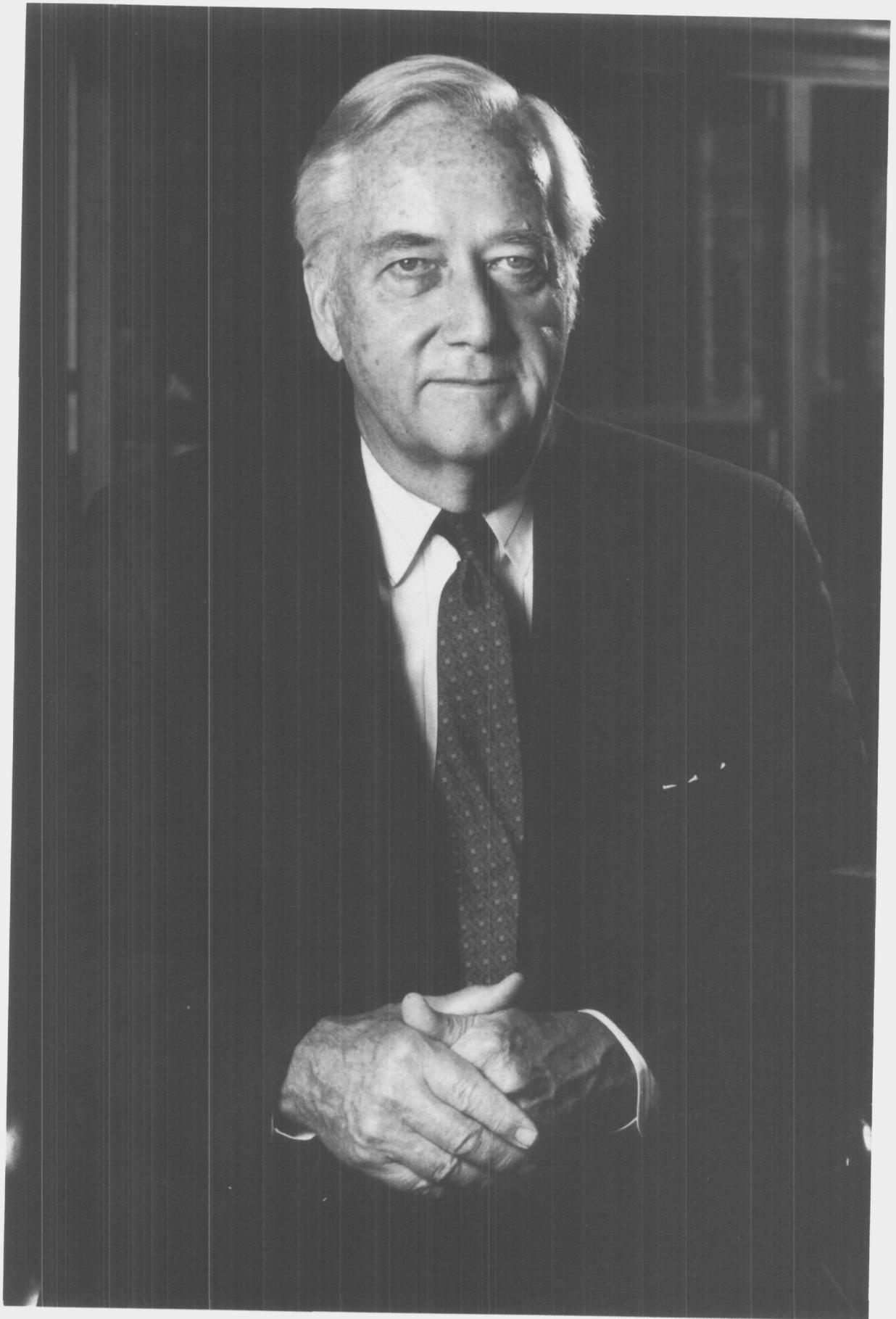

FOR A MORE PERFECT UNION

PUBLIC WORDS BY CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.





