House and the Senate, our distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, I can't begin to express in words, Mr. President, my deep appreciation for what you've said about me and the encouragement which you've given me in my post as your Ambassador, your personal representative, our country's Ambassador to Japan.

However, I think that much of the credit should go to Maureen, my wife, who down through the years has been such a wonderful helpmate; whose advice, counsel, and understanding I appreciated; who worked harder at any job I've had and received little credit in the process. So, I want to say how much I owe to her, how much I'm indebted to her; how much I appreciate what the President has said—who has laid out a sound policy for our future in the Pacific and East Asia. I appreciate the advice and counsel that George Shultz has given to me from time to time. And I appreciate the fact that, for the first time in memory, that we have both a President of the United States and a Secretary of State who are actively interested in the Pacific, in Japan, and in East Asia. I anticipate that the policies these men have laid down will be continued.

In conclusion, we may recall that Robert Sandburg [Frost], one of our poets, said on a certain occasion, there are things to do, miles to go, and promises to keep before we sleep. Well, Maureen and I have traveled many miles. We have had and still have things to do. And we still have the promises we made over half a century ago when we were joined together. So, to her I want to give special thanks for all that she has been able to do with me. And to the President and Nancy, my thanks, my appreciation for their thoughtfulness and consideration. Thank you very much.

The President. "Unyieldingly dedicated to the protection of the American national interest, the advancement of freedom and human rights, the battle against tyranny, and reductions in nuclear arms, George P. Shultz has presided over the Department of State during one of the most critical periods in the history of this nation's foreign policy. For years of public service and his vital part in inaugurating a new era of hope in foreign policy, his countrymen honor him."

Secretary Shultz. Mr. President, you know, Obie [Helena Shultz] has been traveling a million miles around the world with me. So, it's been a great partnership. But, Mr. President, I feel very special about receiving this award from you, and let me explain why. There's a phrase that's catching on—"the Reagan years." There's a ring to it. And, Mr. President, it is the ring of freedom. You have advocated it, fought for it. You have known that the price of freedom is eternal vigilance. You have known this is a matter of principle on which you don't compromise. You have known that there are times when it requires action—sometimes, at least initially, not necessarily popular action—but you have to do it.

You have also known—and I've heard you say many times—that the strength comes from "We the People," that we get our legitimacy and you get your legitimacy as President from the people. And you've never been in any doubt, and none of us have, about who we came here to serve: the American people.

And I see you there with your arm around Nancy. I had the privilege of going with Nancy a couple of months ago to the United Nations where she spoke about drugs. And she had the courage to say that

one of the root causes of this worldwide problem is use of drugs in the United States. And we have to say no. So Nancy, too, has been a fighter for freedom—freedom from drugs. And we love you for it and revere you for it, Nancy.

So, all of these things make me especially proud to have served with you, to have been your Secretary of State. And to receive a medal from you called the Medal of Freedom has a significance for my life and Obie's life and my children that we will never forget.

Thank you, Mr. President.

The President. Thank you. Well, ladies and gentlemen, I have been privileged to participate in this recognition of the service of these two gentlemen to this great country of ours. I'm glad that all of you could be here. And now my clock tells me that—like the letter I got the first week I was here from the little 11-year-old girl who told me all the things that I had to do and then said, "Now, get over to the Oval Office and go to work." I see I've still got a few more hours of work ahead of me, and we're a little behind schedule. And so, we'll bid you all farewell, and thank you again for all being here and participating.

Note: The President spoke at 1:22 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate on Soil and Water Conservation
January 19, 1989

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

I am pleased to transmit my Statement of Policy regarding conservation activities on nonfederal land as required by the Soil and Water Resources Conservation Act of 1977. Accompanying this policy statement is "A National Conservation Program for Soil and Water Conservation: The 1988–1997 Update" by the Secretary of Agriculture.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

Note: Identical letters were sent to Jim Wright, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and George Bush, President of the Senate.

Statement on Soil and Water Conservation
January 19, 1989

Today I am transmitting to the Speaker of the House and President of the Senate this statement of policy on the Secretary of Agriculture's National Conservation Program for the Department of Agriculture (USDA) between 1988 and 1997.

The fundamental policies that guide the administration's approach to the management of soil and water resources on nonfederal lands are the principles of responsible stewardship and cooperative action to solve resource problems. Those principles rely upon individual landowners being responsible caretakers of natural resources, demonstrating concern for and willingness to maintain the productivity of those resources and the quality of our environment.

Individual stewardship is supported by a conservation partnership that includes private landowners, private business, associations, the educational community, State and local government, and the Department of Agriculture and other agencies of the Federal Government. Our policy is to support this partnership, with the objective that decisionmaking and responsibility for our natural resources will c
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nas called the necessities of salvation. For if you do, if these lessons become part of the instruction you carry with you when you end your studies here, America will be stronger; the world will be better; and there will be no limits to what, in this sweet land of liberty, you can do with your lives.

Let me just, if I can, say a few words on my own about this nation of ours. You know, I received a letter. We're quite unique. I received a letter from a man one day. He pointed out something I had never thought of. He said, "You can go to live in France; you cannot become a Frenchman. You can go to live in Germany or Spain, and you cannot become a German or a Spaniard." And he went on, naming Japan, China, and other countries. But he said, "Anyone from any corner of the world can come to America and become an American." And this country is the only one you can say has that peculiar melding of people together, revealing as no other area ever has, that we are all the sons and daughters of God.

You know, I don't say this very often, and sometimes people may call it mysticism. But I have always believed that there was some divine power and plan that placed this great continent between the two great oceans to be found only by people who had that extra love of freedom and that courage within their hearts to uproot themselves from their native land; leave, many times, family and friends; but to come here and to create this nation that we have created for ourselves here. I have to believe that that is true, just as I believe that Lincoln spoke the truth I've learned in these 8 years as never before when he said, "I could not perform the functions of this office for 15 minutes if I did not know that I could call upon one who is stronger and wiser than all others." Thank you all. God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 10:56 a.m. in the gymnasium of Archbishop Carroll High School. He was introduced by James Cardinal Hickey, Archbishop of Washington, DC. In his opening remarks, the President referred to Bishop Alvaro Corrada, Auxiliary Bishop of Washington; Father John P. O'Malley, principal of Archbishop Carroll High School; Sister Marcella Scully, principal of All Saints High School; Secretary of Education Lauro F. Cavazos; and Daniel F. Curtain, secretary of Catholic education for the Archdiocese of Washington, DC.

Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the Presidential Medal of Freedom

October 17, 1988

Good afternoon, and thank you all for coming here. You know, maybe it'll sound a little like bragging, but I have to tell you, I really have a great job. [*Laughter*] And one of the reasons this is such a great job is that I get to preside at wonderful occasions like this one. We're all here today to present the Medal of Freedom to eight remarkable Americans. It's the highest civilian honor this nation can bestow, and those who are so honored have spent much of their lives advancing the cause of freedom around the world.

Like those who have come before, today's recipients are artists and statesmen, philosophers and academics, and people of action and profound introspection. Your lives and careers testify to a central truth of humanity: It is better to give than to receive. You've all given—given of your talent and your energy and your resources—because you know that the only way to fight injustice and promote freedom is to speak a resounding "no" to the forces of international complacency and a resounding "yes" to those whose souls thirst after the cool waters of liberty.

What your example—and the examples of Mac Baldrige and J. Willard Marriott, who are watching us from a better place—teach all of us is that fighting for what you believe in is not only good; it's fun. It's a pleasant

experience to know you've done some good, maybe the most enjoyable experience we all have. You are all possessed of the good cheer and clear consciences of those who know they've done all they can for a cause they believe in.

The reward for good deeds does not only come in the hereafter, it comes every day in the knowledge that the world is maybe a little better because of the things you've done in your life. Well, we can't hope to top a feeling like that, but we do aim to add a little pleasure with the awards we give out today. And so, without further ado, I will now read the citations for the eight Medal of Freedom recipients of 1988. And as I start to read, you'll please come to the platform.

This is the citation for Malcolm Baldrige:

Cowboy, business executive, political activist, Cabinet Secretary—Mac Baldrige was all of these and more. To every task and role, he brought the strength of his integrity and the power of his vision. In serving his country, he became an architect of our international economic policy. And yet, though he moved with Presidents, Prime Ministers, and Kings, he was always happiest with the kind of straight-talking cowboys who elected him to the Cowboy Hall of Fame. Malcolm Baldrige had uncommon accomplishments and character. He was a true embodiment of the American spirit.

And here to accept is Mrs. Baldrige.

And the citation for Pearl Bailey Bellson:

Pearl? As a girl, Pearl Bailey began singing in her father's church in Virginia and kept singing all the way to Broadway and into America's heart. Among the preeminent American entertainers of this century, she has dazzled audiences all over the world. She has also served the Nation as a Special Adviser to the United States Mission to the United Nations. And America loves Pearl Bailey, for her songs and for her soul.

The citation for Irving Brown:

As the European representative of the American Federation of Labor in the late 1940's, Irving Brown played a crucial role in breaking the hold of international communism over postwar Western Europe. By doing so, he can truly be called one of the architects of Western democracy. He has shunned publicity, believing the cause of freedom is far more important than the pleasure of fame. But his modesty cannot obscure the size of his accomplishments, and they have earned Irving Brown the gratitude of his country.

And accepting this award will be his son, Robert.

And this citation for Warren E. Burger:

As teacher, lawyer, Assistant Attorney General of the United States, and judge, Warren Burger proved his abiding love of the law. For 17 years, he served in the highest post on the highest court in the land as the 15th Chief Justice of the United States. Chief Justice Burger stepped down from the Supreme Court to lead our country in a bicentennial celebration of the Constitution—one more act of devotion and distinction by Warren Earl Burger to the Republic he loves and serves so well.

The citation for Milton Friedman:

Teacher, scholar, and theorist—Milton Friedman restored common sense to the world of economics. A winner of the Nobel Prize, Milton Friedman's technical mastery of his profession is unchallenged. But more central to his work is its moral component: an idea of human freedom in which man's economic rights are as vital as his civil and human rights. It is for his celebration of the human spirit as well as the brilliance of his mind that I bestow upon Milton Friedman the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

And the citation for Jean Faircloth MacArthur:

Vibrant, charming, brave, and ever loyal—as she always puts it—"to my General," Jean MacArthur has witnessed the great cataclysms of our time, survived war and peace, conquered tragedy, and known triumph. Whether on a PT boat evading enemy ships in the South China Sea or being welcomed home by all Americans in 1951, Jean MacArthur was and is a shining example—a woman of substance and character; a loyal wife and mother; and like her General, a patriot selfless in the service of our country and the cause of freedom.

Citation for J. Willard Marriott:

The son of a humble Utah sheep rancher, J. Willard Marriott turned a small root beer stand in the Nation's Capital into one of America's largest and most successful businesses. Known for his vision, ingenuity, and hard work, J. Willard Marriott will also be remembered as a man of devotion to family, a leader in his church, a respected voice in the halls of government, and as a man who in his life and career brought honor to America.

And his wife, Alice, is accepting.

A citation for David Packard:

Accomplished businessman and skillful manager, noted philanthropist and public servant of the highest integrity—David Packard has had a legendary life and career. Dedicated to furthering the pursuit of scientific, technological, and human progress, devoted to his country and the cause of keeping her strong in a dangerous world, David Packard has served the American people effectively, generously, and proudly.

These are the eight that we honor, and I'm very proud to have been able to participate in this with these wonderful people.

Note: The President spoke at 1:23 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. Prior to his remarks, the President hosted a luncheon in the Residence for the recipients.

Statement on Signing the Bill Supporting the Restoration of a Free and Independent Cambodia
October 18, 1988

I have today signed H.J. Res. 602, which expresses congressional support for the restoration of a free and independent Cambodia, the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from that country, and the protection of the Cambodian people from a return to power by the Khmer Rouge. I welcome this clear statement of principles on a subject on which we are all in agreement.

I note that the Resolution is properly cast in admonitory terms and accordingly must be interpreted as a nonbinding expression of the sense of the Congress. I disagree with the wording of certain clauses, which, as written, could complicate our efforts to work with other governments to achieve the objective we all seek: to prevent the Khmer Rouge from ever again being in a position of absolute authority from which to wage its rule of terror over the Cambodian people. I have, however, signed this legislation because it makes clear that the United States will continue to do everything possible to assure that the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia is brought to an end and that effective guarantees are put into place to prevent the Khmer Rouge from ever again taking control of Cambodia.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
October 18, 1988.

Note: H.J. Res. 602, approved October 18, was assigned Public Law No. 100–502.

Statement on Signing the Inspector General Act Amendments of 1988
October 18, 1988

I have today signed S. 908, the "Inspector General Act Amendments of 1988." My Administration has had a long-standing and deep commitment to the work of the Inspectors General within the Executive branch. Their efforts to combat fraud, waste, and abuse deserve our sincere thanks and continued support.

I must, however, note that S. 908, like the Inspector General Act of 1978, raises certain constitutional concerns. Unless properly construed, the Act's reporting requirements could impermissibly interfere with the President's control over the deliberative processes of the Executive branch. For example, the disclosure of opposing views with respect to decisions at issue unnecessarily creates divisions within the Executive branch that could chill the frank exchange of views necessary to effective decision-

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Remarks by Telep
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October 18, 1988

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Appointment of Two Members of the Board of Trustees of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

June 23, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the Board of Trustees of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in the Smithsonian Institution for terms expiring October 23, 1992:

John S. Reed, of Connecticut. He would succeed Stuart E. Eizenstat. Mr. Reed is currently chairman of the board and chief executive of Citibank/Citicorp in New York, NY. Prior to this he served as vice chairman of Citibank/Citicorp. Mr. Reed graduated from Washington and Jefferson College and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (B.S. and B.A., 1961) and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (M.S., 1965). He was born February 7, 1939, in Chicago, IL. Mr. Reed is married, has four children, and resides in Greenwich, CT.

Dwayne O. Andreas, of Florida. He would succeed Kenneth B. Clark. Since 1972 Mr. Andreas has been chairman of the board and chief executive officer of the Archer Daniels Midland Co., in Decatur, IL. From 1970 to 1972, he served as the chief executive officer of the Archer Daniels Midland Co. Mr. Andreas was born March 14, 1918, in Worthington, MN. He is married, has three children, and resides in Miami Beach, FL.

Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the Presidential Medal of Freedom

June 23, 1987

It's a pleasure to have all of you here today to honor some of our fellow Americans who've made a difference, Americans who represent the very best of our country. In my first inaugural, I said: "Those who say that we're in a time when there are no heroes, just don't know where to look." Well, I've been blessed over the years with having had the opportunity to meet many American heroes and to get to know the truly admirable people who make up our land.

Sometimes, because we spend so much time and energy on trying to solve our country's problems, we lose sight of the fundamental strength of character that abounds in our citizens. I recently visited Europe, and a great deal was said about the Marshall plan, something Winston Churchill called "the most unsordid act in history." Those of us who lived through it understand how simple it would have been for us to have come home after the war and let the rest of the world fend for itself. Our people, after all, had sacrificed life and wealth to save mankind, and we could have easily justified sitting back and enjoying ourselves and our prosperity.

Well, in the days following World War II, Pope Pius XII said: "The American people have a genius for great and unselfish deeds; into the hands of America, God has placed an afflicted mankind." Well, we didn't shirk the great responsibility that was thrust upon us. For four decades, we've carried a heavy load of leadership. It's been four decades of peace in Europe and four decades of economic growth and prosperity for the Western democracies. The American people were inspired to carry this heavy load, to do

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what was right rather than what was easy, by individuals like the ones that we honor today. Among Thomas Carlyle's many works is a book about heroes and heroism. In it he pointed out: "The hero can be a poet, a prophet, king, priest, or what you will, according to the kind of world he finds himself born into."

Well, the heroes in America reflect the positive and uplifting values of our people. That's why we call today's awards Medals of Freedom. The Medal of Freedom award, which we bestow on our Americans today, is this country's top civilian honor. The list of former recipients contains the names of military heroes, like General Omar Bradley, but also the names of distinguished individuals like Dr. Jonas Salk, Jesse Owens, Walt Disney, Helen Keller, and others. Today's recipients are of the same caliber. They exemplify the ideals of America. They have excelled in the arts. They have written works that touched our hearts. They've made us laugh. They've helped make our country more secure and provided for the less fortunate. They're some of America's best. And today we're proud to award them the Medals of Freedom. And now, it's my pleasure to announce this year's awardees.

Anne Legendre Armstrong:

Since her earliest days in grassroots politics, Anne Armstrong has been an intrepid fighter for the cause of freedom and liberty, and against the intrusions of big government. Her great talents and capacity for work catapulted her onto the national political scene, where she has served her party and nation with distinction, holding high offices in both. Her great skill and unstinting effort in the service of her country have earned her the gratitude of our nation.

Justin Dart:

And it will be received by Mrs. Justin Dart, his wife.

A leading entrepreneur, Justin Dart has made vital contributions to America that will long be remembered. Considered a revolutionary by his trade, he was already head of the largest drug company in the world at the age of 35, and his sure hand would soon transform the business. Justin Dart became a leading force in politics and an adviser to the President, valued not only for his business acumen but his courageous championing of political and economic liberty. Justin Dart's life stands as eloquent testimony to the creative force of freedom.

Danny Kaye:

And it will be received by his daughter, Miss Dena Kaye.

An entertainer, humanitarian, and an individual who lifted the spirit of his fellow countrymen, his enthusiasm for life infected all who saw him. He spread laughter and good will, touching the hearts of people throughout the world, especially young people. He was a true professional, a star of film, stage, television, and radio. His dedication to helping less fortunate children is also remembered. He was a good man, a pro who cared, an example of the best in America's soul. And he will always be remembered around the world by millions of children for his unselfish willingness to serve every time the U.N. called upon him to do so.

Lyman L. Lemnitzer:

A brave and dedicated military officer who served our nation in peace and war, General Lemnitzer's skill as a tactician, planner, and negotiator was instrumental in the Second World War. He fought in Korea, he served as U.S. commander in chief in Europe, and eventually became the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. His life has been one marked by high military skill and unselfish devotion to his country.

John A. McCone:

As Director of Central Intelligence between 1961 and 1965, John A. McCone guided our nation's intelligence community through some of its most difficult hours. He strengthened the Nation's critical capacity for effective intelligence operations, maintained the intelligence community's reputation for unbiased analysis, and played an active role in policy debates. Integrity, patriotism—these qualities have marked his long and distinguished service to our nation.

Frederick D. Patterson:

For five decades, as president and president emeritus of Tuskegee Institute, Dr. Frederick D. Patterson has been one of America's outstanding educators. He is also the founder of the United Negro College Fund and the College Endowment Funding Plan, and through these, he has helped finance excellence throughout America's community of historically black colleges. By his inspiring example of personal excellence and unselfish dedication, he has taught the Nation that, in this land of freedom, no mind should be allowed to go to waste.

Nathan Perlmutter:

And his will be received by his wife, Ruth Perlmutter.

In the "Diary of a Cancer Patient," Nathan Perlmutter wrote: "Funny what I feel I've accomplished. I married the prettiest girl. I made it to marine infantry officer, wrote a few books, and became director of the Anti-Defamation League." That casual, self-deprecating voice is the voice of a hero. For Mr. Perlmutter has made it his life's work to champion human dignity. He is a hero indeed, a hero of the human spirit.