P R E F A C E T O A M O R A L M A N

he private man and the public career are of a piece. From the Maryland House of Delegates to the House of Representatives to the Senate of the United States, a clear, consistent, humane voice speaks to the concerns of all people, and it never wavers. There are the grand issues—war and peace, individual liberties, government responsibility, social justice, the balances of power—and they are the issues Charles Mathias invests with grandeur, the tribute to a colleague, the dedication of a lodge, the salvation by legislation of the Naval Academy's cows. He brings to any occasion, and this volume is more a metaphor for the occasions of a life of public service than a memorial, an effortless elegance of mind, finely discriminating, sensitive to nuance, capacious in grasp and sympathy which then finds ready expression in a prose at once stately and supple, balanced in its periods, aphoristic in its tang, cultivated in its allu-

sions. The public voice reflects the inner mind and is an unmistakable voice, steeped in eighteenth century reading and in twentieth century concerns, marked above all—so rare in public voices, so strong and comforting in this one—by humor and by history.

A sense of humor may be, in microcosm, a sense of history, for both are the expressions of a sense of perspective, an instinct to set figures and events in a deep temporal landscape, so that our petty concerns never overmaster us and our abiding concerns remain humanly manageable. Small wonder, if wonder at all, that one of the sanest and wisest voices on foreign policy, and on global concerns since the Second World War should be this voice, this sensibility, this poet of the wingbeats of geese over Chesapeake Bay, this gourmet of every smell and sound, every taste and tremor, every nook and cranny, every bit of lore and noble aspiration, of his beloved Maryland.

Traveling much in Maryland, the Senator has engaged a landscape and a people he has never ceased to love and

admire. And traveling the world, he has brought home that well-stocked mind, that keen conscience, that voice so many millions have relied on, home to Maryland and, as he might say, to the larger Republic. In paying tribute to a friend in 1967, he said, "... the art of bringing history to life is not an easy one. It requires great energy, ability and imagination, plus a firm belief in the value of our past as an active influence on our present life." How well that fits Charles Mathias, at least in part; for the rest of this remarkable man—his lawyer's clarity, his statesman's vision, his American's subtle optimism—turn these pages, gentle reader, and watch a great mind and spirit at work. Such a man is what the Founders had in mind when they created the idea of a Senator. Like the oysters of his Bay, there is no one else like him nor is there likely to be.

*A. BARTLETT GIAMATTI,
President, Yale University
June, 1986*

■ *House of Delegates*

Annapolis, MD,

Feb. 13, 1959.

THE LESSON OF LINCOLN

This may be the lesson of Lincoln—that each of us must live by and for our principles—however they may be shaped by our individual philosophies.

Not every one of us can be born a prodigy, but every man and woman in this Chamber can live a life true to his or her convictions. And this fact, not the transitory presence of a genius among us, is the moral ingredient of society. Without it, all the might, majesty, dominion and power on this earth will not make a man or a people great.

Consider Lincoln's steadfast adherence to the basic concept of justice, to the necessity for integrity, to the virtue

of charity, and to the ideal of liberty. Those principles did not prevent him from growing with the broadening of his experience or from changing and maturing his viewpoint on many public questions. They were not inhibitions, but pivots upon which he turned the fateful decisions that shaped not only his life, but our own.

No genius, no education, no training could have prepared any man to direct the climactic course of events that marked Lincoln's presidency. Only by a strict reliance on unchanging principles did he daily cope with ever changing problems. Thus he was able to successfully conclude a civil war that he neither proposed nor anticipated. Thus he brought liberty to three million Americans when his only declared purpose had been to check the spread of slavery.

And so I propose that we make this Sesquicentennial Anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln a day of dedication to the kind of life Lincoln lived—a life guided by principle and personal conviction.

If we do, and if our fellow Americans throughout the Union join with us in carrying that dedication beyond this hour and this day, there may indeed be a new birth of freedom. And then we may make it possible for our successors in this House to look back to our own generation, and to say of us on future anniversaries of this day:

In that time, the American dream was realized and American greatness was achieved by men of principle—men in the mold of Lincoln!

S P O N S O R

■ **JIM AND PATTY ROUSE**

■ *Law Day*

House of Representatives,

May 1, 1961.

THE RULE OF LAW

If we ever depend upon one man to sustain the law for us, then the rule of law will end and a tyranny, however benevolent, will commence. I pledge myself, therefore, to join the millions throughout the world, lawyers and laymen, Americans and allies, who are now renewing their determination that our grandchildren shall live under the rule of law and know the benefit of freedom.