Mstislav Rostropovich:

He once jokingly asked his mother why she had carried him longer than the usual 9 months. "Slava," she answered, "to give you such beautiful hands." Performing, teaching, and conducting, the beautiful hands of Mstislav Rostropovich have shared with millions his passion for music, especially the music of the homeland he has never ceased to love. He is a virtuoso not only of music but of heart and mind, as well.

William B. Walsh, M.D.:

Dr. William B. Walsh has spent a lifetime giving hope to others. For 14 years, in ports around the world, millions cheered the ship that Dr. Walsh's dreams launched, the S.S. *Hope.* Medical care and training—these were the *Hope*'s cargo, together with a message of good will from all Americans. Today Project HOPE has stepped ashore, and Dr. Walsh is reaching people wherever there is need and, as always, is giving of himself so that others might find hope. He is a credit to his profession and to his country.

Meredith Willson:

And his will be received by Mrs. Willson.

Our country knows Meredith Willson as the composer-lyricist whose musicals and songs captured the joy and innocence of America. Meredith Willson's career embraced the musical life of his nation. His greatest hits, "The Music Man" and "The Unsinkable Molly Brown," will forever stand as landmarks of the Broadway stage. As one critic said: "His music is as American as apple pie and a Fourth of July oration." He will always be remembered affectionately and with respect for his virtuosity as our music man.

And I will always remember him, because as an old ex-lieutenant of horse cavalry in World War II, he wrote a song for the cavalry.

I know that you're as proud as we are to have all of these people with us. And that concludes our ceremony here, but it doesn't conclude our feeling of thanks for these people and what they've done.

Note: The President spoke at 1:14 p.m. in the East Room at the White House following a luncheon for the recipients and their guests.

Remarks at the National Federation of Independent Business Conference

June 23, 1987

The President. Thank you very much, and let me say a special word of thanks to a long-time supporter of what we've been doing here in Washington, your president, John Sloan. It's a great pleasure to be here today. For 44 years the National Federation of Independent Business has spoken out for the most dynamic and creative force in our economy: America's independent businesses. For 6 years you've been a partner in the struggle to pull America back from the economic brink and get it back on the trail to the top.

You remember those days before we came into office. Inflation was the highest since World War II; interest rates were the highest since the Civil War; growth had ground to a stop; and the income of the typical American family was on a decade-long roller coaster ride to the cellar, while taxes shot for the sky. Those were particularly hard times for America's entrepreneurs, as venture capital for starting new businesses virtually evaporated and a flood of regulations began to sweep away the great American spirit of enterprise.

How had the greatest economy in the world been brought to its knees? Well, as one prominent historian of our times has written—he said, "The most detailed analysis of this stagnation and decline suggested the causes were mainly political." They

LEVEL 1 - 79 DOCUMENTS

9. Public Papers of the Presidents, Remarks on Presenting the Presidential Medal of Freedom Awards, 27 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1677, November 18, 1991, 1263 words

10. Public Papers of the Presidents, Checklist of White House Press Releases, The following list contains releases of the Office of the Press Secretary that are neither printed as items nor covered by entries in the Digest of Other White House Announcements., 27 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 896, July 5, 1991, 106 words

11. Public Papers of the Presidents, Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the Presidential Medals of Freedom and Presidential Citizen's Medals, 27 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 884, July 3, 1991, 1891 words

12. Public Papers of the Presidents, Checklist of White House Press Releases, The following list contains releases of the Office of the Press Secretary that are neither printed as items nor covered by entries in the Digest of Other White House Announcements., 27 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 864, June 28, 1991, 243 words

13. Public Papers of the Presidents, Checklist of White House Press Release, The following list contains releases of the Office of the Press Secretary that are neither printed as items nor covered by entries in the Digest of Other White House Announcements., 27 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 273, March 8, 1991, 200 words

LEVEL 1 - 79 DOCUMENTS

19. Public Papers of the Presidents, Checklist of White House Press Releases, 25 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1048, July 7, 1989, 132 words

20. Public Papers of the Presidents, Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the Presidential Medal of Freedom, 25 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1024, July 6, 1989 1788 words

21. Public Papers of the Presidents, Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the Presidential Medal of Freedom, 25 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 85, January 19, 1989, 2224 words

22. Public Papers of the Presidents, Digest of Other White House Announcements, The following list includes the President's public schedule and other items of general interest announced by the Office of the Press Secretary and not included elsewhere in this issue., 25 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 94, January 19, 1989, 1965 words

23. Public Papers of the Presidents, Checklist of White House Press Releases, The following list contains releases of the Office of the Press Secretary which are not included in this issue., 25 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 98, January 19, 1989 133 words

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LEVEL 1 - 79 DOCUMENTS

24. Public Papers of the Presidents, Remarks at a Luncheon for Recipients of the Medal of Freedom, 24 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1479, November 10, 1988, 1082 words

25. Public Papers of the Presidents, Checklist of White House Press Releases, The following list contains releases of the Office of the Press Secretary which are not included in this issue., 24 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1348, October 21, 1988, 61 words

26. Public Papers of the Presidents, Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the Presidential Medal of Freedom, 24 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1329, October 17, 1988, 1110 words

27. Public Papers of the Presidents, Checklist of White House Press Releases, The following list contains releases of the Office of the Press Secretary which are not included in this issue., 24 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 615, May 13, 1988, 104 words

28. Public Papers of the Presidents, Remarks on Presenting the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Lord Peter Carrington, 24 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 594, May 10, 1988, 1564 words

LEVEL 1 - 79 DOCUMENTS

39. Public Papers of the Presidents, Presidential Medal of Freedom, Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony., 23 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 730, June 23, 1987, 1457 words

40. Public Papers of the Presidents, National Medal of Arts, Remarks at a Luncheon for Recipients., 23 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 701, June 18, 1987, 1484 words

41. Public Papers of the Presidents, Presidential Medal of Freedom, Announcement of Award Recipients., 23 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 409, April 21, 1987, 245 words

42. Public Papers of the Presidents, Digest of Other White House Announcements, The following list includes the President's public schedule and other items of general interest announced by the Office of the Press Secretary and not included elsewhere in this issue., 23 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 29, January 16, 1987, 314 words

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LEVEL 1 - 79 DOCUMENTS

44. Public Papers of the Presidents, Presidential Medal of Freedom, Remarks on Presenting the Medal to Vladimir Horowitz., 1986 Pub. Papers 1006, July 28, 1986 547 words

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46. Public Papers of the Presidents, Presidential Medal of Freedom, Announcement of Award Recipients., 1986 Pub. Papers 539, April 24, 1986, 218 words

47. Public Papers of the Presidents, Special Envoy for Central America, Appointment of Philip C. Habib., 1986 Pub. Papers 319, March 7, 1986, 287 words

48. Public Papers of the Presidents, Presidential Commission on the Space Shuttle Challenger Accident, Appointment of 12 Members, and Designation of Chairman and Vice Chairman., 1986 Pub. Papers 129, February 3, 1986, 940 words

49. Public Papers of the Presidents, Presidential Medal of Freedom, Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony., 1985 Pub. Papers 1365, November 7, 1985, 1530 words

50. Public Papers of the Presidents, Presidential Medal of Freedom, Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for Mother Teresa., 1985 Pub. Paper 828, June 20,

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Liberty

Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof.

Leviticus 25:10

It is a great and dangerous error to suppose that all people are equally entitled to liberty.

John C. Calhoun

Liberty is the one thing you can't have unless you give it to others.

William Allen White

Liberty doesn't work as well in practice as it does in speeches.

Will Rogers

The people never give up their liberties but under some delusion.

Edmund Burke

They that give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety.

Benjamin Franklin

Liberty is always dangerous, but it is the safest thing we have.

Harry Emerson Fosdick

The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is its natural manure.

Thomas Jefferson

Liberty means responsibility. That is why most men dread it.

George Bernard Shaw

Liberty, n. One of Imagination's most precious possessions.

Ambrose Bierce

Few men desire liberty; most men wish only for a just master.

Sallust

The history of liberty is the history of resistance.

Woodrow Wilson

Liberty is so much latitude as the powerful choose to accord to the weak.

Learned Hand

I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!

Patrick Henry

The price we have to pay for money is paid in liberty.

Robert Louis Stevenson

Wherever public spirit prevails, liberty is secure.

Noah Webster

Mankind is tired of liberty.

Benito Mussolini

Only in states in which the power of the people is supreme has liberty any abode.

Cicero

The contest for ages has been to rescue liberty from the grasp of executive power.

Daniel Webster

Liberty, equality, fraternity.

Motto of the French Republic

Liberties and masters are not easily combined.

Tacitus

By fraternity only will liberty be saved.

Victor Hugo

Modern liberty begins in revolt.

H. M. Kallen

Liberty is the sovereignty of the individual.

Josiah Warren

Liberties . . . depend on the silence of the law.

Thomas Hobbes

Liberty is the power that we have over ourselves.

Hugo Grotius

He that would make his own liberty secure must guard even his enemy from oppression.

Thomas Paine

National Day of Mourning Proclaimed by President Johnson. *November* 23, 1963

By the President of the United States of America

A PROCLAMATION

To the People of the United States:

John Fitzgerald Kennedy, 35th President of the United States, has been taken from us by an act which outrages decent men everywhere.

He upheld the faith of our fathers, which is freedom for all men. He broadened the frontiers of that faith, and backed it with the energy and the courage which are the mark of the Nation he led.

A man of wisdom, strength, and peace, he moulded and moved the power of our Nation in the service of a world of growing liberty and order. All who love freedom will mourn his death.

As he did not shrink from his responsibilities, but welcomed them, so he would not have us shrink from carrying on his work beyond this hour of national tragedy.

He said it himself: "The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it—and the glow from that fire can truly light the world."

NOW, THEREFORE, I, LYNDON B. JOHNSON, President of the United States of America, do appoint Monday next, November 25, the day of the funeral service of President Kennedy, to be a national day of mourning throughout the United States. I earnestly recommend the people to assemble on that day in their respective places of divine worship, there to bow down in submission to the will of Almighty God, and to pay their homage of love and reverence to the memory of a great and good man. I invite the people of the world who share our grief to join us in this day of mourning and rededication.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this twenty-third day of November in [SEAL] the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-eighth.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

By the President:
DEAN RUSK
Secretary of State

Remarks of President Johnson and Under Secretary of State George W. Ball at the Presentation of the Medal of Freedom Awards. *December* 6, 1963

[Delivered in the State Dining Room at the White House]

MR. BALL. Mr. President, Mrs. Johnson, Mr. Chief Justice and Members of the Supreme Court, Members of the Cabinet, Members of the Congress, Recipients of the Presidential Medal of Freedom, and Distinguished Guests: It is my privilege to welcome you to an historic ceremony. Today, the President of the United States is expressing the appreciation of a great Nation for the extraordinary achievements of a remarkable group of men and women, achievements spanning a wide spectrum of human endeavor: the arts, science, diplomacy, government, the humanities, the law, and philanthropy.

For the first time, the President is estab-

lishing what we can proudly call an American civil honors list. Each year hereafter the Presidential Medal of Freedom will be conferred upon a few individuals chosen with great care by the President himself.

The ceremony today has a dual significance. We are joining President Johnson not only in honoring the recipients of the Presidential Medal of Freedom and the high endeavors that have won them this acclaim but also in paying tribute to the man responsible for this new decoration.

It was characteristic of President Kennedy that early in his administration he should turn his mind to the means by which we could give appropriate encouragement to deeds well done. He felt deeply that our Nation should pay full homage to those who contribute to enriching the qualities of American life, strengthening the security of free men and building the foundations for peace.

He sought a way of expressing this appreciation in a systematic manner so that it could become a part of American tradition, a means of national thanks and encouragement for the selfless effort and the brilliant task.

So as to provide orderly arrangements for the conferring of this recognition, President Kennedy directed the Distinguished Awards Board to survey the fields of achievement and to suggest candidates for the award for the Presidential Medal of Freedom. This was not an easy task, not one to be lightly undertaken or quickly accomplished. Those of us who were given this assignment were overwhelmed but gratified by the prevalence and variety of achievement. We were, in a very real sense, embarrassed by riches and the work of initial selection required solemn debate and a bold exercise of judgment.

The work of the Board, however, was only the beginning of a process. The President reviewed our suggestions with care and reflection. He added and subtracted names and directed that some nominations be held for a later year. The Presidential Medal of Freedom, he felt, should be given only after careful thought, always sparingly so as not to debase its currency.

He and Mrs. Kennedy studied and revised the design submitted for this decoration, and the beautiful medal you see here today bears their joint imprimatur.

This first year, the Presidential Medal of Freedom is being conferred on 31 individuals. In the case of 9, the special award is being awarded with distinction.

President Johnson shares with his great predecessor a deep respect for distinguished achievement and a desire to give gratitude and recognition to those who nobly serve the cause of humanity. He has come here today to pay honor to a bright constellation of talent and achievement.

Ladies and gentlemen, the President of the United States.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON. Mr. Secretary, Mr. Chief Justice and Members of the Court, Members of Congress, Distinguished Recipients of the Award, Fellow Americans:

Over the past 2 weeks, our Nation has known moments of the utmost sorrow, of anguish and shame. This day, however, is a moment of great pride.

In the shattering sequence of events that began 14 days ago, we encountered in its full horror man's capacity for hatred and destruction.

There is little we do not now know of evil, but it is time to turn once more to the pursuits of honor and excellence and of achievement that have always marked the true direction of the American people.

So we meet today to confer the Nation's highest civil honor on 31 of the Nation's most distinguished citizens, citizens of the free world.

No words could add to the distinction of the men and women who are being honored today. It is rather the reverse. Their names add distinction to the award.

So, in joining with my fellow countrymen to express the Nation's gratitude to each of you, I want particularly to thank you for reminding us that whatever evil moments may pass by, we are and we shall continue

to be a people touched with greatness called by high destiny to serve great purposes.

Mr. Ball: Mr. President, Miss Marian Anderson.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON. Artist and citizen, she has ennobled her race and her country while her voice has enthralled the world.

Mr. Ball: Mr. Pablo Casals. Mr. Casals was unfortunately unable to be with us today, Mr. President, but you may wish to read his citation in absentia.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON. Statesman of music, he has incarnated the freedom of art, while the cello under his fingers has touched the heart of the world.

Mr. Ball: Miss Genevieve Caulfield.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON. Teacher and humanitarian, she has been for four decades a one-woman Peace Corps in Southeast Asia, winning victories over darkness by helping the blind to become full members of society.

Mr. Ball: Dr. John F. Enders.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON. Physician and researcher, he has opened new pathways to medical discovery and has been an example and companion to two generations of doctors in the demanding quest for scientific truth.

Mr. Ball: Mr. Karl Holton.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON. Innovator in applying imaginative solutions to problems of juvenile delinquency, he has contributed generously to developing responsible citizenship among our youth.

Mr. Ball: Mr. Robert J. Kiphuth.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON. Teacher and coach, he has inspired generations of athletes with high ideals of achievement and sportsmanship.

Mr. Ball: Mr. Edwin H. Land.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON. Scientist and inventor, he has brought his creative gifts to bear in industry, government and education, enriching the lives of millions by giving new dimensions to photography.

Mr. Ball: Governor Herbert H. Lehman. I know that we were all deeply saddened to hear yesterday of the death of this great citizen. Mr. President, you may wish to read his citation in absentia.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON. Citizen and statesman, he has used wisdom and compassion as the tools of government and has made politics the highest form of public service.

Mr. Ball: J. Clifford MacDonald. Mrs. MacDonald will receive the award on behalf of her deceased husband.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON. Businessman and philanthropist, he has directed his concern to the quiet but noble work of enlarging the lives and opportunities of the physically and mentally handicapped.

Mr. Ball: Mr. George Meany.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON. Citizen and national leader, in serving the cause of labor, he has greatly served the cause of his Nation and of freedom in the world.

Mr. Ball: Professor Alexander Meiklejohn.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON. Educator and libertarian, as teacher by example and philosopher in practice, his free and fertile mind has influenced the course of American higher education.

Mr. Ball: Mr. Ludwig Mies van der Rohe.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON. Teacher, designer, master builder, he has conceived soaring structures of glass, steel and concrete which at once embody and evoke the distinctive qualities of our age.

Mr. Ball: Mr. Clarence B. Randall.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON. Leader of industry, counselor to Presidents, he has been a forceful and articulate philosopher of the role of business in a free society.

Mr. Ball: Mr. Rudolf Serkin.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON. Artist and teacher, he has given the classical traditions of the piano new life in a disordered age.

Mr. Ball: Mr. Edward Steichen.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON. Photographer and collector, he has made the camera the instrument of aesthetic perception and thereby transformed a science into an art.

Mr. Ball: Professor George W. Taylor.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON. Economist and arbitrator, he has been the voice of reason and good will in the industrial relations of

our society, enlisting management and labor in the cause of industrial peace.

Mr. Ball: Dr. Alan T. Waterman.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON. Physicist and public servant, he has been the far-sighted advocate of Federal support of the sciences, using the resources of government to improve the quality and increase the thrust of basic research.

Mr. Ball: Mr. Mark S. Watson.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON. Soldier in the First World War and correspondent in the Second, he has given the American people informed, wide-ranging and independent coverage of the Nation's security and defense.

Mr. Ball: Mrs. Annie D. Wauneka.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON. First woman elected to the Navajo Tribal Council, by her long crusade for improved health programs she has helped dramatically to lessen the menace of disease among her people and to improve their way of life.

Mr. Ball: Mr. E. B. White. Mr. President, Mr. White, unfortunately, is unable to be here today because of illness.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON. An essayist whose concise comment on men and places has revealed to yet another age the vigor of the English sentence.

Mr. Ball: Mr. Edmund Wilson. Mr. Wilson also unfortunately is unable to be with us today.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON. Critic and historian, he has converted criticism itself into a creative act, while setting for the Nation a stern and uncompromising standard of independent judgment.

Mr. Ball: Mr. Thornton Wilder.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON. Artist of rare gaiety and penetration, he has inscribed a noble vision in his books, making the commonplaces of life yield the wit, the wonder and the steadfastness of the human adventure.

Mr. Ball: Mr. Andrew Wyeth.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON. Painter of the American scene, he has in the great humanist tradition illuminated and clarified the verities and delights of everyday life.

Mr. Ball: And now, Mr. President, let me present those who are to receive the Presidential Medal of Freedom with Special Distinction.

First, Mr. Ellsworth Bunker.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON. Citizen and diplomat, he has brought integrity, patience and a compassionate understanding of other men and nations to the service of the Republic under three Presidents.

Mr. Ball: Dr. Ralph J. Bunche.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON. Scholar and diplomat, servant of the emerging world order, he has opened up new vistas in the demanding quest for international justice and peace.

Mr. Ball: Dr. James B. Conant.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON. Scientist and educator, he has led the American people in the fight to save our most precious resource—our children.

Mr. Ball: Governor Luis Muñoz Marín.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON. Poet, politician, public servant, patriot, he has led his people on to new heights of dignity and purpose and transformed a stricken land into a vital society.

Mr. Ball: Mr. Robert A. Lovett.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON. Servant of the Republic, he has set high standards for the private citizen in public service by his selfless dedication to the national security under four Presidents.