■ *Tax Benefits for College Tuition Costs*

House of Representatives,

May 23, 1961.

THE OPPORTUNITY TO LEARN

In a period when intellectual discipline and academic achievement are recognized as vital to our national existence, it becomes essential to insure that scholastic opportunity be as universal as individual talents will permit.

■ *Maryland Day*

House of Representatives,

March 26, 1962.

A F R E E P E O P L E

... the traditions of a free people are not only a part of their treasure. But also a significant portion of their armor. The citizens of Maryland are rich in having inherited such vigorous and valuable traditions.

■ *Political Contributions*

House of Representatives,

June 23, 1965.

T H E C I V I L S E R V I C E

I shall do all in my power ... to uphold the nonpartisan character of the civil service. I offer my services as a citizen and a lawyer to any civil servant who suffers because he fails to pay tribute to any political party.

■ *Tribute to Carl Humelsine*

House of Representatives,

March 10, 1967.

BRINGING HISTORY TO LIFE

... the art of bringing history to life is not an easy one. It requires great energy, ability and imagination, plus a firm belief in the value of our past as an active influence on our present life.

■ *Reform of Campaign Financing*

House of Representatives,

April 20, 1967.

THE COST OF FREE ELECTIONS

Throughout our national history, our free election system has been the bulwark of our Republic. It has given us a forum for free expression, a channel for competition among economic and social groups, and a peaceful path for progress in tumultuous times. The clamor and confusion of American elections have proven to be one of the greatest stabilizing forces in our society. For the electoral process, at all levels of our government, provides an outlet for social tensions and an

entry point for new ideas which might otherwise be directed along destructive routes.

... the high cost and intricate structure of campaigns has the potential for discouraging many of our finest citizens from entering political life at all. It is no longer true that any man or woman has an equal chance to run for office in America. The opportunity is now shadowed by demands for ... the funds required to compete.

■ *Naval Academy Dairy*

House of Representatives,

August 1, 1967.

N O S A C R E D C O W S

I also have a high regard for cows, whether they are found at the Naval Academy dairy farm or elsewhere in Maryland or at any other place in the country. But I have made it a matter of high principle to treat all cows with a fine degree of impartiality.

I strongly dissent from the proposition that 600 cows at Gambrills, Maryland should be beatified by this

bill and be hereafter considered as sacred cows. This bill exempts these 600 sacred cows from the rule of reason. It would exempt these 600 sacred cows from the laws of economics and it would exempt these 600 sacred cows from the disciplines of the free enterprise system.

I believe in treating all cows alike.

■ *Law Enforcement and*

Criminal Justice Act

House of Representatives,

August 2, 1967.

M A S T E R S O F O U R F U T U R E

I do not believe that our Nation is in decline, or that freedom in the United States is going to be replaced by the regimentation of impersonal forces, the dictatorship of lawlessness, or the tyranny of fear. I do not believe that our Nation, so great in material wealth, has become so weak in vision or so small in spirit that we are no longer masters of our own future.

■ *Civil Rights*

House of Representatives,

August 15, 1967.

S H I E L D A N D S W O R D

... the law in America has traditionally served us as both a shield and a sword—as a shield to protect our citizens and our civilization, and as a sword to strike down injustices, inequities, and arbitrary uses of power or force.

■ *Captive Nations Week*

House of Representatives,

July 17, 1968.

T H E I R O N C U R T A I N

We must remember... that there are millions behind the Iron Curtain who look to America for hope, encouragement and inspiration. It is our continuing task to seek ways to lessen the burdens of these people, strengthen *communications among the men and women of all nations*, and to renew our own faith so that we may better give encouragement and moral leadership to all who seek a life of freedom.

■ *Alpha Omega Dental Fraternity*

Silver Spring, MD,

September 16, 1968.

E A S T V S . W E S T

The invasion of Czechoslovakia should bring a healthy dose of realism to those who believe the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Europe can be done without endangering our security and that of the free world.

The answers to the lessons of Czechoslovakia lie somewhere between, on the one hand, the naive belief in a massive, unilateral withdrawal of U.S.

troops from Europe and, on the other, the abandonment of all efforts to increase East-West understanding.