Mr. Ball: Mr. Jean Monnet.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON. Citizen of France, statesman of the world, he has made persuasion and reason the weapons of statecraft, moving Europe toward unity and the Atlantic nations toward a more effective partnership.

Mr. Ball: Mr. Justice Felix Frankfurter.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON. Jurist, scholar, counselor, conversationalist, he has brought to all his roles a zest and a wisdom which has made him teacher to his time.

Mr. Ball: Mr. John J. McCloy.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON. Diplomat and public servant, banker to the world and godfather to German freedom, he has brought cheer-

ful wisdom and steady effectiveness to the tasks of war and peace.

Mr. Ball: I ask Mr. McCloy to offer some remarks on behalf of the recipients.

[*At this point Mr. McCloy spoke briefly. "I do know that I can speak for all of the recipients," he said, "when I say that we are not only much honored but deeply moved by the fact that we receive at your hands, Mr. President, this award on the very day that President Kennedy appointed for its bestowal by him upon us. In the short time allotted to him, he elevated in the life of the Nation the arts and the sciences, education and the public service. He had joy in them and his joy was communicated to men and women everywhere." He concluded by pledging the talents of the group "to the furtherance of the high objectives which President Kennedy intended by the nature of this honor to stimulate." President Johnson then resumed speaking.*]

I have also determined to confer the Presidential Medal of Freedom posthumously on another noble man whose death we mourned 6 months ago: His Holiness, Pope John XXIII.

He was a man of simple origins, of simple faith, of simple charity. In his exalted office he was still the gentle pastor. He believed in discussion and persuasion. He profoundly respected the dignity of man.

He gave the world immortal statements of the rights of man, of the obligations of men to each other, of their duty to strive for a world community in which all can live in peace and fraternal friendship. His goodness reached across temporal boundaries to warm the hearts of men of all nations and of all faiths.

The citation reads:

His Holiness Pope John XXIII, dedicated servant of God. He brought to all citizens of the planet a heightened sense of the dignity of the individual, of the brotherhood of man, and of the common duty to build an environment of peace for all human kind.

John Kennedy is gone. Each of us will know that we are the lesser for his death. But each is somehow larger because he lived. A sadness has settled on the world which will never leave it while we who knew him are still here.

The America that produced him shall honor him as well. As a simple gesture, but one which I know he would not have counted small, it is my privilege at this moment to award the Presidential Medal of Freedom posthumously to John Fitzgerald Kennedy on behalf of the great Republic for which he lived and died.

The citation reads:

John Fitzgerald Kennedy, 35th President of the United States, soldier, scholar, statesman, defender of freedom, pioneer for peace, author of hope—combining courage with reason, and combating hate with compassion, he led the land he loved toward new frontiers of opportunity for all men and peace for all time. Beloved in a life of selfless service, mourned by all in a death of senseless crime, the energy, faith and devotion which he brought to his extraordinarily successful though tragically brief endeavors will hereafter "light our country and all who serve it—and the glow from that fire can truly light the world."

135. LIBERTY

See also DEMOCRACY; EQUALITY; FREEDOM; INDEPENDENCE; TYRANNY

1 Things have come to a hell of a pass
When a man can't wallop his own jackass.

Anonymous, c.1900.

2 Liberty Is Always Unfinished Business.

American Civil Liberties Union, title of its annual report, 1955–1956.

3 I would define liberty to be a power to do as we would be done by. The definition of liberty to be the power of doing whatever the law permits, meaning the civil laws, does not seem satisfactory.

JOHN ADAMS, to J.H. Tiffany, March 31, 1819.

4 The proposition that the people are the best keepers of their own liberties is not true. They are the worst conceivable, they are no keepers at all; they can neither judge, act, think, or will, as a political body.

JOHN ADAMS, in *Defence of the Constitution of the United States of America against the Attack of Mr. Turgot,* 1787.

5 Individual liberty is individual power, and as the power of a community is a mass compounded of individual powers, the nation which enjoys the most freedom must necessarily be in proportion to its numbers the most powerful nation.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, in a letter to James Lloyd, October 1, 1822.

6 Our liberty depends on our education, our laws, and habits to which even prejudices yield; on the dispersion of our people on farms and on the almost equal diffusion of property.

FISHER AMES, in an address in Boston, Massachusetts, February 8, 1800.

7 The things required for prosperous labor, prosperous manufactures, and prosperous commerce are three. First, liberty; second, liberty; third, liberty.

HENRY WARD BEECHER, in a speech in Liverpool, England, October 16, 1863.

8 Liberty, *n.* One of Imagination's most precious possessions.

AMBROSE BIERCE, *The Devil's Dictionary,* 1906.

9 Experience should teach us to be most on our guard to protect liberty when the government's purposes are beneficent. Men born to freedom are naturally alert to repel invasion of their liberty by evil-minded rulers. The greatest dangers to liberty lurk in insidious encroachment by men of zeal, well-meaning but without understanding.

LOUIS D. BRANDEIS, in a dissenting Supreme Court opinion, *Olmstead* v. *United States,* 1928.

10 We have had so many years of prosperity, we have passed through so many difficulties and dangers without the loss of liberty—that we begin to think that we hold it by divine right from heaven itself. . . . It is harder to preserve than to obtain liberty.

JOHN C. CALHOUN, in a speech in the U.S. Senate, January, 1848.

11 People do not understand liberty or majorities. The will of the majority is the will of a rabble. . . . Democracy is levelling—this is inconsistent with true liberty.

JOHN C. CALHOUN, quoted in John S. Jenkins, *The Life of John Caldwell Calhoun,* 1850.

12 Attack another's rights and you destroy your own.

JOHN JAY CHAPMAN, on imperialism, in a letter, 1897.

13 Liberty like charity must begin at home.

JAMES BRYANT CONANT, "Our Unique Heritage," in an address at Harvard College, June 30, 1942.

14 You can only protect your liberties in this world by protecting the other man's freedom. You can only be free if I am free.

CLARENCE DARROW, addressing a jury in Chicago, 1920, quoted in Arthur Weinberg, *Attorney for the Damned,* 1957.

15 The whole history of the progress of human liberty shows that all concessions yet made to her

august claims, have been made of earnest struggle. . . . If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom yet deprecate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground, they want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will. . . . The limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppress.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS, in a speech in Canandaigua, New York, August 3, 1857.

16 The cost of liberty is less than the price of repression.

W.E.B. DUBOIS, *John Brown,* 1909.

17 Liberty trains for liberty. Responsibility is the first step in responsibility.

Ibid.

18 Don't put no constrictions on da people. Leave 'em ta hell alone.

JIMMY DURANTE, quoted in Nelson A. Rockefeller, *Unity, Freedom and Peace: A Blueprint for Tomorrow,* 1968.

19 The word *liberty* in the mouth of Mr. [Daniel] Webster sounds like the word *love* in the mouth of a courtesan.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON, entry written in 1851, *Journals,* 1909–1914.

20 Nothing is more disgusting than the crowing about liberty by slaves, as most men are, and the flippant mistaking for freedom of some paper preamble like a Declaration of Independence or the statute right to vote, by those who have never dared to think or to act.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON, "Fate," *The Conduct of Life,* 1860.

21 They that can give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, motto of the *Historical Review of Pennsylvania,* 1759.

22 It is a common observation here that our cause is *the cause of all mankind,* and that we are fighting for their liberty in defending our own.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, in a letter from Paris to Samuel Cooper, 1777.

23 Where liberty dwells, there is my country.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, in a letter to B. Vaughan, March 14, 1783. (This Latin aphorism was also the motto of James Otis.)

24 Our country has liberty without license, and authority without despotism.

JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS, in a speech in Rome, March 25, 1887.

25 Liberty is worth whatever country is worth. It is by liberty that a man has a country; it is by liberty he has rights.

HENRY GILES, *The Worth of Liberty,* 1847.

26 I would remind you that extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice. And let me remind you also that moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue.

BARRY M. GOLDWATER, in his speech accepting the Republican presidential nomination, Republican National Convention, San Francisco, California, July 16, 1964.

27 Natural liberty is a gift of the beneficent Creator to the whole human race.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, *The Farmer Refuted,* 1775.

28 Real liberty is neither found in despotism or the extremes of democracy, but in moderate governments.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, in the debates of the Federal Convention, June 26, 1787.

29 The liberty of the press consists, in my idea, in publishing the truth, from good motives and for justifiable ends, though it reflect on the government, on magistrates, or individuals.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, in a speech in New York City, 1804.

30 Liberty lies in the hearts of men and women; when it dies there, no constitution, no law, no court

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can save it; no constitution, no law, no court can even do much to help it. While it lies there it needs no constitution, no law, no court to save it. And what is this liberty which must lie in the hearts of men and women? It is not the ruthless, the unbridled will; it is not freedom to do as one likes. That is the denial of liberty, and leads straight to its overthrow.

LEARNED HAND, "The Spirit of Liberty," in a speech in New York City, May 21, 1944.

31 The spirit of liberty is the spirit which is not too sure that it is right; the spirit of liberty is the spirit which seeks to understand the minds of other men and women; the spirit of liberty is the spirit which weighs their interests alongside its own without bias; the spirit of liberty remembers that not even a sparrow falls to earth unheeded; the spirit of liberty is the spirit of Him who, near two thousand years ago, taught mankind that lesson it has never learned, but has never quite forgotten: that there is a kingdom where the least shall be heard and considered side by side with the greatest.

Ibid.

32 Liberty is a beloved discipline.

GEORGE C. HOMANS, *The Human Group,* 1950.

33 Liberty: 1. A password in universal use, and hence of no value. 2. The slogan of a party or sect that seeks to enslave some other party or sect.

ELBERT HUBBARD, *The Roycroft Dictionary and Book of Epigrams,* 1923.

34 The liberty of the press is not confined to newspapers and periodicals. It necessarily embraces pamphlets and leaflets. These indeed have been historic weapons in the defense of liberty, as the pamphlets of Thomas Paine and others in our own history abundantly attest.

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES, in a Supreme Court opinion, *Lovell v. City of Griffin,* 1938.

35 What light is to the eyes—what air is to the lungs—what love is to the heart, liberty is to the soul of man. Without liberty, the brain is a dungeon, where the chained thoughts die with their pinions pressed against the hingeless doors.

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL, "Progress," lecture delivered in Peoria, Illinois, May 14, 1866.

36 There is no slavery but ignorance. Liberty is the child of intelligence.

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL, "The Liberty of Man, Woman, and Child," 1877.

37 No people ever lost their liberties unless they themselves first became corrupt. . . . The people are the safeguards of their own liberties, and I rely wholly on them to guard themselves.

ANDREW JACKSON, to a Presbyterian clergyman in Pennsylvania, 1824, quoted in Robert V. Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Freedom,* 1981.

38 Liberty is not the mere absence of restraint, it is not a spontaneous product of majority rule, it is not achieved merely by lifting underprivileged classes to power, nor is it the inevitable by-product of technological expansion. It is achieved only by a rule of law.

ROBERT H. JACKSON, *The Supreme Court in the American System of Government,* 1955

39 The God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, *A Summary View of the Rights of British America,* 1774.

40 My God! how little do my countrymen know what precious blessings they are in possession of, and which no other people on earth enjoy.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, in a letter from Paris to James Monroe, June 17, 1785.

41 The people are the only censors of their governors; and even their errors will tend to keep these to the true principles of their institution. To punish these errors too severely would be to suppress the only safeguard of the public liberty.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, in a letter to Col. Edward Carrington, January 16, 1787.

42 The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time, with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is its natural manure.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, in a letter to Col. William S. Smith, November 13, 1787.

Patrick Henry: "Give me liberty, or give me death" speech, March 23, 1775

Though one of the most famous speeches in American history, Patrick Henry's oration to the Virginia convention was not transcribed as given but reconstructed from memory.

Mr. President, it is natural to man to indulge in the illusions of hope. We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth and listen to the song of that siren, till she transforms us into beasts. Is this the part of wise men, engaged in a great and arduous struggle for liberty? Is it that insidious smile with which our petition has been lately received? Trust it not, sir; it will prove a snare to your feet. Suffer not yourselves to be betrayed with a kiss. Ask yourselves how this gracious reception of our petition comports with those warlike preparations which cover our waters and darken our land. Are fleets and armies necessary to a work of love and reconciliation? Have we shown ourselves so unwilling to be reconciled that force must be called in to win back our love? Let us not deceive ourselves, sir. These are the implements of war and subjugation—the last arguments to which kings resort. I ask gentlemen, sir, what means this martial array, if its purpose be not to force us to submission? Can gentlemen assign any other possible motive for it? Has Great Britain any enemy in this quarter of the world to call for all this accumulation of navies and armies? No, sir, she has none. They are meant for us; they can be meant for no other. They are sent over to bind and rivet upon us those chains which the British Ministry have been so long forging.

And what have we oppose to them? Shall we try argument? Sir, we have been trying that for the last ten years. Have we anything new to offer upon the subject? Nothing. We have held the subject up in every light of which it is capable; but it has been all in vain. Shall we resort to entreaty and humble supplication? What terms shall we find which have not been already exhausted? Let us not, I beseech you, sir, deceive ourselves longer. Sir, we have done everything that could be done to avert the storm which is now coming on. We have petitioned; we have remonstrated; we have supplicated; we have prostrated ourselves before the throne and have implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical hands of the Ministry and Parliament. Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded; and we have been spurned, with contempt, from the foot of the throne. In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation.

There is no longer any room for hope. If we wish to be free; if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending; if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon, until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained; we must fight! I repeat it, sir, we must fight!! An appeal to arms and to the God of hosts is all that is left us!

They tell us, sir, that we are weak, unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger. Will it be the next

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week or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs and hugging the delusive phantom of hope, until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot? Sir, we are not weak if we make a proper use of those means which the God of nature has placed in our power. Three millions of people armed in the holy cause of liberty and in such a country as that which we possess are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us.

Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. Besides, sir, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged. Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston! The war is inevitable—and let it come!! I repeat it, sir, let it come!!!

It is vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry, peace, peace; but there is no peace. The war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery?

Forbid it, Almighty God—I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!

43 The natural progress of things is for liberty to yield and government to gain ground.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, in a letter to Col. Edward Carrington, May 27, 1788.

44 You are too well informed a politician, too good a judge of men, not to know, that the ground of liberty is to be gained by inches, that we must be contented to secure what we can get, from time to time, and eternally press forward for what is yet to get. It takes time to persuade men to do even what is for their own good.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, in a letter to Rev. Charles Clay, January 27, 1790.

45 We are not to expect to be translated from despotism to liberty in a featherbed.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, in a letter to the Marquis de Lafayette, urging him to save his own head during the French Revolution, April 2, 1790.

46 Let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty and even life itself are but dreary things.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, in his first inaugural address, March 4, 1801.

47 The boisterous sea of liberty is never without a wave.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, in a letter to Richard Rush, October 20, 1820.

48 Liberty in the wild and freakish hands of fanatics has once more, as frequently in the past, proved the effective helpmate of autocracy and the twin brother of tyranny.

OTTO KAHN, in a speech at the University of Wisconsin, January 14, 1918.

49 The deadliest foe of democracy is not autocracy but liberty frenzied. Liberty is not foolproof. For its beneficent working it demands self-restraint.

Ibid.

50 Liberty without learning is always in peril and learning without liberty is always in vain.

JOHN F. KENNEDY, in a speech in celebration of the ninetieth anniversary of the founding of Vanderbilt University, March 18, 1963.

51 Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us. Our defense is in the spirit which primed liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands everywhere. Destroy this spirit and you have planted the seeds of despotism at your door. Familiarize yourselves with the chains of bondage and you prepare your own limbs to wear them. Accustomed to trample on the rights of others, you have lost the genius of your own independence and become the fit subjects of the first cunning tyrant who rises among you.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, in a speech in Edwardsville, Illinois, September 13, 1858.

52 The world has never had a good definition of the word "liberty," and the American people, just now, are much in want of one. . . . With some, the word "liberty" may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself and the product of his labor; while with others, the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men and the product of other men's labor. Here are two, not only different, but incompatible things, called by the same name—liberty. And it follows that each of the things is, by the respective parties, called by two different and incompatible names,—liberty and tyranny.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, in a speech in Baltimore, Maryland, April 18, 1864.

53 Liberty, as it is conceived by current opinion, has nothing inherent about it; it is a sort of gift or trust bestowed on the individual by the state pending *good behavior.*

MARY MCCARTHY, "The Contagion of Ideas," a talk given in 1952.

54 Liberty is to faction what air is to fire, an aliment without which it instantly expires. But it could not be less folly to abolish liberty, which is essential to political life, because it nourishes faction, than it would be to wish the annihilation of air, which is essential to animal life, because it imparts to fire its destructive agency.

JAMES MADISON, *The Federalist,* 1787–1788.

55 All government, of course, is against liberty.

Attributed to H.L. Mencken.

56 He that would make his own liberty secure must guard even his enemy from oppression.

THOMAS PAINE, *Dissertation on First Principles of Government,* 1795.

57 Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty; power is ever stealing from the many to the few. The manna of popular liberty must be gathered each day or it is rotten. The living sap of today outgrows the dead rind of yesterday. The hand entrusted with power becomes, either from human depravity or *esprit de corps,* the necessary enemy of the people. Only by continued oversight can the democrat in office be prevented from hardening into a despot; only by unintermitted agitation can a people be sufficiently awake to principle not to let liberty be smothered in material prosperity.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, speaking at Harvard University in 1852, quoted in Ralph Korngold, *Two Friends of Man,* 1950.

58 Whether in chains or in laurels, Liberty knows nothing but victories.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, "The Lesson of the Hour," an address at Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, New York, November 1, 1859.

59 The legislature of the United States shall pass no law on the subject of religion nor touching or abridging the liberty of the press.

CHARLES PINCKNEY, in a resolution presented before the Constitutional Convention, 1787.

60 I am not for a return of that definition of liberty under which for many years a free people were being gradually regimented into the service of the privileged few.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, in a Fireside Chat, September 30, 1934.

61 Liberty . . . is meek and reasonable. She admits that she belongs to all—to the high and the low, the rich and the poor, the black and the white—and that she belongs to them all equally.

GERRIT SMITH, in a speech in the House of Representatives, June 27, 1854.

62 Civil liberty is the status of the man who is guaranteed by law and civil institutions the exclu-

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WILLIAM GRAHAM SUMNER, *The Forgotten Man,* 1883.

63 When I say liberty I do not simply mean what is referred to as "free enterprise." I mean liberty of the individual to think his own thoughts and live his own life as he desires to think and to live; the liberty of the family to decide how they wish to live, what they want to eat for breakfast and for dinner, and how they wish to spend their time; liberty of a man to develop his ideas and get other people to teach those ideas, if he can convince them that they have some value to the world; liberty of every local community to decide how its children shall be educated, how its local services shall be run, and who its local leaders shall be; liberty of a man to choose his own occupation; and liberty of a man to run his own business as he thinks it ought to be run, as long as he does not interfere with the right of other people to do the same thing.

ROBERT A. TAFT, *A Foreign Policy for Americans,* 1951.

64 He who would save liberty must put his trust in democracy.

NORMAN THOMAS, in the *Saturday Review of Literature,* June 7, 1930.

65 It is not the fact of liberty but the way in which liberty is exercised that ultimately determines whether liberty itself survives.

DOROTHY THOMPSON, "What Price Liberty?" *Ladies Home Journal,* May, 1958.

66 When liberty is taken away by force it can be restored by force. When it is relinquished voluntarily by default it can never be recovered.

DOROTHY THOMPSON, "New Caspar Milquetoasts," *Ladies Home Journal,* August, 1958.

67 I had reasoned this out in my mind, there was two things I had a right to, liberty and death. If I could not have one, I would have the other, for no man should take me alive.

HARRIET TUBMAN, c.1868, quoted by Marcy Galen in *Ms.* magazine, August, 1973.

68 Liberty, when it begins to take root, is a plant of rapid growth.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, in a letter to James Madison, March 2, 1788.

69 If the true spark of religious and civil liberty be kindled, it will burn. Human agency cannot extinguish it. Like the earth's central fire, it may be smothered for a time; the ocean may overwhelm it; mountains may press it down; but its inherent and unconquerable force will heave both the ocean and the land, and at some time or other, in some place or other, the volcano will break out and flame up to heaven.

DANIEL WEBSTER, in an address at Bunker Hill Monument, June 17, 1825.

70 Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable.

DANIEL WEBSTER, in a speech in the U.S. Senate, January 26, 1830.

71 God grants liberty only to those who love it, and are always ready to guard and defend it.

DANIEL WEBSTER, in a speech in the U.S. Senate, June 3, 1834.

72 Liberty exists in proportion to wholesome restraint; the more restraint on others to keep off from us, the more liberty we have.

DANIEL WEBSTER, in a speech in Charleston, South Carolina, May 10, 1847.

73 While I trust that liberty and free institutions, as we have experienced them, may ultimately spread over the globe, I am by no means sure that all people are fit for them; nor am I desirous of imposing or forcing our peculiar forms upon any other nation that does not wish to embrace them.

DANIEL WEBSTER, in a speech at Springfield, Massachusetts, September 29, 1847.

74 Liberty is the only thing you cannot have unless you are willing to give it to others.

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE, in the *Emporia Gazette,* October 24, 1940.

75 To the States or any one of them, or any city of the States, *Resist much, obey little,*

Once unquestioning obedience, once fully enslaved,
Once fully enslaved, no nation, state, city of this earth, ever afterward resumes its liberty.

WALT WHITMAN, "To the States," 1860.

76 The only soil in which liberty can grow is that of a united people. We must have faith that the welfare of one is the welfare of all. We must know that the truth can only be reached by the expression of our free opinions, without fear and without rancor. . . . We must learn to abhor those disruptive pressures, whether religious, political, or economic, that the enemies of liberty employ.

WENDELL WILLKIE, in his speech accepting the Republican presidential nomination, August 17, 1940.

77 Happiness must be achieved through liberty rather than in spite of liberty.

Ibid.

78 Liberty has never come from the government. Liberty has always come from the subjects of it. The history of liberty is a history of resistance. The history of liberty is a history of limitations of governmental power, not the increase of it.

WOODROW WILSON, in a speech at the New York Press Club, September 9, 1912.

79 I would rather belong to a poor nation that was free than to a rich nation that had ceased to be in love with liberty. We shall not be poor if we love liberty.

WOODROW WILSON, in a speech in Mobile, Alabama, October 27, 1912.

80 Liberty does not consist . . . in mere declarations of the rights of man. It consists in the translation of those declarations into definite actions.

WOODROW WILSON, in a speech on July 4, 1914.

81 I have always summed up for myself individual liberty and business liberty and every other kind of liberty in the phrase that is common in the sporting world—"A free field and no favor."

WOODROW WILSON, in a speech to the Electric Railway Association, in Washington, D.C., January 29, 1915.

82 Civil or federal liberty is the proper end and object of authority, and cannot exist without it; and it is a liberty to do that only which is good, just, and honest.

JOHN WINTHROP, in his *Journal,* 1635.

136. LIFE

See also DEATH

1 Our days begin with trouble here,
Our life is but a span,
And cruel death is always near,
So frail a thing is man.

The New England Primer, c.1683.

2 Gosh! I feel like a real good cry!
Life, he says, is a cheat, a fake.
Well, I agree with the grouchy guy—
The best you get is an even break.

FRANKLIN P. ADAMS, "Ballade of Schopenhauer's Philosophy," in *The Melancholy Lute,* 1936.

3 I am one of those people who just can't help getting a kick out of life—even when it's a kick in the teeth.

POLLY ADLER, *A House Is Not a Home,* 1953.

4 One must have lived greatly whose record would bear the full light of day from beginning to its close.

A. BRONSON ALCOTT, "Learning," *Table Talk,* 1877.

5 Now I am beginning to live a little, and feel less like a sick oyster at low tide.

LOUISA MAY ALCOTT, quoted in Edna D. Cheney, *Louisa May Alcott: Her Life, Letters, and Journals,* 1889.

6 I have three phobias which, could I mute them, would make my life as slick as a sonnet, but as dull as ditch water: I hate to go to bed, I hate to get up, and I hate to be alone.

TALLULAH BANKHEAD, in *Tallulah,* 1952.

Fraternity

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

Martin Luther King (1929-1968)

I believe in the brotherhood of all men, but I don't believe in wasting brotherhood on anyone who doesn't want to practise it with me. Brotherhood is a two-way street.

Malcolm X (1924-1965)
American radical leader

SEE Gill on WAR

Freedom

L'homme est né libre, et partout il est dans les fers.
Man was born free, and everywhere he is in chains.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778)

All that makes existence valuable to anyone depends on the enforcement of restraints upon the actions of other people.

John Stuart Mill (1806-1873)

Freedom is always freedom for the one who thinks differently.

Rosa Luxemburg (1870-1919)
German revolutionary

None who have always been free can understand the terrible fascinating power of the hope of freedom to those who are not free.

Pearl Buck (1892-1973)
American novelist

Freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed.

Martin Luther King (1929-1968)

Freedom is not worth having if it does not connote freedom to err.

M. K. Gandhi (1869-1948)

The great trouble with the young people today is their freedom; they can no longer disobey.

Jean Cocteau (1889-1963)
French writer, film director

The free way of life proposes ends, but it does not prescribe means.

Robert Kennedy (1925-1968)

We got a free country here in this island, only none of us is free, but even so we is unfree equally.

Wolf Mankowitz (b. 1924)
British author

Only very slowly and late have men come to realise that unless freedom is universal it is only extended privilege.

Christopher Hill (b. 1912)
British historian

No human being, however great, or powerful, was ever so free as a fish.

John Ruskin (1819-1900)
English critic

The basic test of freedom is perhaps less in what we are free to do than in what we are free not to do.

Eric Hoffer (1902-1983)
American philosopher

I gave my life for freedom – this I know:
For those who bade me fight had told me so.

W. N. Ewer (1885-1976)

Freedom does not always win. This is one of the bitterest lessons of history.

A. J. P. Taylor (b. 1906)
British historian

SEE Bakunin on EQUALITY; FREEDOM OF SPEECH; LIBERTY; Engels on NECESSITY; Shaw on SACRIFICE; Lenin on The STATE

Freedom of Speech

Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties.

John Milton (1608-1674)

Every man has a right to utter what he thinks truth, and every man has a right to knock him down for it.

Dr Samuel Johnson (1709-1784)

People hardly ever make use of the freedom they have, for example, freedom of thought; instead they demand freedom of speech as a compensation.

Sören Kierkegaard (1813-1855)
Danish philosopher

Liberty of thought means liberty to communicate one's thought.

Salvador de Madariaga (1886-1978)
Spanish diplomat, writer, critic

The sound of tireless voices is the price we pay for the right to hear the music of our own opinions.

Adlai Stevenson (1900-1965)
American Democratic politician

It is now virtually impossible for the media in Britain to expose official wrongdoing without technically breaking the law.

Donald Trelford (b. 1937)
British newspaper editor
in 1986

Freedom of speech does not give a person the right to shout 'Fire!' in a crowded theatre.

Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes (1841-1935)
American jurist

I disapprove of what you say, but I will defer to the death your right to say it.

epitome of Voltaire (1694-177

SEE FREEDOM; LIBERT

Friendlessness

Friendless. Having no favors to bestow. D titute of fortune. Addicted to utterance truth and common sense.

Ambrose Bierce (1842-191
American auth

No one can have a higher opinion of him th I have – and I think he is a dirty little beas

W. S. Gilbert (1836-191
English librett

SEE Shelley on LEADERSH

Friendliness

The social, friendly, honest man,
Whate'er he be,
'Tis he fulfils great Nature's plan,
And none but he!

Robert Burns (1759-179

A friend to all is a friend to none.

Greek prover

The American has dwindled into an Od Fellow – one who may be known by th development of his organ of gregariousness.

H. D. Thoreau (1817-186

SEE Waugh on AMERIC

Friends

What is a friend? A single soul dwelling in tw bodies.

Aristotle (384-322 B

So long as we are loved by others I should sa that we are almost indispensable; and no ma is useless while he has a friend.

Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-189

Il est plus honteux de se défier de ses amis qu d'en être trompé.
It is more shameful to distrust one's friend than to be deceived by them.

François, Duc de La Rochefoucauld (1613-168
French writer, moralis

It is in the thirties that we want friends. In th forties we know that they won't save us an more than love did.

F. Scott Fitzgerald (1896-1940

If you would have friends, first learn to d without them.

Elbert Hubbard (1856-1915
American autho

It's the friends you can call up at 4 am tha matter.

Marlene Dietrich (b. 1901

I do then with my friends, as I do with m books. I would have them where I can find

osophy.
bbes (1588-1679)

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are leisure and a
goods.
eblen (1857-1929)
ican social scientist

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Russell (1872-1970)

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Disraeli (1804-1881)

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Morley (1838-1923)
er, Liberal politician

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Mead (1901-1978)
rican anthropologist

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Gasset (1883-1955)
essayist, philosopher

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Trilling (1905-1975)
American critic

choking him and
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sorry for him and
possible means –
ack.
Tolstoy (1828-1910)

behind which there
ding behind which

Mussolini (1883-1945)

ew radicals are the

ch Lenin (1870-1924)

Liberation

We sure liberated the hell out of this place.
American soldier in ruined French village
quoted by Max Miller

Liberty

I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death.
Patrick Henry (1736-1799)
American statesman

Liberty means responsibility. That is why most men dread it.
George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950)

He that would make his own liberty secure must guard even his enemy from oppression.
Thomas Paine (1737-1809)
pamphleteer, revolutionary

Liberty has never come from the government. Liberty has always come from the subjects of it. The history of liberty is a history of resistance.
Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924)

A regard for liberty, though a laudable passion, ought commonly to be subordinate to a reverence for established government.
David Hume (1711-1776)

It is true that liberty is precious – so precious that it must be rationed.
attributed to Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1870-1924)

It will be found an unjust and unwise jealousy to deprive a man of his natural liberty upon a supposition that he may abuse it.
Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658)

Of what use is political liberty to those who have no bread? It is of value only to ambitious theorists and politicians.
Jean-Paul Marat (1743-1793)
French revolutionary

The condition upon which God hath given liberty to man is eternal vigilance.
John Philpot Curran (1750-1817)
Irish lawyer, politician

I see that you, too, put up monuments to your great dead.
anonymous Frenchman
arriving by sea in New York during Prohibition

SEE Gibbon on CORRUPTION; FREEDOM; Jefferson, Paine on PATRIOTISM; Wilkie on REPRESSION; Halifax on REVOLUTION

Libraries

Knowledge is of two kinds. We know a subject ourselves, or we know where we can find information upon it.
Dr Samuel Johnson (1709-1784)

A man should keep his little brain attic stocked with all the furniture that he is likely to use, and the rest he can put away in the lumber room of his library, where he can get it if he wants it.
Sir Arthur Conan Doyle (1859-1930)

The true University of these days is a collection of books.
Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881)
Scottish author

Every library should try to be complete on something, if it were only the history of pinheads.
Dr Oliver Wendell Holmes (1809-1894)
American writer, physician

My library was dukedom large enough.
Prospero, *The Tempest*
William Shakespeare (1564-1616)

Meek young men grow up in libraries.
R. W. Emerson (1803-1882)
American essayist, poet, philosopher

Life

Life. A spiritual pickle preserving the body from decay.
Ambrose Bierce (1842-1914)
American author

Life is a *mauvais quart d'heure* made up of exquisite moments.
Oscar Wilde (1854-1900)

The dreamcrossed twilight between birth and dying.
T. S. Eliot (1888-1965)

Life is an offensive, directed against the repetitious mechanisms of the universe.
A. N. Whitehead (1861-1947)
British philosopher

Life is the art of drawing sufficient conclusions from insufficient premises.
Samuel Butler (1835-1902)
English author

Life consists of what a man is thinking of all day.
R. W. Emerson (1803-1882)
American essayist, poet, philosopher

Mon métier et mon art c'est vivre.
Living is my profession and my art.
Michel de Montaigne (1533-1592)
French essayist

Either the soul is immortal and we shall not die, or it perishes with the flesh, and we shall not know then that we are dead. Live, then, as if you were eternal.
André Maurois (1885-1967)
French author

May you live all the days of your life.
Jonathan Swift (1667-1745)

There's night and day, brother,
things; sun, moon, and stars,
sweet things; there's likewise a w
heath. Life is very sweet, brother;
wish to die?
George Borrow
E

Life is like playing a violin solo in
learning the instrument as one goe
Samuel Butler
E

Life can only be understood backw
must be lived forwards.
Sören Kierkegaard
Danish

'Tis all a Chequer-board of Nig
Days
Where Destiny with Men for P
plays:
Hither and thither moves,
mates and slays,
And one by one back in the Cl
lays.
from *the Rubáiyát of Om*
trans. Edward Fitzgerald

As flies to wanton boys, a
we to the gods;
They kill us for their spor
Gloucest
William Shakespeare

Life is a zoo in a jungle.
Peter de Vri
Ame

The meaning of life is that it stops
Franz Kafka

But there is good news yet to h
fine things to be seen
Before we go to Paradise by wa
Kensal Green.
G. K. Chesterton

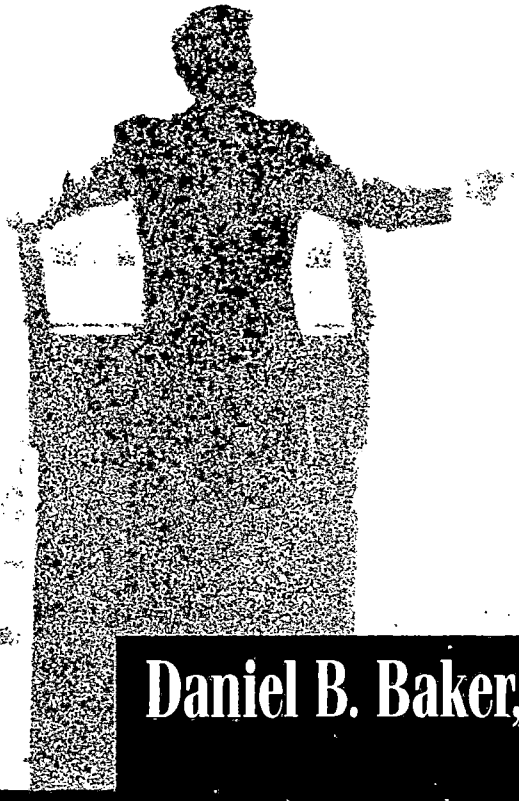
It is a tale
Told by an idiot, full of sound a
Signifying nothing.
Macbe
William Shakespeare

Man that is born of woman hath l
time to live, and is full of misery.
up, and is cut down, like a flower;
it were a shadow, and never contin
stay.
Book of Com

A useless life is an early death.
Johann Wolfgang von Goethe

We should kick and struggle and d
live as long as we can. For howev
live, we shall feel at the last that w

Political Quotations



Daniel B. Baker, Editor

TTER

should prevail on our future masters to learn
neir letters 680

VEL

that every man shall be on a level with every
ther man 360
iance to play for higher stakes and perform at
higher level 2815

ABILITY

erican newspapers as one of its assets--liability
ould be a better term 1174
greater liability than a command of
nguage 2616

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Income Tax has made more Liars 3607

BEL

tical truth is a libel—religious truth
lasphemy. 856

BERAL

nguished from the Liberal, who wishes to
place them with others 207
ehow liberals have been unable to acquire
om life 221
onservative is a liberal who was mugged the
ght before. 223
Liberals talk about a stable
overnment 1047
re are times when one must govern
berally 1545
cism of the criminal justice system ... was so
uch liberal bleating 1817
a moderate liberal, as all rational people
e 2266
ral institutions straightway cease from being
beral 2268
beral mind is a mind that is able to imagine
self believing anything. 2270
iberal is a man who uses his legs ... at the
hest ... of his head 2271
of the liberal to protect ... the basic
mocratic freedoms 2272
ice of the Liberal outlook lies not in what
inions are held 2274
who are liberal ... know that the poor are our
uals 2275
eral is a man who tells other people what to
with their money 2276
liberals in the House strongly resemble
erals I have known 2277
e are no more liberals. ... They've all been
ugged. 2279
ther a little Liberal/ Or else a little
onservative! 2486
al ideology ... makes people believe that
mething is being achieved 2941
The Negro revolution is controlled by foxy white liberals 3273
liberal governments have been wrecked on rocks of loose fiscal policy 3612

LIBERALISM

Liberalism is trust of the people tempered by prudence; 2267
The main principle ... of liberalism is the rejection of the divine law 2269
Political liberalism should also be defined in terms of objectives. 2273
Politics without ideology ... equals Liberalism 2278

LIBERATE

We have to talk about liberating minds as well as liberating society. 1463
it's men who must be liberated in this country 4009

LIBERATION

first step toward liberation ... is to use the power in hand 721
Liberation is not deliverance. 1300
liberation of the diverse energies of free nations and free men 1443
True liberation can be acquired ... only when the Negro people possess power 2872
the indispensable condition of the liberation of the human being 3559