I do not advocate a return to the Cold War. We must not abandon all efforts to promote peaceful accord. We cannot cancel, in haste, all cultural and related agreements with the East. A retreat into isolationism would be unwise, immature and unrealistic, but it is equally unrealistic to assume that we are now in a golden era of peace

and cooperation among nations. We are not.

No matter how promising the outlook may appear to be from time to time for general East-West progress toward peace—and I do not discount the gains which have been made—the Kremlin still includes men who are preoccupied with extending their own power. The only deterrent is the fear of the power of others.

■ *Press Conference on Arms Control*

Washington, D.C.,

July 9, 1969.

N A T I O N A L S E C U R I T Y

The improvident emphasis on the immediate needs of the military, in fact, is in itself a form of unilateral disarmament, since it reduces the amount of federal money available for the basic research and scientific education on which our security will depend in future decades. Our security in the

1980's will be a product of today's activity not at our missile sites but in our classrooms.

A good way to lose an arms race is to spend too much money on it and not enough on the needs of the society. For national security must be achieved by the whole society. There are few greater threats to the future security of our country than the elephantiasis of defense spending at the expense of our social progress and economic stability.

We are confronted in effect with a proposal to escalate the arms race to a new level of incalculable danger and expense. Yet it is certain that if our universities are in turmoil, many of our cities approaching bankruptcy, and our new generation of youth demoralized, this country will not be saved by a new generation of weapons.

■ *Lunar Landing*

College Park, MD,

July 22, 1969.

M A N I N S P A C E

As this epochal triumph of man and machine is unfurled before us and before the world, we—like Balboa first gazing at the Pacific—look on in wild surmise. But it is sobering to remember that the men who named the vast reaches of ocean also dreamed of peace. As the waters were domesticated, however, they paradoxically became an arena for the barbarities of war. The Pacific Ocean betrayed its name and became the Pacific Theater.

The spaces now in our ken vastly exceed the Balboan panorama. Once again we name them peaceful. But whether the Sea of Tranquility becomes part of a new lunar theater, or whether man has discovered at last a true pacific beyond the horizon, will be decided not in space but here on earth. Though we walk in spirit with the astronauts, we still walk in fact in the valley of the shadow of Cain. And we walk in fear.

The astronauts now hurtle back toward a planet embroiled in conflict,

barbarism, and poverty. As we marvel at their prodigies, we remain mired in our paradox: as man masters nature through technology, he seems to be losing control of himself. In fear he turns to government, demanding law and order. But as governments grow in power and as their military and police forces gain in size, their effectiveness seems to diminish.

■ *Vietnam Moratorium Day*

Washington, D.C.,

October 15, 1969.

W A R A N D P E A C E

For Americans war has always been a necessity to be occasionally endured rather than a virtue to be sought or romanticized.

But as our wealth and power have grown, our ability to make war has also grown. For nations unfamiliar with our character and our tradition, it is difficult to reconcile our peaceful intentions with our martial potential.

In this respect the prayers for peace offered throughout the land on Octo-

ber 15th will be of historic significance. For the first time in our generation there is a genuine and spontaneous expression of our dedication to peace springing from the heart and spirit of our people. No one will doubt its truth or its strength. Once more, America will be understood by the world, and can hope for the world's help in restoring peace.

The fact that some of the things that will be said will be contrary to official government policy is no cause for alarm or for retaliation. It is the high-

est vindication of the Bill of Rights—and the highest tribute to our men who have fought so valiantly for our country and its traditions—that even on the crucial question of peace or war, every American citizen retains a right to speak and to be heard.

But if the great voice of a nation is heard on October 15th, it is still the sum of many small and quiet voices of individual men and women who, whether gathered together, or in a solitude of their own choosing, seek to lift a burden from their souls.

■ *National Emergencies*

The Senate,

December 8, 1969.

OUR WORLD MISSION

The first section of my resolution would repeal the mortmain of past Congressional resolutions that have been interpreted as relinquishing broad authority to the executive to intervene militarily around the world. All these resolutions, like the state of emergency proclamation, are based on an essentially negative view of the American world mission. In each instance, we imply the principle that military containment of international communism is the chief function of our foreign policy.