LIBERTY

An efficient bureaucracy is the greatest threat to liberty. 12
If liberty and equality ... are chiefly to be found in democracy 264
The basis of a democratic state is liberty. 266
"Liberty, freedom, and enfranchisement." 270
The Liberty of Man ... is to be under no other Legislative Power 278
trust no man living with power to endanger the public liberty 283
Real liberty is neither found in despotism or the extremes of democracy 295
liberty doesn't even go to the trouble of accomplishing small things legally 318
but that every man shall have liberty to be what God made him 360
peace must be planted on the ... foundations of political liberty 386
retain all personal liberty which does not adversely affect their neighbors 410
foundation of democratic liberty is a willingness to believe 445
For the people, I desire their liberty and freedom 526
The more a regime claims to be the embodiment of liberty 627
Liberty cannot be preserved without general knowledge 665

our liberty can never be safe but in the hands of the people themselves 666
promote intelligence ... as the best means of preserving our liberties 671
What spectacle can be more edifying ... than that of Liberty & Learning 674
Liberty can be safe only when Suffrage is illuminated by Education. 682
Liberty without learning is always in peril 695
equality in fact as ... primordial condition of liberty 753
Liberty without equality is a ... squalid result 759
Corruption, the most infallible symptom of constitutional liberty. 779
The Union, next to our liberty, most dear. 865
Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable. 866
This regard for the liberties of Europe 887
extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice 1042
notwithstanding Mr. Mill's principle as to liberty 1118
freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty 1158
complete liberty must prevail 1162
the inestimable benefits that the liberty of the press ensures 1167
We have all of us at times suffered from the liberty of the press 1172
liberty of the press ... approved when it takes liberties with the other fellow 1175
Proclaim liberty throughout all the land 1198
A man cannot part with his liberty 1203
no such Thing as publick Liberty, without Freedom of Speech 1205
Liberty of thought is the life of the soul. 1206
Lean liberty is better than fat slavery. 1207
One of the greatest blessings a people ... can enjoy is liberty; 1208
Liberty is the right of doing whatever the laws permit. 1209
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Those who would give up essential Liberty 1210
What man loses by the social contract is his natural liberty 1211
To renounce liberty is to renounce being a man 1213
Three millions of people, so dead to all the feelings of liberty 1215
The cause of Liberty is a cause of too much dignity to be sullied 1216
the more liberty is given to everything 1217
give me liberty, or give me death! 1219
Liberty can no more exist without virtue and independence 1220
Abstract liberty ... is not to be found 1221
The arms ... we will ... employ for the preservation of our liberties 1223
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The arms ... we will ... employ for the preservation of our liberties 1223
only maxim which can ever preserve the liberties of any people 1224
we hear the loudest yelps for liberty among the drivers of negroes 1225
Though the flame of liberty may sometimes cease to shine 1227
Liberty must be limited in order to be possessed. 1229
The true danger is when liberty is nibbled away 1230
The people never give up their liberties but under some delusion. 1232
The tree of liberty must be refreshed ... with the blood of patriots 1234
What country can preserve its liberties 1235
The natural progress of things is for liberty to yield 1237
not to expect to be translated from despotism to liberty in a feather bed 1239
The ground of liberty is to be gained in inches. 1240
condition upon which God hath given liberty to man is eternal vigilance 1241
rather be exposed to the inconveniencies attending too much liberty 1243
O liberty! what crimes are committed in thy name! 1246
who has done nothing for liberty ... deserves to be counted as an enemy 1247
He that would make his own liberty secure 1248
With what deep worship I have still adored/ The spirit of divinest Liberty. 1250
The love of liberty is the love of others; 1252
Individual liberty is individual power 1254
rescue Liberty from the grasp of executive power 1258
God grants liberty only to those who love it 1259
Keep a check upon your rulers. Do this, and liberty is safe. 1261
Liberty exists in proportion to wholesome restraint. 1267
It is harder to preserve than to obtain liberty. 1268
The liberty of the individual is the greatest thing of all 1269
"liberty" ... sounds like the word "love" in the mouth of a courtesan 1270
Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. 1272
Liberty unregulated by law degenerates into anarchy 1273
True liberty acknowledges and defends the equal rights of all men 1275
let all lovers of liberty everywhere join in the great and good work 1277
The whole history of the progress of human liberty 1280
struggle between liberty and authority is the most conspicuous feature 1282

warranted ... in interfering with liberty ... is self-protection 1285
The liberty of the individual must be thus far limited; 1287
Liberty consists in doing what one desires. 1288
liberty knows nothing but victories 1290
I am the son of Liberty and to her I owe all that I am. 1296
Liberty ... we understand as the faculty of choosing 1297
Human liberty, the only true foundation of human government. 1301
Where Slavery is, there Liberty cannot be; 1302
the wolf denounces him for the same act, as the destroyer of liberty 1303
Where the State begins, individual liberty ceases 1306
I should fight for my liberty as long as my strength lasted 1309
one of two things I had a right to, liberty or death 1309
Liberty is not a means to a higher political end. 1310
Liberty, next to religion, has been ... the common pretext of crime 1312
The shallow consider liberty a release from all law 1314
Liberty cannot live apart from constitutional principle. 1316
When liberty becomes license 1317
Liberty is the soul's right to breathe 1318
Liberty recast the old forms of government into the Republic 1321
Liberty produces wealth and wealth destroys liberty. 1322
Liberty and monopoly cannot live together. 1323
Irreverence is the champion of liberty 1327
Liberty is the most jealous and exacting mistress 1328
Liberty means responsibility. 1329
distinction between freedom and liberty is not accurately known 1331
Liberty, n. One of Imagination's most precious possessions. 1332
The ideals of liberty cannot be fixed from generation to generation; 1333
Liberty is the means in the pursuit of happiness. 1334
Liberty trains for liberty. 1335
The cost of liberty is less than the price of repression. 1336
The history of liberty is a history of limitations of governmental power 1340
Liberty has never come from the government. 1340
Liberty is its own reward. 1341
You cannot ... safely plant the tree of liberty in soil that is not native 1342
than to a rich nation that had ceased to be in love with liberty 1343
Liberty does not consist ... in mere general declarations of the rights of man 1346
Liberty is often a fierce and intractable thing 1349
We do not profess to be the champions of liberty 1353
Liberty is not collective, it is personal. 1356
All liberty is individual liberty. 1356
They valued liberty both as an end and as a means. 1359
They believed liberty to be the secret of happiness 1359
Liberty don't work as good in practice as it does in Speech. 1360
greatest dangers to liberty lurk in insidious encroachment 1361
Liberty is so much latitude as the powerful choose 1364
liberty is the hardest test that one can inflict on a people 1365
a rarer thing to give liberty to others who do not agree with us 1366
Liberty is not just an idea, an abstract principle. 1367
saddest epitaph which can be carved in memory of a vanished liberty 1373
you cannot create liberty when it has gone 1380
If liberty has any meaning it means freedom to improve. 1383
liberty has largely been ... the observance of procedural safeguards 1384
Liberty lies in the hearts of men and women; 1389
spirit of liberty is ... not too sure it is right 1393
Political liberty is nothing else but the diffusion of power. 1395
The cause of liberty becomes a mockery 1401
Too little liberty brings stagnation 1403
Liberty is the possibility of doubting 1410
We can afford no liberties with liberty itself. 1415
We can afford no liberties with liberty itself. 1415
Liberty is always unfinished business. 1422
Liberty is never out of bounds or off limits; 1432
There is no "slippery slope" toward loss of liberties 1471
(American liberty) is premised on the accountability of free men 1473
as government expands, liberty contracts 1475
(Liberty) is indeed little less than a name 1512
we shall pay any price ... to assure the survival and the success of liberty 1670
the judiciary is the safeguard of our liberty and of our property 1731
Liberty, my fellow citizens, is responsibilty 1898

representatives of the people are [illegible] liberty 2228
legislatures are the ultimate guardians liberties ... of the people 224[illegible]
Liberty is to faction what air is [illegible]
Liberty to be saucy 2835
and Liberty but its satellite 284[illegible]
then liberty will soon be dead in [illegible]
To give moderate liberty for griefs and discontentments to evaporate [illegible]
It behoves every man who values liberty conscience for himself 3143
All religions united with government inimical to liberty 3145
tree of liberty grows only when watered blood of tyrants 3193
The spirit of revolution ... is a spirit opposed to liberty 3200
a nation which has undertaken to be liberty 3210
They did not exalt order at the cost liberty. 3246
This country should be agitated [illegible] liberty is won 3319
Next to the right of liberty, the right is the most important 3330
the personal right to liberty and the [illegible] in property 3382
The true aim of government is liberty
wherever these two powers are united there can be no public liberty [illegible]
Peace is liberty in tranquility; 3656
Women have, or ought to have, but liberty; 3976

LIBRARY

I heard his library burned down and books were destroyed 2665

LICENSE

License of the press is no proof of [illegible]
the tendency of its liberty to degenerate license 1171
When liberty becomes license 1317

LICK

If you can't lick 'em, jine 'em 96[illegible]
I believe that we could ... single-handedly nation in the world. 1646
In politics women ... type the letters stamps 4006

LIE

Communist countries never expel [illegible] for telling lies. 178
A lie is an abomination unto the L[illegible]
Repetition does not transform a lie truth. 958
But it means, above all things, freedom lies. 1363

representatives of the people are not defenders of liberty 2228
legislatures are the ultimate guardians of the liberties ... of the people 2241
Liberty is to faction what air is to fire 2455
Liberty to be saucy 2835
and Liberty but its satellite 2843
then liberty will soon be dead in this nation 3029
To give moderate liberty for griefs and discontentments to evaporate 3082
It behoves every man who values liberty of conscience for himself 3143
All religions united with government are ... inimical to liberty 3145
tree of liberty grows only when watered by the blood of tyrants 3193
The spirit of revolution ... is a spirit radically opposed to liberty 3200
a nation which has undertaken to be the refuge of liberty 3210
They did not exalt order at the cost of liberty. 3246
This country should be agitated ... till the battle of liberty is won 3319
Next to the right of liberty, the right of property is the most important 3330
the personal right to liberty and the personal right in property 3382
The true aim of government is liberty. 3409
wherever these two powers are united together, there can be no public liberty 3505
Peace is liberty in tranquility; 3656
Women have, or ought to have, but little liberty; 3976

LIBRARY
I heard his library burned down and that both books were destroyed 2665

LICENSE
License of the press is no proof of liberty. 1157
the tendency of its liberty to degenerate into license 1171
When liberty becomes license 1317

LICK
If you can't lick 'em, jine 'em. 950
I believe that we could ... single-handed lick any nation in the world. 1646
In politics women ... type the letters, lick the stamps 4006

LIE
Communist countries never expel correspondents for telling lies. 178
A lie is an abomination unto the Lord 803
Repetition does not transform a lie into a truth. 958
But it means, above all things, freedom from lies. 1363
the inherent right of the Government to lie to save itself 1567
an honest man sent to lie abroad for the good of his country 1603
Then he doesn't lie. 2432
All political parties die at last of swallowing their own lies. 2448
Political language ... is designed to make lies sound truthful 2498
McCarthy invented the multi Lie—the lie with so many tiny gears 2617
if they stop telling lies about us, we would stop telling the truth 3172

LIEUTENANT
The most terrible warfare is to be a second lieutenant leading a platoon 3884

LIFE
namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty 286
experience of democracy is like the experience of life itself 489
The poorest he ... hath a life to live as the greatest he 739
Life'd not be worth livin' if we didn't keep our inimies. 921
Believe in life! 1014
Is life so dear, or peace so sweet 1219
For what avail the plow or sail,/ Or land or life, if freedom fail? 1305
There are two good things in life—freedom of thought and freedom of action. 1348
Freedom has its life in the hearts 1390
Government and co-operation are in all things the laws of life; 1541
Life and liberty can be as much endangered from illegal methods 1929
Only those engaged in the jar of life have the material for it; 2061
as soon as men are not afraid to risk their lives 2107
There is something better ... that a man can give than his life. 2109
I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country. 2393
worst thing that can be said of the most powerful ... they can take your life 2847
among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of happiness 3290
Every dollar that we waste means that their life will be ... the more meager 3608

LIFE-SIZED
Great men are but life-sized. 2110

LIFETIME
we shall not see them lit again in our lifetime 930
No man is truly great who is great only in his lifetime. 2038
Of the four wars in my lifetime 3956

has never weakened the stamina
ple. 1377
lways been free can
386
r be starving and free than fed in

ion within the framework of
free society 1400
rently free ... person may be
05
know where he is not free; 1407
els so rich in his opportunities for
1407
not free where there is no

not a free man. 1411
at land where man is free 1418
knows how to keep in his own
er to decide 1424
ire to be free and
1425
d the free with the free and

ife proposes ends 1448
ociety only if we recognize that in
1465
ed to brandish the word

free life is being able to

n negotiate; 1472
nless government is

will threaten free nations and
s 1699
ation is the characteristic of a free

by which we judge whether a
ly free 2297
ee in proportion to the rights it
he minority 2311
n free 2334
times must be/ Who would keep
e. 2416
are things inseparable from free
2450
r exist in a free country. 2452
ents are party government. 2483
lly entitled to the free exercise of

s country ceases to be free for
59
e free for religion 3159
its as women, not only to be

omen become, the freer will men

ant social service ... is to keep
l free 3479

A free people ought not only to be armed, but disciplined; 3701
if we allow it a free hand to corrupt democratic societies 3971

FREEDOM

The Constitution is the sole source and guaranty of national freedom. 241
If political freedom is more advantageous for the development of wealth 309
that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom 344
We are inclined to confuse freedom and democracy 475
Necessity is the plea for every infringement of human freedom. 541
True individual freedom cannot exist without economic security 653
freedom of action without freed capacity of thought behind it is only chaos 685
Equality—the informing soul of Freedom! 755
When people talk of the freedom of writing, speaking or thinking 1110
Freedom of expression is the matrix ... of nearly every other form of freedom. 1130
The problem of freedom ... is ... maintaining a competition of ideas 1132
Laws alone cannot secure freedom of expression; 1133
freedom of speech means you shall not do something ... for the views they have 1144
freedom of the individual is not just the luxury of one intellectual 1152
if he permits his freedom of expression to be abolished 1152
The freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty 1158
Sovereignty of the people and freedom of the press are each necessary 1168
Freedom of conscience ... among the very fundamentals of democracy 1178
I ... will die for the freedom of the press 1180
Freedom from something is not enough. It should also be freedom for something. 1182
Freedom of the press is not an end in itself but a means to the end 1184
Freedom is nothing else but a chance to be better 1186
Freedom of the press belongs to those who own one. 1194
Freedom ... regained bites with keener fangs than freedom never endangered 1199
Freedom can't be kept for nothing. 1200
Without Freedom of Thought ... no such Thing as Wisdom; 1205
no such Thing as publick Liberty, without Freedom of Speech 1205
The jaws of power are always open to devour ... freedom 1214

Freedom and not servitude is the cure of anarchy; 1222
Those who expect to reap the blessing of freedom 1226
how much it cost the present generation to preserve your freedom 1231
Freedom of religion ... press ... person ... form the bright constellation 1251
the nation which enjoys the most freedom must be ... the most powerful 1254
one cure for the evils ... freedom produces, and that cure is freedom 1255
The history of the world is ... the progress of the consciousness of freedom 1257
True freedom is to share/ All the chains our brothers wear 1263
revolutions do not always establish freedom 1274
The only freedom which deserves the name, is that of pursuing our own good 1283
In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free. 1299
For what avail the plow or sail,/ Or land or life, if freedom fail? 1305
The spirit of truth and the spirit of freedom the pillars of society 1311
oscillation ... between anarchy and despotism is to be replaced by ... freedom 1313
what is freedom? ... the will to be responsible to ourselves 1319
freedom of speech, freedom of conscience, and the prudence never to practice 1324
worthy ... to fight for one's freedom; it is ... finer to fight for another 1325
Freedom remains still the wisest cure for freedom's temporary inconveniences. 1326
The distinction between freedom and liberty is not accurately known; 1331
The only freedom consists in the people taking care of the government. 1339
Most men, after a little freedom, have preferred authority 1344
two good things in life—freedom of thought and freedom of action 1348
While the state exists there is no freedom; when there is freedom ... no state 1350
Radicalism is ... always applied to people who are endeavoring to get freedom 1355
necessary to grow accustomed to freedom before one may walk ... sure-footedly 1358
Men born to freedom are naturally alert to repel invasion of their liberty 1361
Freedom is a very great reality. But it means ... freedom from lies. 1363
Freedom belongs to the strong. 1368
Freedom to learn is the first necessity 1374
Freedom is not worth fighting for if it means no more than license 1375
the ideal of freedom which is the political expression of morality 1376

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the ideal of freedom which is the political expression of morality 1376
We have learned that freedom in itself is not enough. 1378
Freedom of speech is of no use to a man who has nothing to say. 1378
If a nation values anything more than freedom, it will lose its freedom; 1381
dagger plunged in the name of Freedom is plunged into the breast of Freedom 1382
Freedom is an indivisible word. 1385
Freedom has its life in the hearts ... of men 1390
The winning of freedom is not to be compared to the winning of a game 1390
The ruling class or race must share their freedom with everyone 1391
I wish that every human life might be pure transparent freedom. 1394
No man is entitled to the blessings of freedom unless he be vigilant 1397
Freedom and slavery are mental states. 1398
not enough merely to realize how freedom has been won 1399
Freedom always entails danger. 1402
A Country can get more real joy out of just hollering for their Freedom 1404
they lose their social freedom ... in seeking to become like each other 1406
Everything that is really great and inspiring is created by ... freedom 1408
The right to be let alone is indeed the beginning of all freedoms. 1414
The real guarantee of freedom is an equilibrium of social forces 1419
We cannot choose freedom established on a hierarchy of degrees of freedom 1423
Freedom has been defined as the opportunity for self-discipline. 1426
you can't ... allow freedom to be pushed back to the ... United States 1427
Freedom is a hard-bought thing. 1428
Freedom is not worth having if it does not connote freedom to err. 1429
If men ... are in chains, anywhere in the world, then freedom is endangered 1430
only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom 1433
Conformity is the jailer of freedom and the enemy of growth. 1434
Freedom is not something ... given; freedom is something people take 1435
We stand for freedom. 1436
then the peril to freedom will continue to rise 1437
The best road to progress is freedom's road. 1438
The cost of freedom is always high 1439
capitalism is a necessary condition for political freedom 1440
competitive capitalism, also promotes political freedom 1441

Freedom in economic arrangements is a component of freedom broadly understood 1442
Economic freedom is also an indispensable means toward ... political freedom 1442
Economic freedom is also an indispensable means toward ... political freedom 1442
Today, in the world of freedom, the proudest boast is "Ich bin ein Berliner." 1444
the cause of freedom versus tyranny 1446
Freedom is indivisible, and when one man is enslaved, all are not free. 1447
There can be no real freedom without the freedom to fail. 1449
Freedom is the understanding of necessity and the transformation of necessity. 1451
After you get your freedom, your enemy will respect you. 1453
Freedom to many means immediate betterment 1454
less a matter of horror than the curtailment of the freedom to profit 1455
You can't separate peace from freedom 1456
Freedom is sweet fat, and that's for me. 1457
Freedom is sweet, on the beat 1457
Freedom is an internal achievement rather than an external judgment. 1460
In the act of resistance the rudiments of freedom are already present. 1461
We know that the road to freedom has always been stalked by death. 1467
The biggest menace to American freedom is the intelligence community. 1470
We know what works: Freedom works. We know what's right: Freedom 1474
either the people must have freedom based on law 1487
Man is about the same ... whether with freedom 1544
The freedom of the city is not negotiable. 1674
in the highest position ... the least freedom of action 1972
the duty of the liberal ... to extend the basic democratic freedoms 2272
Nor do men ... enjoy any greater share of this freedom in a pure commonwealth 2331
No free Country ... without parties ... a natural offspring of Freedom 2456
Power in defense of freedom is greater than power in behalf of tyranny 2883
never wear your best trousers when you go out to fight for freedom 3103
it wants more freedom to graze on its own 3133
"Freedom from fear" could be said to sum up ... human rights 3348
as the Negro plunges deeper into the quest for freedom and justice 3350
The Negro revolt is not aimed at winning friends but at winning freedom 3372
freedom ... includes the freedom to buy whatever a white man can buy 3377
Freedom is never granted; it is won. 3380
Freedom and justice must be struggled for by the oppressed of all lands 3380
for freedom is never a final fact 3380
a celebration of individual freedom, not of homosexuality 3394
the freedom ... of man ... the sole objects of all legitimate government 3434
If freedom makes social progress possible, so social progress enlarges freedom 3546
essential to freedom ... that no taxes be imposed ... but with ... consent 3579
History does not long entrust the care of freedom to the weak 3876
Peace and freedom do not come cheap 3906
a struggle for freedom on every front of human activity 3920
When man ... enjoys his natural freedom, let him despise woman 3978
with the same freedom to express herself in the religion and government 3988

FREEMAN

Vote, n. The instrument ... of a freeman's power to make a fool of himself 709
No freeman shall be taken, or imprisoned 1829

FREETHINKING

The freethinking of one age is the common sense of the next. 906

FREIGHT

The farmer is the only man ... who ... pays the freight both ways 656

FRESH

Eternal truths will be neither true nor eternal unless they have fresh meaning 968

FREUD

Fifty years ago if we had gone the way of Freud 2803

FRICTION

inevitable friction incident to the distribution of the governmental powers 3510

FRIEND

I am a good friend to Communists abroad 165
that he that holds it does not trust his friends 518
Abuse a man unjustly, and you will make friends for him. 926
Instead of loving your enemy, treat your friend a little better. 936
Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike 1025
The 5th Amendment is an old friend and a good friend 1417

No ... friend of the Americ... a friend of American bu...
A state worthy of the name ...
Whenever you put a man ... he ceases to be your frien...
that friend shall be down in...
I have lost every friend on ea... have one friend left 20...
the king was the only mona... a friend 2340
when they talk of supporting ... serving their friends 244...
never attempt to buy the fav... the expense of your friends
Let no man be put ... out or ... is our friend. 2555
it brings nothing but ... daily ...
But my damn friends, my god...
The Negro revolt is not aimed ... friends 3372
If I had to choose between betra... and betraying my friend 364

FRIENDLESS

to be Omnipotent but friendless ...

FRIENDSHIP

Peace, commerce, and honest fri... nations 1612
to allow the friendship between ... upon deep and permanent thing...
The friendships of nations, built ... interests 1643
passion for politics stems usually ... insatiable need ... for friendship

FROG

become like the log that was given ... be their king 1842

FRONT

A leader should not get too far in ... troops 2207
however extreme may seem to be th... on the Front Bench 2583

FRUGAL

A wise and frugal Government, ... restrain men 1517

FRUSTRATING

He'll find it very frustrating. 2961

FRUSTRATION

Absolute frustration is a dangerous ... a world with. 2889

FUEL

The problem isn't a shortage of fuel... of government. 1574
if there be fuel prepared, it is hard ... the spark shall come 3186

vention (May, 1787) be opened with prayer.

1
Fifty million Frenchmen can't be wrong.
Attributed to TEXAS GUINAN. (New York *World-Telegram,* 21 Mar., 1931)

2
The last time I saw Paris.
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN II, Title of lyric from the film *Lady Be Good* (1940). This was also the title of a memoir (1942) by Elliot Paul.

3
These things are managed so well in France.
BRET HARTE, *The Tale of a Pony.*

4
Something of the monkey aspect inseparable from a little Frenchman.
NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE, *Journals,* 5 July, 1837.

5
Everything is on such a clear financial basis in France. It is the simplest country to live in. No one makes things complicated by becoming your friend for any obscure reason. If you want people to like you, you have only to spend a little money.
ERNEST HEMINGWAY, *The Sun Also Rises.*

6
In a comparison of this with other countries we have the proof of primacy which was given to Themistocles after the battle of Salamis. Every general voted himself the first reward of valor, and the second to Themistocles. So, ask the travelled inhabitant of any nation, in what country on earth you would rather live? Certainly in my own. . . . which would be your second choice? France.
THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Writings,* vol. i, p. 159.

7
Never was there a country where the practice of governing too much had taken deeper root and done more mischief.
THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Writings,* vol. vii, p. 445.

8
How'ya gonna keep 'em down on the farm,
After they've seen Paree?
SAM M. LEWIS AND JOE YOUNG, Title and Refrain of song (1919) with music by Walter Donaldson. This was one of the most enduring songs inspired by World War I.

9
The Frenchman feels an easy mastery in speaking his mother tongue, and attributes it to some native superiority of parts that lifts him high above us barbarians of the West.
JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, *On a Certain Condescension in Foreigners.*

10
Half artist and half anchorite,
Part siren and part Socrates.
PERCY MACKAYE, *France.*

11
The cross of the Legion of Honor has been conferred upon me. However, few escape that distinction.
MARK TWAIN, *A Tramp Abroad,* ch. 8.

FRANKNESS, see Candor

FRAUD, see Deceit

FREEDOM

See also Liberty

12
I for one will never concede that we cannot do as much in defense of our freedoms as any enemy may be doing to destroy them.
BERNARD M. BARUCH. (New York *Times* obituary of Baruch, 21 June, 1965, p. 16)

13
"Freedom!" their battle-cry,—
"Freedom! or leave to die!"
G. H. BOKER, *The Black Regiment.*

14
O Freedom! thou art not, as poets dream,
A fair young girl, with light and delicate limbs,
And wavy tresses. . . . A bearded man,
Armed to the teeth, art thou; one mailèd hand
Grasps the broad shield, and one the sword; thy brow
Glorious in beauty though it be, is scarred
With tokens of old wars; thy massive limbs
Are strong with struggling.
WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT, *The Antiquity of Freedom.*

15
Freedom comes from human beings, rather than from laws and institutions.
CLARENCE DARROW, in his defense of Henry Sweet, 19 May, 1926. Sweet was on trial in Detroit as a result of a civil disorder that came about when, with a group of fellow Negroes, he moved into a district of Detroit populated, up to that time, exclusively by whites.

16
But we were born free.
ELMER DAVIS, Title of book (1954).

17
We must be ready to dare all for our country. For history does not long entrust the care of freedom to the weak or the timid.
DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, First Inaugural Address, 20 Jan., 1953.

18
May the light of freedom, coming to all darkened lands, flame brightly—until at last the darkness is no more.
DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, Second Inaugural Address, 21 Jan., 1957.

1
Only our individual faith in freedom can keep us free.
DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, *Let's Be Honest with Ourselves; The Reader's Digest,* Dec., 1963.

2
For what avail the plough or sail,
Or land or life, if freedom fail?
EMERSON, *Boston.*

3
Wherever snow falls, man is free. Where the orange blooms, man is the foe of man.
EMERSON, *Journals,* 1862.

4
When "freedom" is worshipped as a sublime and mystical state rather than as simply a necessary condition for human fulfillment, the faith in freedom itself ceases to express the democratic spirit and becomes something quite different; it ceases to express the conscience of a conservative and becomes instead the faith of a fanatic.
J. W. FULBRIGHT, Address, Sept., 1964, during the presidential campaign. The reference is to the Republican nominee, Barry Goldwater.

5
Why read ye not the changeless truth,
The free can conquer but to save?
JOHN HAY, *Northward.* This was quoted by President McKinley in a message on the Philippines.

6
If we wish to be free—if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending—if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained—we must fight! I repeat it, sir, we must fight!
PATRICK HENRY, Address to Virginia convention of delegates to the Continental Congress, 23 Mar., 1775.

7
Freedom is the open window through which pours the sunlight of the human spirit and of human dignity. With the preservation of these moral and spiritual qualities and with God's grace will come further greatness for our country.
HERBERT HOOVER, Statement on his ninetieth birthday, New York City, 10 Aug., 1964.

8
We are not free; it was not intended we should be. A book of rules is placed in our cradle, and we never get rid of it until we reach our graves. Then we are free, and only then.
EDGAR WATSON HOWE, *Howe's Monthly.*

9
In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,
With a glory in his bosom that transfigures you and me;
As he died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,
While God is marching on.
JULIA WARD HOWE, *Battle Hymn of the Republic.*

10
There is no freedom on earth or in any star for those who deny freedom to others.
ELBERT HUBBARD, *A Thousand and One Epigrams.*

11
We Americans know that freedom, like peace, is indivisible.
HAROLD L. ICKES, Speech in New York City, 18 May, 1941.

Freedom is an indivisible word. If we want to enjoy it, and fight for it, we must be prepared to extend it to everyone, whether they are rich or poor, whether they agree with us or not, no matter what their race or the color of their skin.
WENDELL L. WILLKIE, *One World,* ch. 13.

12
The only struggle worthy of man's unceasing sacrifice—the struggle to be free.
LYNDON B. JOHNSON, Address in New York City, 23 Feb., 1966, upon accepting the national freedom award of Freedom House. The concluding words.

13
In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility—I welcome it. I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation. The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it—and the glow from that fire can truly light the world.
JOHN F. KENNEDY, Inaugural Address, 20 Jan., 1961.

14
My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.
JOHN F. KENNEDY, Inaugural Address, 20 Jan., 1961.

15
All free men, wherever they may live, are citizens of Berlin. And therefore, as a free man, I take pride in the words *Ich bin ein Berliner.*
JOHN F. KENNEDY, Address in West Berlin, 26 June, 1963.

16
In today's world, freedom can be lost with-

out a shot being fired, by b
bullets. The success of our
pendent upon respect for o
world as well as our missi
recognition of the virtues o
as the evils of tyranny.
JOHN F. KENNEDY, Spe
delivery in Dallas, Te
the day of his assassina

1
The masses that Hitler was
inate are the modern men
dom from the constraints
order an intolerable loss o
support. With Gide they a
burden of freedom is too
WALTER LIPPMANN, *The*
bk. ii, ch. 8.

2
What we are suffering fro
is the failure of the prim
that freedom does not be
overthrown. Freedom is a
requires authority, disci
ment of its own kind.
WALTER LIPPMANN, Sy
Column, 4 Aug., 196

3
Freedom is re-created yea
In hearts wide open on th
JAMES RUSSELL LOWE

4
No! true freedom is to sh
All the chains our brother
JAMES RUSSELL LOWE
dom.

5
Our present and future d
failure to recognize th
achieve freedom from r
freedoms would be los
mankind has achieved
achieved only because
responsibility.
ARTHUR H. MOTLEY,
28 Jan., 1965.

6
Free men set themselves
JAMES OPPENHEIM, *T*

7
Tyranny, like hell, is n
yet we have this consol
the harder the conflict,
triumph. What we obt
teem too lightly. . . .
indeed if so celestial a
should not be highly rat
THOMAS PAINE, *The*

8
Those who expect to
freedom, must, like me
of supporting it.
THOMAS PAINE, *Th*

f the lilies Christ was born
a,
his bosom that transfigures

ake men holy, let us die to
ee,
arching on.
lowe, *Battle Hymn of the*

lom on earth or in any star
y freedom to others.
ard, *A Thousand and One*

know that freedom, like
e.
es, Speech in New York
, 1941.

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illkie, *One World,* ch. 13.

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oy, Inaugural Address, 20

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r the freedom of man.
oy, Inaugural Address, 20

rever they may live, are
And therefore, as a free
n the words *Ich bin ein*

y, Address in West Ber-
53.

eedom can be lost with-

out a shot being fired, by ballots as well as bullets. The success of our leadership is dependent upon respect for our mission in the world as well as our missiles—on a clearer recognition of the virtues of freedom as well as the evils of tyranny.

John F. Kennedy, Speech prepared for delivery in Dallas, Tex., Nov. 22, 1963, the day of his assassination.

1
The masses that Hitler was planning to dominate are the modern men who find in freedom from the constraints of the ancestral order an intolerable loss of guidance and of support. With Gide they are finding that the burden of freedom is too great an anxiety.

Walter Lippmann, *The Public Philosophy,* bk. ii, ch. 8.

2
What we are suffering from in modern times is the failure of the primitive liberals to see that freedom does not begin when tyranny is overthrown. Freedom is a way of life which requires authority, discipline, and government of its own kind.

Walter Lippmann, Syndicated Newspaper Column, 4 Aug., 1964.

3
Freedom is re-created year by year,
In hearts wide open on the Godward side.

James Russell Lowell, *Freedom,* 1. 21.

4
No! true freedom is to share
All the chains our brothers wear.

James Russell Lowell, *Stanzas on Freedom.*

5
Our present and future danger may lie in our failure to recognize that if we were to achieve freedom from responsibility, all our freedoms would be lost. All the freedom mankind has achieved to date has been achieved only because individuals accepted responsibility.

Arthur H. Motley, Speech in St. Louis, 28 Jan., 1965.

6
Free men set themselves free.

James Oppenheim, *The Slave.*

7
Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered, yet we have this consolation within us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly. . . . It would be strange indeed if so celestial an article as freedom should not be highly rated.

Thomas Paine, *The Crisis:* Introduction.

8
Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom, must, like men, undergo the fatigue of supporting it.

Thomas Paine, *The Crisis,* No. iv.

9
The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world. The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world. The third is freedom from want . . . everywhere in the world. The fourth is freedom from fear . . . anywhere in the world.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Message to Congress, 6 Jan., 1941. These "essential human freedoms," upon which the world of "future days" was to be founded, became famous as the "four freedoms."

10
We cannot save freedom with pitchforks and muskets alone after a dictator combination has gained control of the rest of the world.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Address by radio, 4 July, 1941.

11
If freedom had been the happy, simple, relaxed state of ordinary humanity, man would have everywhere been free—whereas through most of time and space he has been in chains. Do not let us make any mistake about this. The natural government of man is servitude. Tyranny is the normal pattern of government.

Adlai E. Stevenson, A. Powell Davies Memorial Address, Washington, D.C., 18 Jan., 1959. (*Contemporary Forum,* ed. by Ernest J. Wrage and Barnet Baskerville, p. 360)

12
We have confused the free with the free and easy.

Adlai E. Stevenson, *Putting First Things First: A Democratic View.*

13
What other liberty is there worth having, if we have not freedom and peace in our minds,—if our inmost and most private man is but a sour and turbid pool?

Henry D. Thoreau, *Journal,* 26 Oct., 1853.

14
That man is free who is protected from injury.

Daniel Webster, Address to the Charlestown Bar, 10 May, 1847.

15
Freedom exists only where the people take care of the government.

Woodrow Wilson, Speech in New York City, 4 Sept., 1912.

16
Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end, and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.

Woodrow Wilson, War Address to Congress, 2 Apr., 1917.

of the world. We should rejoice that technology is now freeing us from that burden.

BRUCE BLIVEN, *Using Our Leisure Is No Easy Job; New York Times Magazine,* 26 Apr., 1964, p. 115.

1
I feel like a locomotive hitched to a boy's express wagon.

GROVER CLEVELAND, in 1897, upon being asked how it felt to have no official responsibility. (MCELROY, *Grover Cleveland,* ii, 269)

2
Is there no road now to Leisurely Lane? We traveled it long ago!
A place for the lagging of leisurely steps, sweet and shady and slow.

VIRGINIA WOODWARD CLOUD, *Leisurely Lane.*

3
Sweet is the pleasure itself cannot spoil.
Is not true leisure one with true toil?

JOHN S. DWIGHT, *True Rest.*

4
A life of leisure and a life of laziness are two things.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, *Poor Richard,* 1746.

5
Employ thy time well if thou meanest to gain leisure.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, *Poor Richard,* 1758.

6
Leisure is the time for doing something useful.

NATHANIEL HOWE, *A Chapter of Proverbs.*

7
He enjoys true leisure who has time to improve his soul's estate.

HENRY D. THOREAU, *Journal,* 11 Feb., 1840.

8
A broad margin of leisure is as beautiful in a man's life as in a book.

HENRY D. THOREAU, *Journal,* 28 Dec., 1852.

LENDING, see Borrowing

LETTERS

9
Not even a formal autobiography is quite so revealing as the relaxed, informal words a man sets down at a particular place and time for the eyes of a friend.

CARLOS BAKER, *A Search for the Man As He Really Was; New York Times Book Review,* 26 July, 1964, p. 4.

10
Carrier of news and knowledge,
Instrument of trade and industry,
Promoter of mutual acquaintance,
Of peace and good-will
Among men and nations.

CHARLES W. ELIOT, Inscription on southeast corner of post office, Washington, D.C.

11
Messenger of sympathy and love,
Servant of parted friends,
Consoler of the lonely,
Bond of the scattered family,
Enlarger of the common life.

CHARLES W. ELIOT, Inscription on southwest corner of post office, Washington, D.C.

12
The tongue is prone to lose the way,
Not so the pen, for in a letter
We have not better things to say,
But surely say them better.

EMERSON, *Life.*

13
For my part, I could easily do without the post-office. . . . I never received more than one or two letters in my life that were worth the postage.

HENRY D. THOREAU, *Walden,* ch. 2.

LIBERTY

See also Freedom

14
The broad goal of our foreign policy is to enable the people of the United States to enjoy in peace the blessings of liberty.

JOHN FOSTER DULLES, Address before the Foreign Policy Association, New York City, 16 Feb., 1955.

15
Liberty is always dangerous, but it is the safest thing we have.

HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK, *Liberty.*

16
Those, who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety.

Attributed to BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. In *Historical Review of Pennsylvania* (1759), and often heard during the Revolutionary period.

17
Only in fetters is liberty:
Without its banks could a river be?

LOUIS GINSBERG, *Fetters.*

18
Is life so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!

PATRICK HENRY, Speech in Virginia House of Delegates, 23 Mar., 1775.

19
Sir, we are not weak if we make a proper use of those means which the God of nature hath placed in our power. Three millions of people, armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess,

are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us.

PATRICK HENRY, Speech in Virginia House of Delegates, 23 Mar., 1775.

1
Liberty is the breath of progress.

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL, *How to Reform Mankind.*

2
The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is its natural manure.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, Letter to William S. Smith, Paris, 13 Nov., 1787. (*Writings,* iv, 467)

3
The God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Summary View of the Rights of British America.*

4
The ground of liberty must be gained by inches.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Writings,* vol. viii, p. 3.

5
We are not to expect to be translated from despotism to liberty in a feather bed.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Writings,* vol. viii, p. 13.

6
The boisterous sea of liberty is never without a wave.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Writings,* vol. xv, p. 283.

7
The purpose of liberty is not merely to allow error but to discover truth, not only to restrict the powers of the government but to enrich the judgment of the nation.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON, Speech at graduation exercises of the National Cathedral School for Girls, Washington, D.C., 1 June, 1965.

8
The deadliest foe of democracy is not autocracy but liberty frenzied. Liberty is not foolproof. For its beneficent working it demands self-restraint.

OTTO KAHN, Speech at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, 14 Jan., 1918.

9
Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty.

JOHN F. KENNEDY, Inaugural Address, 20 Jan., 1961.

10
The world has never had a good definition of the word liberty, and the American people, just now, are much in want of one. We all declare for liberty; but in using the same word we do not all mean the same thing. With some the word liberty may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself, and the product of his labor; while with others the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men, and the product of other men's labor. Here are two, not only different, but incompatible things, called by the same name, liberty. And it follows that each of the things is, by the respective parties, called by two different and incompatible names—liberty and tyranny.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, Address in Baltimore, 18 Apr., 1864.

11
My hope is that both liberty and democracy can be preserved before the one destroys the other. Whether this can be done is the question of our time, what with more than half the world denying and despairing of it.

WALTER LIPPMANN, *The Public Philosophy,* bk. i, ch. 1 (1955).