The second section of my proposal relates to perhaps the single most important of all the Cold War enactments, the Presidential proclamation declaring a state of national emergency at the time of the outbreak of the Korean conflict. The Constitution did not envisage a state of emergency to be the normal state of affairs. As we enter the seventies, we should reappraise the domestic requirements of our inevitable embroilment in world tensions and difficulties.

By proposing repeal of these resolutions and termination of the Korean state of emergency, I do not mean to advocate a new isolationism for the United States. On the contrary, I believe that the Vietnam War has already given American policy elsewhere an isolationist cast. And I think that unrealistic or militaristic postures of commitment discredit the kind of deep and responsible world involvement which we will have to maintain in the coming of decades of change.

■ *Western Maryland College*

Westminster, MD,

June 7, 1970.

THE QUESTING OF YOUTH

The rebelliousness of America's youth can be understood and—as long as it is lawfully expressed, without violence—recognized in the American tradition. I regard the questing of youth as the single most promising aspect of American life today. On issue after issue, from civil rights to poverty to pollution, today's youth in many

respects face a challenge more difficult than the one that confronted the Founding Fathers. This generation will not fulfill its great promise, its covenant with the original generation of Americans, unless it recognizes that its writ is the Constitution—the law.

We must be clear on this—arson on campus, even in the name of freedom and justice, is still arson. And the fire cannot be put out by a windy rhetoric of national guilt or moral proclama-

tion. Violence dictates its own response and even when undertaken for high purposes it cannot be given a campus sanctuary. Young people will not fulfill their enormous promise for good unless they translate moral fervor into practical political terms and effective political movements.

■ *Vietnam*

ABC-TV broadcast,

September 11, 1970.

SAYING WHAT WE THINK

In a crisis of the sort which we now face, a crisis which doesn't only affect brave men who are attempting to carry out the national mission in Asia, but which is affecting every one of us on the streets of America, in this crisis which is world wide in scope as far as Americans are concerned, the Congress must play its role. I think that if we are to bolster up the national morale, if we are to give back to America a sense of purpose and a sense of

dedication, we are going to have to play the role that the Founding Fathers of this Republic demanded of the members of Congress. We are going to have to say what we think about the war regardless of consequences to ourselves as individual members of Congress, as individual politicians, if you like, and we are going to have to say if we think it that the war is bad for America and that it's time to end it.

■ *Georgetown Law Center*

Washington, D.C.,

September 17, 1971.

THE CONGRESSIONAL WILL

One result of the searing experience of Vietnam is that the Congress... will never again "come to heel" so willingly. In the future they are likely to be more skeptical of urgent Presidential appeals; they will demand more information and endorse fewer blank checks.

(The Congress) must gain as an institution the independent resources

to compete with the strength of the Presidency and the sprawl of the bureaucracy. We must develop the institutional capacity to analyze executive proposals rationally, shape legislative alternatives, and oversee the worldwide operations of the executive branch. We must learn how to come to terms with the federal budget as a whole, rather than dealing with it in some fifteen separate appropriations slices. We must learn to use more than

our present handful of computers. In short, Congress must recognize that even the most finely honed political instincts must be buttressed with better information and technology.

This task is not just a matter of procuring or hiring material and intellectual resources. It is a challenge to the Congressional will, for the habit of deference to the executive is all too well imbedded on Capitol Hill.

■ *Senior Citizens Forum*

Baltimore, MD,

November 5, 1971.

THE STAGES OF LIFE

If old age is not to become for increasing numbers of Americans a kind of living death, a hell on earth, we will have to execute a 180-degree turn in our attitude toward old age and old people—indeed, in our attitude toward all the stages in life. We need to stop thinking of the young simply in terms of play and school, of the middle-aged simply

in terms of work, the old simply in terms of retirement. We need to think, instead, of enabling the young to work more, the middle-aged to play more, and the old to go back to school. In particular, we need to regard old age as a chance for doing and discovering new and different things, for growing and creating and accomplishing, for exploring new possibilities within ourselves and in our relations with others and with our society.

■ *Disclosure of Congressional Income*

The Senate,

June 22, 1972.

DISCLOSURE AND CONFIDENCE

What the Senate imposes upon cabinet officers, Supreme Court justices and others, it has been reluctant to demand of itself. When it comes to Members of Congress, it is the public that is asked to put up the blind trust.