12
The inescapable price of liberty is an ability to preserve it from destruction.

GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR, to President Quezon of the Philippine Islands. (MILLER, *MacArthur,* p. 192)

13
The history of the world shows that republics and democracies have generally lost their liberties by way of passing from civilian to quasi-military status. Nothing is more conducive to arbitrary rule than the military junta.

GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR. (*General's Words Live On;* New York *Herald Tribune,* 6 Apr., 1964, p. 15)

14
He that would make his own liberty secure must guard even his enemy from oppression.

THOMAS PAINE, *Dissertation on First Principles of Government,* p. 242.

15
Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, Address: *Public Opinion,* before the Massachusetts Antislavery Society, 28 Jan., 1852. When it was said that Phillips was quoting Thomas Jefferson, he challenged one and all to find this famous statement in the works of Jefferson or anyone else. The statement has also been attributed to Patrick Henry. A close approximation of it appears in a speech by the Irish judge John Philpot Curran, 10 July, 1790.

16
The manna of popular liberty must be gathered each day, or it is rotten. . . . Only by uninterrupted agitation can a people be kept sufficiently awake to principle not to let liberty be smothered by material prosperity.

Republics exist only on tenure of being agitated.
WENDELL PHILLIPS, Address: *Public Opinion,* Boston, 28 Jan., 1852.

1
Liberty, when it begins to take root, is a plant of rapid growth.
GEORGE WASHINGTON, Letter to James Madison, 2 Mar., 1788.

2
If the true spark of religious and civil liberty be kindled, it will burn. Human agency cannot extinguish it.
DANIEL WEBSTER, Address at Bunker Hill Monument, 17 June, 1825.

3
God grants liberty only to those who love it, and are always ready to guard and defend it.
DANIEL WEBSTER, Speech in U.S. Senate, 3 June, 1834.

4
Liberty exists in proportion to wholesome restraint; the more restraint on others to keep off from us, the more liberty we have.
DANIEL WEBSTER, Speech, 10 May, 1847.

5
Liberty has never come from the government. Liberty has always come from the subjects of it. The history of liberty is a history of resistance. The history of liberty is a history of limitations of governmental power, not the increase of it.
WOODROW WILSON, Speech before New York Press Club, 9 Sept., 1912.

6
I would rather belong to a poor nation that was free than to a rich nation that had ceased to be in love with liberty. We shall not be poor if we love liberty.
WOODROW WILSON, Speech in Mobile, Ala., 27 Oct., 1912.

7
Liberty does not consist in mere general declarations of the rights of men. It consists in the translation of those declarations into definite action.
WOODROW WILSON, Address in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, 4 July, 1914.

8
A liberty to do that only which is good, just, and honest.
JOHN WINTHROP, *Life and Letters,* ii, 341.

9
The thing they forget is that liberty and freedom and democracy are so very precious that you do not fight to win them once and stop.
SERGEANT ALVIN C. YORK. Quoted by Franklin D. Roosevelt in an Armistice Day speech, 11 Nov., 1941, as a reply to those who were then saying that World War I had been a futile struggle.

LIBRARY

See also Books, Reading

10
The richest minds need not large libraries.
AMOS BRONSON ALCOTT, *Table Talk: Learning-Books.*

11
A library is but the soul's burial-ground. It is the land of shadows.
HENRY WARD BEECHER, *Star Papers: Oxford, The Bodleian Library.*

12
Libries niver encouraged lithrachoor anny more thin tombstones encourage livin'. No wan iver wrote annythin' because he was tol' that a hundherd years fr'm now his books might be taken down fr'm a shelf in a granite sepulcher an' some wan wud write "Good" or "This man is crazy" in th' margin. What lithrachoor needs is fillin' food.
FINLEY PETER DUNNE, *Dissertations by Mr. Dooley: The Carnegie Libraries.*

13
Consider what you have in the smallest chosen library. A company of the wisest and wittiest men that could be picked out of all civil countries, in a thousand years, have set in best order the results of their learning and wisdom. The men themselves were hid and inaccessible, solitary, impatient of interruption, fenced by etiquette; but the thought which they did not uncover to their bosom friend is here written out in transparent words to us, the strangers of another age.
EMERSON, *Society and Solitude: Books.*

14
Meek young men grow up in libraries.
EMERSON, *Nature, Addresses and Lectures: The American Scholar.*

15
Every library should try to be complete on something, if it were only the history of pinheads.
OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, *The Poet at the Breakfast-Table,* ch. 8.

16
I have often thought that nothing would do more extensive good at small expense than the establishment of a small circulating library in every county, to consist of a few well-chosen books, to be lent to the people of the county, under such regulations as would secure their safe return in due time.
THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Writings,* vol. xii, p. 282.

17
Libraries can be of indispensable service in lifting the dead weight of poverty and ignorance.
FRANCIS KEPPEL, Address at opening session of annual American Library Associ-

4 There is no force so powerful as an idea whose time has come.

EVERETT DIRKSEN, referring to the Civil Rights Bill, in a speech in the U.S. Senate, 1964.

5 Force cannot give right.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, *A Summary View of the Rights of British America,* 1774.

6 Force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, in his first inaugural address, March 4, 1801.

7 You use whatever force is necessary to achieve the purpose, and I would like to feel that there wouldn't be a need for using armed force if we made it apparent that we have the will, if necessary, to do that.

RONALD REAGAN, quoted in Hedrick Smith et. al., *Reagan the Man, the President,* 1980.

8 There is such a thing as a nation being so right that it does not need to convince others by force that it is right.

WOODROW WILSON, in a speech at Convention Hall, Philadelphia, May 10, 1915.

9 There is . . . but one response possible from us: force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit, the righteous and triumphant force which shall make right the law of the world and cast every selfish dominion down in the dust.

WOODROW WILSON, in an address at Baltimore, Maryland, on the first anniversary of the U.S. entry into World War I, April 6, 1918.

95. FREEDOM

See also AMERICA; CIVIL RIGHTS; DEMOCRACY; EQUALITY; INDEPENDENCE; LIBERTY; RELIGIOUS FREEDOM; TYRANNY

1 Every generation must wage a new war for freedom against new forces that seek through new devices to enslave mankind.

Plank of the platform of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, 1924.

2 Oh, Lord, I want to be free, want to be free;
Rainbow round my shoulder, wings on my feet.

Folk song, quoted in Howard W. Odum, *Wings on My Feet,* 1929.

3 All men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential, and unalienable rights.

JOHN ADAMS, Constitution of Massachusetts, 1779.

4 When people talk of the freedom of writing, speaking, or thinking, I cannot choose but laugh. No such thing ever existed. No such thing now exists; but I hope it will exist. But it must be hundreds of years after you and I shall write and speak no more.

JOHN ADAMS, in a letter to Thomas Jefferson, July 15, 1818.

5 The truth is, all might be free if they valued freedom, and defended it as they ought.

Attributed to Samuel Adams.

6 Driven from every other corner of the earth, freedom of thought and the right of private judgment in matters of conscience direct their course to this happy country as their last asylum.

SAMUEL ADAMS, in a speech in Philadelphia, August 1, 1776.

7 Free speech is to a great people what winds are to oceans and malarial regions, which waft away the elements of disease, and bring new elements of health. Where free speech is stopped miasma is bred, and death comes fast.

HENRY WARD BEECHER, *Royal Truths,* 1866.

8 Freedom, *n.* Exemption from the stress of authority in a beggarly half dozen of restraint's infinite multitude of methods. A political condition that every nation supposes itself to enjoy in virtual monopoly. Liberty. The distinction between freedom and liberty is not accurately known; naturalists have never been able to find a living specimen of either.

AMBROSE BIERCE, *The Devil's Dictionary,* 1906.

9 I am for the First Amendment from the first word to the last. I believe it means what it says.

HUGO BLACK, in an interview before the American Jewish Congress, April 14, 1962.

10 An unconditional right to say what one pleases about public affairs is what I consider to be the minimum guarantee of the First Amendment.

HUGO BLACK, in a Supreme Court decision, *New York Times Company* v. *Sullivan,* 1964.

11 Fear of serious injury cannot alone justify suppression of free speech and assembly. Men feared witches and burned women. It is the function of speech to free men from the bondage of irrational fears.

LOUIS D. BRANDEIS, in a Supreme Court opinion, *Whitney* v. *California,* 1927.

12 We are so concerned to flatter the majority that we lose sight of how very often it is necessary, in order to preserve freedom for the minority, let alone for the individual, to face that majority down.

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR., "We Want Our Politicians to Be Hypocrites," October 17, 1964, collected in *The Jeweler's Eye,* 1968.

13 Freedom of expression is the matrix, the indispensable condition, of nearly every other form of freedom.

BENJAMIN N. CARDOZO, in a Supreme Court opinion, *Palko* v. *Connecticut,* 1937.

14 Freedom is not a luxury that we can indulge in when at last we have security and prosperity and enlightenment; it is, rather, antecedent to all of these, for without it we can have neither security nor prosperity nor enlightenment.

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, *Freedom, Loyalty, Dissent,* 1954.

15 We cannot have a society half slave and half free; nor can we have thought half slave and half free. If we create an atmosphere in which men fear to think independently, inquire fearlessly, express themselves freely, we will in the end create the kind of society in which men no longer care to think independently or to inquire fearlessly. If we put a premium on conformity we will, in the end, get conformity.

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, *Freedom and Order,* 1966.

16 The justification and the purpose of freedom of speech is not to indulge those who want to speak their minds. It is to prevent error and discover truth. There may be other ways of detecting error and discovering truth than that of free discussion, but so far we have not found them.

Ibid.

17 To say that a man is free to choose to walk while the only walk he can take will lead him over a precipice is to strain words as well as facts.

JOHN DEWEY, *Human Nature and Conduct,* 1922.

18 It is not easy to be free men, for to be free you must afford freedom to your neighbor, regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin, and that sometimes, for some, is very difficult.

HELEN GAHAGAN DOUGLAS, in a speech in Congress, 1945.

19 Freedom has its life in the hearts, the actions, the spirit of men and so it must be daily earned and refreshed—else like a flower cut from its life-giving roots, it will wither and die.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, in a speech to the English Speaking Union, London, 1944.

20 To preserve his freedom of worship, his equality before the law, his liberty to speak and act as he sees fit subject only to provisions that he trespass not upon similar rights of others, a Londoner will fight. So will a citizen of Abilene.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, July, 1945, quoted in Richard M. Nixon, *The Challenges We Face,* 1960.

21 Freedom all winged expands,
Nor perches in a narrow place;
Her broad van seeks unplanted lands;
She loves a poor and virtuous race.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON, "Voluntaries," published in the *Atlantic Monthly,* October, 1863.

22 We grant n
We hold
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Or land, or

RALPH W
and Other

23 Systems po
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freedom, they

WILLIAM
June, 195

24 We cannot
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Ibid.

25 Economic a
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26 Freedom is
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27 A society
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dom.

Ibid.

28 Before eve
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JUDY G.
Edwards.

29 I hold a jai
judgment and

22 We grant no dukedoms to the few,
We hold like rights and shall;
Equal on Sunday in the pew,
On Monday in the mall.
For what avail the plough or sail,
Or land, or life, if freedom fail?

RALPH WALDO EMERSON, "Boston," *May-Day and Other Pieces,* 1867.

23 Systems political or religious or racial or national—will not just respect us because we practice freedom, they will fear us because we do.

WILLIAM FAULKNER, in *Harper's Magazine,* June, 1956.

24 We cannot choose freedom established on a hierarchy of degrees of freedom, on a caste system of equality like military rank. We must be free not because we claim freedom, but because we practice it.

Ibid.

25 Economic arrangements play a dual role in the promotion of a free society. On the one hand, freedom in economic arrangements is itself a component of freedom broadly understood, so economic freedom is an end in itself. In the second place, economic freedom is also an indispensable means toward the achievement of political freedom.

MILTON FRIEDMAN, *Capitalism and Freedom,* 1962.

26 Freedom is a tenable objective only for responsible individuals.

MILTON FRIEDMAN AND ROSE FRIEDMAN, *Free to Choose,* 1979.

27 A society that puts equality . . . ahead of freedom will end up with neither equality nor freedom.

Ibid.

28 Before every free conscience in America is subpoenaed, please speak up!

JUDY GARLAND, c.1947, quoted in Anne Edwards, *Judy Garland,* 1975.

29 I hold a jail more roomy in the expression of my judgment and convictions than would be the whole world if I were to submit to repression and be denied the right to express myself.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor,* 1925.

30 The freedom of speech and the freedom of the press have not been granted to the people in order that they may say the things which please, and which are based upon accepted thought, but the right to say the things which displease, the right to say the things which may convey the new and yet unexpected thoughts, the right to say things, even though they do a wrong.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, reply before being sentenced for contempt of court in the Bucks Stove case, 1908, from *Seventy Years of Life and Labor,* 1925.

31 There have existed, in every age and every country, two distinct orders of men—the lovers of freedom and the devoted advocates of power.

ROBERT YOUNG HAYNE, in a speech in the U.S. Senate, January 21, 1830.

32 The most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man in falsely shouting fire in a theater and causing a panic.

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, JR., in a Supreme Court opinion, *Schenck* v. *United States,* 1919.

33 When a nation is at war many things that might be said in time of peace are such a hindrance to its effort that their utterance will not be endured so long as men fight and no court could regard them as protected by any consitutional right.

Ibid.

34 If there is any principle of the Constitution that more imperatively calls for attachment than any other it is the principle of free thought—not free thought for those who agree with us but freedom for the thought that we hate.

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, JR., in a Supreme Court opinion, *United States* v. *Schwimmer,* 1928.

35 Free speech does not live many hours after free industry and free commerce die.

HERBERT HOOVER, in a speech in New York City, October 22, 1928.

36 We are not free; it was not intended we should be. A book of rules is placed in our cradle, and we never get rid of it until we reach our graves. Then we are free, and only then.

EDGAR WATSON HOWE, in *E.W. Howe's Monthly,* published from 1911–1937.

37 I express many absurd opinions. But I am not the first man to do it; American freedom consists largely in talking nonsense.

EDGAR WATSON HOWE, *Preaching from the Audience,* 1926.

38 You often hear that this is a free country, and that a man is at liberty to express his opinions. It is not true.

EDGAR WATSON HOWE, *The Indignations of E.W. Howe,* 1933.

39 As He died to make men holy,
Let us die to make men free,
While God is marching on.

JULIA WARD HOWE, "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," *Atlantic Monthly,* February, 1862.

40 There is no freedom on earth or in any star for those who deny freedom to others.

ELBERT HUBBARD, *The Roycroft Dictionary and Book of Epigrams,* 1923.

41 Poverty curtails individual freedom. So do illiteracy, prejudice, lack of education, inability to obtain the basic needs of life.

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, *The Cause Is Mankind,* 1964.

42 The opinions of men are not the object of civil government, nor under its jurisdiction.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Virginia Statute of Religious Freedom,* 1779.

43 Is uniformity of opinion desirable? No more than that of face and stature.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Notes on the State of Virginia,* 1784.

44 Subject opinion to coercion: whom will you make your inquisitors? Fallible men; men governed by bad passions, by private as well as public reasons.

Ibid.

45 Every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. . . . If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, in his first inaugural address, March 4, 1801.

46 I tolerate with the utmost latitude the right of others to differ from me in opinion without imputing to them criminality. I know too well the weakness and uncertainty of human reason to wonder at its different results.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, in a letter to Abigail Adams, September 11, 1804.

47 We are reluctant to admit that we owe our liberties to men of a type that today we hate and fear—unruly men, disturbers of the peace, men who resent and denounce what Whitman called "the insolence of elected persons"—in a word, free men. . . . Freedom is always purchased at a great price, and even those who are willing to pay it have to admit that the price is great.

GERALD W. JOHNSON, *American Freedom and the Press,* 1958.

48 The defense of freedom is finally grounded in an appreciation of its value. No government, no foreign policy, is more important to the defense of freedom than are the writers, teachers, communication specialists, researchers—whose responsibility it is to document, illustrate, and explain the human consequences of freedom and unfreedom.

JEANE J. KIRKPATRICK, in an address to the Committee for the Free World, Washington, D.C., January 23, 1982.

49 The cause of freedom is identified with the destinies of humanity, and in whatever part of the world it gains ground, by and by it will be a common gain to all those who desire it.

LAJOS KOSSUTH, in a speech in New York City, 1851.

50 Private prop
dom. It still is

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51 No! true fre
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JAMES RUS
1843.

52 And I hono
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JAMES RU
1848.

53 Freedom ne
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54 *What is f*
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55 Freedom is

Ibid.

56 Since the g
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57 We must

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McCarth
March 7.

50 Private property was the original source of freedom. It still is its main bulwark.

WALTER LIPPMANN, *The Good Society,* 1937.

51 No! true freedom is to share
All the chains our brothers wear.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, "Stanzas on Freedom," 1843.

52 And I honor the man who is willing to sink
Half his present repute for the freedom to think,
And, when he has thought, be his cause strong or weak,
Will risk t' other half for the freedom to speak.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, *A Fable for Critics,* 1848.

53 Freedom needs all her poets: it is they
Who give her aspirations wings,
And to the wiser law of music sway
Her wild imaginings.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, "To the Memory of Hood," honoring the English poet Thomas Hood, 1848.

54 *What is freedom?* Freedom is the right to choose: the right to create for oneself the alternatives of choice. Without the possibility of choice and the exercise of choice a man is not a man but a member, an instrument, a thing.

ARCHIBALD MACLEISH, in "A Declaration of Freedom."

55 Freedom is the right to one's dignity as a man.

Ibid.

56 Since the general civilization of mankind, I believe there are more instances of the abridgment of the freedom of the people by gradual and silent encroachments of those in power than by violent and sudden usurpations.

JAMES MADISON, in a speech in the Virginia Convention, June 16, 1788.

57 We must not confuse dissent with disloyalty.

EDWARD R. MURROW, in a report on Sen. Joseph McCarthy, on the television program *See It Now,* March 7, 1954.

58 Our best hope, both of a tolerable political harmony and of an inner peace, rests upon our ability to observe the limits of human freedom even while we responsibly exploit its creative possibilities.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR, *The Structure of Nations and Empires,* 1959.

59 As long as men are free to ask what they must, free to say what they think, free to think what they will, freedom can never be lost, and science can never regress.

J. ROBERT OPPENHEIMER, in *Life* magazine, October 10, 1949.

60 There can be no prescription old enough to supersede the Law of Nature and the grant of God Almighty, who has given to all men a natural right to be free, and they have it ordinarily in their power to make themselves so, if they please.

JAMES OTIS, *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved,* 1764.

61 Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. Asia and Africa have long expelled her. Europe regards her like a stranger, and England hath given her warning to depart. Oh, receive the fugitive, and prepare in time an asylum for mankind!

THOMAS PAINE, *Common Sense,* 1776.

62 Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom must, like men, undergo the fatigue of supporting it.

THOMAS PAINE, *The American Crisis,* No. 4, September 12, 1777.

63 Blandishments will not fascinate us, nor will threats of a "halter" intimidate. For, under God, we are determined that wheresoever, whensoever, or howsoever we shall be called to make our exit, we will die free men.

JOSIAH QUINCY, *Observations on the Boston Port Bill,* 1774.

64 Cabal is the necessary effect of freedom. Where men are left free to act, we must calculate on their being governed by their interests and passions.

JOHN RANDOLPH, in a letter to Littleton Waller Tazewell, April 21, 1804.