Disclosure does not attempt to define the rights or wrongs in any sit-

uation. It makes no judgement, and imposes no sanctions. It gives the public the basis upon which to make a reasoned and well founded judgement. It respects the intelligence of the public and the integrity of the democratic process.

It is important that we face the bigger issue of bringing confidence back to the American people. If this

disillusionment and distrust is not stopped, and stopped now, it will destroy the foundation of our government and further isolate the electorate from our political system.



■ *Watergate*

The Senate

March 29, 1973.

T R U S T A N D T R U T H

When a democratic government is imperilled by loss of confidence, it follows that the people must feel some lack of confidence in themselves. Corrosion attacks throughout the whole system. The challenge to leadership is then the restoration of trust in government and the renewal of faith in the Nation.

Our responsibilities are great, our difficulties are great, but whether our

work will be great depends on whether we ourselves are inspired by the impartial spirit of the Constitution and whether we can accurately communicate it to our fellow countrymen.

The pursuit of truth is the only direction in which we can go in search of the way to preserve our loyalty to the Constitution and the laws. A visible, unshakeable demonstration of that loyalty is the only way I know to restore the confidence, hope, and aspira-

tion that many of us find missing in our national life today.

The only way to restore confidence and trust throughout our society is for everyone who shares the privilege of leadership to obey the law, and to meet the small questions and the great issues with equal courage.

■ *The Johns Hopkins University School
for Advanced International Studies,
Washington, D.C., October 26, 1973.*

R E S P E C T A M O N G T H E B R A N C H E S

The tapes controversy, a clash between the branches of government, reminds us of the larger problem. That is that the Constitutional form of government is severely tested when there is no lubricant of good will and mutual respect among the branches.

S P O N S O R

■ **A FRIEND OF SENATOR MATHIAS**

■ Menorah Lodge #771

of B'nai B'rith, Baltimore, MD,

October 31, 1973.

THE MIDDLE EAST

Israel was created out of the ashes of man's inhumanity to man. The Nazi terror, a hateful stain on the history of the world, has been partially atoned for by the creation of Israel. But every effort must be made to prevent the repetition of yet another human disaster. The Middle East must

once again become the land of peace. It is my most prayerful hope that Israel, the Arab States and the United States and all nations will work together to create from the ruins of war what is so desperately needed by mankind, a just and lasting peace.



■ *The American Law Institute*

Washington, D.C.,

May 24, 1974.

THE CONSTITUTION-SAIL AND RUDDER

I do not believe that these are the worst of times or that the Republic is on the brink of ruin. On the contrary, I am heartened by much of what I see. The spontaneous outburst of emotion which followed the firing of Archibald Cox and the resignations of Elliot Richardson and William Ruckelshaus would have confounded Lord MacCauley, who once wrote that our Constitution is all sail and no rudder.

But I believe that if we slip into too deep a trough, if we stray too far from the Constitution, and if we do not do something now to reverse the process, we may see that document wither and die.

We need to begin by reestablishing some balance between the legislative and executive branches of our government. Some speak of the executive's

usurpation of the powers of the Congress—in my view it is less a matter of conquest than of surrender, less a case of murder than of suicide.

Indicative are the national emergency provisions which dot our statutes and which vest great discretion in the executive branch to do everything from waive the Administrative Procedures Act to provide for the take-over of certain small railroads. These need to be selectively repealed.

We need substantive legislation from the Congress which will give a clear signal to the people that the Constitution is taken seriously.

We need to renew our commitment to Fourth Amendment rights by the passage of restrictions on the use of wiretaps for national security cases.

We need to establish a commitment to privacy by passage of legislation which will control the burgeoning computerized data banks, both public and private, and including criminal justice data banks.

We need to show continued vigilance in the protection of freedom of speech. The preminent place given to freedom of speech in the Bill of Rights—its placement in the first of the 10 amendments to the Constitution—reflects its central role in the functioning of our Republic. The free expression of informed citizens is the foundation of representative government.

We need campaign reform legislation. The republican form of government depends upon its electoral processes. Where they become distorted by money and the new technology, we need to correct them—not only because it affects the confidence of the people but because in the long run a system which is not responsive to their will is doomed to failure.