65 We have plenty of freedom in this country but not a great deal of independence.

JOHN W. RAPER, *What This World Needs,* 1954.

66 There can be no greater good than the quest for peace, and no finer purpose than the preservation of freedom.

RONALD REAGAN, in a speech to Congress on the Geneva summit meeting, November 21, 1985.

67 Freedom breeds freedom. Nothing else does.

ANNE ROE, *The Making of a Scientist,* 1952.

68 Freedom of conscience, of education, of speech, of assembly are among the very fundamentals of democracy and all of them would be nullified should freedom of the press ever be successfully challenged.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, in a letter to W.N. Hardy, September 4, 1940.

69 We look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms. The first is freedom of speech and expression everywhere in the world. The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way everywhere in the world. The third is freedom from want . . . everywhere in the world. The fourth is freedom from fear . . . anywhere in the world.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, in a speech to Congress, January 6, 1941.

70 Privacy is absolutely essential to maintaining a free society. The idea that is at the foundation of the notion of privacy is that the citizen is not the tool or the instrument of government—but the reverse. . . . If you have no privacy, it will tend to follow that you have no political freedom, no religious freedom, no freedom of families to make their own decisions [regarding having children]. All these freedoms tend to reinforce one another.

BENNO C. SCHMIDT, JR., in an interview in *The Christian Science Monitor,* December 5, 1986.

71 Who ever walked behind anyone to freedom? If we can't go hand in hand, I don't want to go.

HAZEL SCOTT, quoted in *Ms.* magazine, November, 1974.

72 A hungry man is not a free man.

ADLAI E. STEVENSON, in a campaign speech, September 6, 1952.

73 My definition of a free society is a society where it is safe to be unpopular.

ADLAI E. STEVENSON, in a speech in Detroit, Michigan, October 7, 1952.

74 Freedom—effective freedom—does not exist as a formula which can be written out by some and then used by others. The freedom that counts is simply what is in the minds and hearts of millions of free people. It is nothing more than the total of the feelings of people as they are expressed in the way we, the people, deal with our own families and our own neighbors and associates.

ADLAI E. STEVENSON, in an address before the General Federation of Women's Clubs, Philadelphia, May 24, 1955.

75 If our freedom means ease alone, if it means shirking the hard disciplines of learning, if it means evading the rigors and rewards of creative activity, if it means more expenditure on advertising than education, if it means in the schools the steady cult of the trivial and the mediocre, if it means—worst of all—indifference, or even contempt for all but athletic excellence, we may keep for a time the forms of free society, but its spirit will be dead.

ADLAI E. STEVENSON, in an address to the National School Boards Association, San Francisco, California, January 26, 1959.

76 Freedom is not an ideal, it is not even a protection, if it means nothing more than freedom to stagnate, to live without dreams, to have no greater aim than a second car and another television set—and this in a world where half our fellow men have less than enough to eat.

ADLAI E. STEVENSON, "Putting First Things First," *Foreign Affairs,* January, 1960.

77 If I want to be free from any other man's dictation, I must understand that I can have no other man under my control.

WILLIAM GRAHAM SUMNER, in the essay "The Forgotten Man," in *The Forgotten Man and Other Essays,* 1919.

78 What other liberty is there worth having, if we have not freedom and peace in our minds—if our inmost and most private man is but a sour and turbid pool?

HENRY DAVID THOREAU, entry written on October 26, 1853, *Journal,* 1906.

79 How rarely I meet with a man who can be free, even in thought! We all live according to rule. Some men are bedridden; all world-ridden.

HENRY DAVID THOREAU, entry written on May 12, 1857, *Journal,* 1906.

80 It is by the goodness of God that in our country we have those three unspeakably precious things: freedom of speech, freedom of conscience, and the prudence never to practice either of them.

MARK TWAIN, "Pudd'nhead Wilson's New Calendar," *Following the Equator,* 1897.

81 If men are to be precluded from offering their sentiments on a matter which may involve the most serious and alarming consequences that can invite the consideration of mankind, reason is of no use to us; the freedom of speech may be taken away, and dumb and silent we may be led, like sheep to the slaughter.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, address to officers of the Army, urging moderation in seeking redress of grievances from Congress, March 15, 1783.

82 You can have no wise laws nor free enforcement of wise laws unless there is free expression of the wisdom of the people—and, alas, their folly with it. But if there is freedom, folly will die of its own poison, and the wisdom will survive.

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE, *The Editor and His People,* 1924.

83 Freedom exists only where the people take care of the government.

WOODROW WILSON, in a speech in New York City, September 4, 1912.

84 Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.

WOODROW WILSON, in his war message to Congress, April 2, 1917.

96. FRIENDS

See also AFFECTION; LOVE

1 Accident counts for much in companionship as in marriage.

HENRY ADAMS, *The Education of Henry Adams,* 1907.

2 Seneca closed the vast circle of his knowledge by learning that a friend in power was a friend lost.

Ibid.

3 Friends are born, not made.

Ibid.

4 One friend in a lifetime is much; two are many; three are hardly possible.

Ibid.

5 You and I ought not to die before we have explained ourselves to each other.

JOHN ADAMS, in a letter to Thomas Jefferson, July 15, 1813.

6 The perfect friendship of two men is the deepest and highest sentiment of which the finite mind is capable; women miss the best in life.

GERTRUDE ATHERTON, *The Conqueror,* 1902.

7 Acquaintance, *n.* A person whom we know well enough to borrow from, but not well enough to lend to. A degree of friendship called slight when its object is poor or obscure, and intimate when he is rich or famous.

AMBROSE BIERCE, *The Devil's Dictionary,* 1906.

8 Friendless, *adj.* Having no favors to bestow. Destitute of fortune. Addicted to utterance of truth and common sense.

Ibid.

9 Friendship, *n.* A ship big enough to carry two in fair weather, but only one in foul.

Ibid.

Ed -
a few edits.
DMc

Walters
November 24, 1992
10:00 a.m.
[MOF]

CITATIONS FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL MEDALS OF FREEDOM,
DECEMBER 11, 1992
TIME TBD

DAVID BRINKLEY

An informed electorate is paramount in a free democracy, and no television reporter has kept us informed like David Brinkley. As NBC's White House correspondent and commentator emeritus of ABC News, David Brinkley has explained the complexities of government to generations of Americans from the very beginning of the television age. With the wisdom of experience and a wry wit, he has informed our decisions and held our leaders accountable. The United States recognizes his commitment to truth and his contributions to freedom.

JOHNNY CARSON

The greatest talk show host in television history, Johnny Carson presided over late night TV for almost 30 years. With a cool wit and a sure golf swing, he showed us what it was to be American. Johnny Carson kept the pulse of the nation, and assured us that even in the most difficult times, we could all still laugh. The United States honors Johnny Carson, who put the stars within reach of every American.

HARRY SHLAUDEMAN

Ambassador Harry Shlaudeman is one of America's most decorated and skillful foreign service officers. In almost four decades of service for eight Presidents, he has faced adverse circumstances, crises, and war with bravery and wisdom. He demonstrated his loyalty in 1990, when at the request of the President, he came out of retirement to serve as Ambassador to Nicaragua and helped ensure that nation's peaceful transition to democracy. For his decades of meritorious service, courageous diplomacy, and protection of our interests abroad, America commemorates the service of Ambassador Harry Shlaudeman with the Medal of Freedom.

RICHARD PETTY

In the world of professional racing, there is only one King. Richard Petty was more than racing's monarch, he was an American legend. From humble beginnings in Level Cross, North Carolina, Number 43 became one of racing's finest -- and fastest. Winning a record 200 races and seven Daytona 500 victories, Richard Petty found freedom at 175 miles per hour. The United States honors this American hero for exemplifying the American dream and the freedom that makes this nation great.

GENERAL JOHN M. VESSEY

After enlisting as a 17 year-old private in the National Guard in 1939, General John M. Vessey was the last four-star combat veteran of World War II to retire from active duty. A self-described "mud soldier," the former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff never forgot the men in the field, and he returned from retirement to search for soldiers missing in action in Vietnam. His wise counsel and service to two Presidents has helped to break an impasse with Hanoi, culminating in Vietnam's offer to provide all information about Americans missing in action. This champion of freedom is helping to put the Vietnam War behind us without leaving anyone behind. The United States recognizes soldier statesman General John M. Vessey, a true diplomat for freedom.

cut 2-3 lines.

ELIE WIESEL

Few people have seen a darker side of humanity than Elie Wiesel. During World War II, he saw most of his family killed while imprisoned in the Auschwitz and Buchenwald concentration camps. And yet this author, philosopher and winner of the 1986 Nobel Peace Prize still sees the promise of human tolerance, learning, and faith. He challenges people of all religions to remember the Holocaust, that it may never happen again. His deeply spiritual life and literature remind us that to protect freedom's flame, we must remember that which threatens it. The United States honors this keeper of the flame, Elie Wiesel.

ISAAC STERN

As one of the world's foremost violinists, Isaac Stern has committed his life to bringing music to others. ~~His warm and vibrant interpretations have brought him international acclaim~~ since his debut 56 years ago, ~~and~~ he has won our nation's highest acclaim for artistic merit, the National Medal of Arts. But even beyond his triumphant career, Isaac Stern has enriched the human spirit by broadening the scope of music -- he has supported artists from all corners of the world; he helped found the National Endowment for the Arts; and he rescued Carnegie Hall, the concert arena that made him famous, from the wrecking ball. For his support of the arts, his lifetime of achievement, and for the expanded opportunities he has created for others, the United States recognizes master violinist Isaac Stern.

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cut 3 lines?

Ella Fitzgerald

Discovered as a teenager at the Apollo Theatre in Harlem, Ella Fitzgerald and her swing style of vocal jazz transcend the times. As a cultural ambassador, her ~~improvised~~ trademark scat captivates audiences, as her impressive vocal range stretches freedom's light across oceans and political boundaries. Honored by the Kennedy Center for her lifetime achievements, inducted into the Jazz Hall of Fame, and awarded a Medal of Arts, it is fitting that the United States honors this "First Lady of Song".

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I.M. PEI

Perhaps the most famous architect in the world today, I.M. Pei's architectural feats of daring-do light up the skylines of cities around the Earth. The designer's name, Ieoh Ming, means "to inscribe brightly," and he has earned his namesake in the shining creativity of his cultural, government, and corporate buildings. I.M. Pei has found beauty in simplicity and boldness in geometry, setting the standard for modern architecture. For the legacy of artistic elegance he has inscribed in our cities, America awards I.M. Pei the Medal of Freedom.

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General Vessey has conducted a passionate and thorough search for American soldiers missing in action in Vietnam. His wise counsel has informed the Vietnam policy decisions of two Presidents, and he has helped to break an age-old impasse between the two nations in the search for America's finest. This champion of freedom is helping to put the Vietnam War behind us without leaving anyone behind. The United States recognizes this soldier statesman, a true diplomat for freedom.

ELIE WIESEL

A survivor of the Auschwitz and Buchenwald concentration camps, Elie Wiesel committed his life to ending the hate that spurred the Nazis. An author, philosopher and winner of the 1986 Nobel Peace Prize, Elie Wiesel challenges people everywhere to remember the Holocaust, that it may never happen again. His life and his literature serve as reminders that we must remain vigilant in the face of intolerance, that liberty does not come for free. The United States honors this defender of freedom and his crusade to keep the painful memory of the Holocaust alive.

too colloquial

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The Houston Chronicle

October 24, 1992, Saturday, 2 STAR Edition

SECTION: A; Pg. 1

LENGTH: 832 words

HEADLINE: Bush hails major step on POWs;
Vietnam to turn over all its records

BYLINE: WILLIAM E. CLAYTON JR., Houston Chronicle Washington Bureau; Staff

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

WASHINGTON -- President Bush announced Friday a ""real breakthrough'' in U.S. efforts to get a full accounting of Americans missing as a result of the Vietnam War.

""Hanoi has agreed to provide us with all -- and I repeat all -- information they have collected on American prisoners of war and missing in action. This includes photographs, artifacts, detailed records on Americans who fell into Vietnam's hands,'' Bush told a White House audience at the Rose Garden.

In return, the United States will provide some flood-relief money to Vietnam and boost contributions to help Vietnamese disabled veterans of the war, Bush said.

The president has said full normalization of relations between the two former enemies cannot come until Hanoi has accounted fully for every American prisoner or missing person.

""Today, finally, I am convinced that we can begin writing the last chapter of the Vietnam War,'' Bush told the small audience of POW-MIA families and officials working on the matter.

With Bush were Gen. John Vessey, former chairman of the military joint chiefs of staff, and Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., a former prisoner of war, who were in Vietnam last weekend on a special mission to learn more about the missing Americans. Vessey and McCain reported they brought back many new pictures of Americans captured in the war.

Vietnam has furnished the Defense Department thousands of photographs and promised access to field reports, equipment and artifacts such as helmets, flight suits and identification cards.

Vessey said the Vietnamese have promised to transfer the material from their military archives to museums and to allow U.S. representatives to study them. He said it would take months to comb through the material.

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U.S. teams have also received permission to follow POW-MIA leads anywhere in Vietnam and to dig in battlefields for American dead.

""We have never found anyone alive,'' Bush said, ""but we vowed to follow every lead. ''

Vietnam hopes to get normalization of relations with the United States out of furnishing the war materials. Bush emphasized again that the process has a way to go.

""I want to stress that it is only a beginning, but it is a significant beginning. Hanoi knows today that we seek only answers without the threat of retribution from the past, and as we cooperate in bringing that painful era to a close, Vietnam and the United States can begin to look toward the future,'' the president said.

Bush started the paperwork for $ 25,000 to go to Vietnam, from the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance in the Agency for International Development, to help flood-damaged areas. The president called it a modest amount, hinting that more could come depending on Vietnamese cooperation on the POW-MIA issue.

Bush also announced he wants to increase the money going to Vietnam to help Vietnamese veterans hurt in the war.

The Department of Veterans Affairs has provided $ 250,000 through the Defense Department for medical supplies, and AID has chosen two non-governmental groups to use $ 1 million for medical supplies for Vietnamese disabled veterans. Those two programs began in September, and Bush's announcement served as notice the administration wants to increase the effort, administration spokesmen said.

Sen.John Kerry, D-Mass., chairman of a special Senate committee on POW matters, appeared at the White House ceremony and discounted any talk that Bush was making election-year hay out of the issue.

Hanoi's decision to furnish the POW-MIA information ""is not an October surprise,'' Kerry said. The timing ""is totally coincidental'' and comes at the end of a long process in which both Democrats and Republicans have worked to complete the files on Americans unaccounted for after the Vietnam War, Kerry said.

Bush's main challenger, Democrat Bill Clinton, said he was encouraged by the uncovering of the photographs but that there must be ""a good accounting before we normalize relations'' with Vietnam.

Vessey said Hanoi has not done enough yet to warrant talking about lifting a U.S. embargo on trade with the former enemy.

""It's very important that we not -- that both we and the Vietnamese not get into a tit-for-tat exercise here,'' Vessey said.

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Both nations need to move forward, Vietnam with furnishing information and the United States with furnishing aid, he said.

Vietnam's ambassador to the United Nations, Trinh Xuan Lang, told The Associated Press that the U.S.government has been playing politics with the issue.

Lang said Vietnam and the United States had agreed several years ago to treat the MIA issue ""in a humanitarian spirit'' isolated from politics.

""We never link the MIA issue with political issues,'' he said. ""But it seems to me that on the U.S.side, you are not doing the same thing. The MIA issue has been turned into a political issue, and you are linking it with normalization of relations. ''

GRAPHIC: Photo: George Bush announced Friday that the Vietnamese government has agreed to turn over all its material on U.S. prisoners of war, as Sen. John McCain of Arizona, Sen. John Kerrey of Massachusetts and acting Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger stood near him (p. 14); Associated Press

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

11/23

MEMO TO ED WALTERS

FROM: JIM MCGRATH JMc
Presidential Correspondence

RE: PRESIDENTIAL MEDAL
OF FREEDOM NOMINEES

Attached is the information that you requested regarding those selected to receive the Medal. However, our records do not include letters of nomination for I. M. Pei, Johnny Carson, Audrey Hepburn, David Brinkley, or Elie Weisel. Please do not hesitate to contact me at x7610 with any questions.

Also, please return all materials when no longer needed.

Thank you.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 16, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR: JIM CICCONI

FROM: AUSTEN FURSE

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.

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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 sprectrum, 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

Alan Reingold

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

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* (1952*b*).

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 (1926*a*), 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" (1929*c*) 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* (1931*b*) 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* (1932*a*). Keynes replied (1931) to Hayek's review, Hayek wrote a rejoinder to Keynes (1931*c*) and a reply to Sraffa (1932*c*), and Sraffa wrote a rejoinder to Hayek (1932*b*). 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* (1939*c*) and *The Pure Theory of Capital* (1941*b*), 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 condemnation 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 1978*a*, 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* (1946*a*) 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* (1948*a*).

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 Pélèrin, near Vevey, Switzerland. (The participants—economists, philosophers, jurists, historians, political scientists, literary critics, and publicists—founded the Mont Pélèrin 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* (1951*b*). 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* (1952*a*) containing his earlier articles; *The Sensory Order* (1952*b*), 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 (1955*a*; 1956; 1958; 1963*c*). 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" (1963*a*), 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* (1969*a*), and 6 of these were also included in an English volume of 29 collected papers, *Studies in Philosophy, Politics and Economics* (1967*b*).

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* (1978*a*), contains six pieces previously published in German in the *Freiburger Studien* (1969*a*), 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; 1929*b*; 1931*b*). 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 (1929*b*). 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 (1931*b*). 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 (1931*b*).

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 (1931*b*). This is equivalent to a "shortening" of the period of production or investment (Böhm-Bawerk). Hayek's *Pure Theory of Capital* (1941*b*) provides lucid expositions of his notions of "intertemporal 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 (1969*c*, 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 (1935*a*; 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 (1937*a*; 1945*b*), 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" (1945*b*, 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" (1948*a*, p. 101). He condemns the "mechanical extension of the property concept by lawyers" to nontangible things such as inventions (p. 114). In a lecture on "Competition as a Discovery Procedure" (1968*b*), 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 manner 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 (1937*a*; 1945*b*) and a pamphlet on *Freedom and the Economic System* (1939*a*), continuing with the books *Road to Serfdom* (1944*b*) 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" (1967*b*, 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" (1955*a*), 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" (1955*a*, 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" (1963*c*) 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 (1969*b*).

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 (1931*a*), Thornton (1939*b*), Ricardo (1950), John Stuart Mill (1942; 1943*b*; 1945*a*; 1951*b*), Macleod (1934*d*), Gossen (1932*a*), Carl Menger (1934*b*; 1934*c*; 1968*d*; 1972), Wieser (1926*b*; 1929*a*; 1968*e*), and Philippovich (1934*f*); also obituaries for Cannan (1935*b*), Strigl (1944*a*), Mitchell (1948*b*), and Leoni (1968*a*); he appraised schools of thought such as the École Politechnique (1941*a*), the L.S.E. (1946*b*), and the Austrian School (1965; 1968*c*); noted some parallelisms in Comte and Hegel (1951*a*); examined the methodological position of Mach (1967*a*) and the philosophical and historical ideas of Hume (1955*b*; 1960; 1963*b*; 1967*a*). 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