S P O N S O R

■ CHEVY CHASE FEDERAL
SAVINGS BANK

■ *Wiretapping and National Security*

The Senate,

October 2, 1974.

P R E C I O U S L I B E R T Y

Watergate was a tide that spilled over the banks and the levees of the Constitution and the law. This unwholesome tide could rise again; and once again, those in power could act to punish those who oppose them; and once again we could find ourselves in a world of enemies' lists and imagined threats justified by claims of national security.

It is, perhaps, only when our freedom has been threatened that we

come to an understanding of how precious liberty is to the human spirit. The troubled times which we now live in are a warning that we must act to protect our basic liberties.

Those who enforce the law cannot and should not be permitted to act in ways that prevent full accountability and regular oversight by the other two branches. National security, the needs of the state are the business of all three branches. The three branches must share in every part of the process.

There can be no exceptions to Constitutional government.

There cannot be areas of public policy outside of Constitutional processes.

There can be no areas considered to be the sole province of the present guardians assigned the task of national security.

We are all guardians of our national security and we would fail our public trust if we again permitted any single branch or any part of the government to assume sole responsibility for the whole.

■ *Montgomery County Lodges of*

B'nai B'rith

October 21, 1974.

I N D E P E N D E N C E

Not every colleague of mine is happy with the label which has been affixed to his name, but I must say that I have been fortunate. The label which I have been given and which I confess I like is "independent."

Different holders of public office have different philosophies about their jobs and about their responsibilities to their constituents. My own philosophy is that, first and foremost, I am in the Senate to represent the people of Maryland, *all* the people, not a particular segment. Second, I believe that the people of the State have elected me not with a view toward holding a referen-

dum every time a critical question comes up—for that is clearly impossible—but to use my head and be guided by my conscience.

This is the philosophy which has controlled my actions and my votes in the Congress.

T H E A M E R I C A N G A R D E N

We Americans, I believe, take too much for granted the benign environment in which our political values, our political institutions and our civil liberties have developed. The yield of a garden is dependent upon the state of the soil and the care which it received. And civil liberties grow best in a well-cared-for garden.

The American garden, I believe we would all agree, has been a rich one. An open continent, abundant natural resources, upward mobility, an enormous capacity to absorb European immigration and westward migration.

And in this atmosphere we were able to develop a society with a sense of concern for the rights of man, a society where the ideas of Locke and other European thinkers were felt to apply to the common man.

This abundant American garden was not so much well-tended as it was capable of growing without much attention. But times have changed.

No civil liberty is secure, in any country, when so much of the world cannot even find a bowl of rice.

We see today the emergence of a world unlike that of even two years ago. We confront challenges as great, as sudden and as unexpected as those wrought by the devastation of the Second World War and the discovery of nuclear weapons.

As we did then, so must we now, recognize the necessity of shaping legal institutions and procedures for coping with these new realities.

It is time to begin to weave the new fabric of international law which will guide nations toward a peaceful resolution of our disputes in the years ahead. Building this law—be it directed at international pipelines, or the law of the sea, or new monetary arrangements, or international tribunals and arbitration panels—and nurturing the notion that these laws exist to be used rather than ignored, that they are substance and not window dressing, is not an easy or short term proposition. But its difficulty makes it all the more important that we take the lead now.

S P O N S O R

■ **BOB AND RYDA LEVI**

■ *Weapons Needs*

Washington, D.C.,

August, 1975.

HOW MUCH IS ENOUGH?

Ultimately, the basic question must be simply, “How much is enough?” For if we truly need these added weapons to defend ourselves, then so be it. Americans have always been willing and able to make collective sacrifices when they are warranted.

There appears to be broad agreement that the only nation which possesses a credible military threat to our vital interest is the Soviet Union. Therefore, as to the Soviet, isn't 8,000 warheads

enough, with 36 separate weapons to target on each of its 216 major cities? How much more will make us secure, or will establish our clear superiority over the Soviets—which, of course, can only drive *their* defense establishment further in the effort to out-arm us?

But where will it all end? Looking down the road, through the rain of statistics and the fog of technical jargon, one can dimly make out the vision of madness. Our arsenals grow and bloat and multiply. It is a game of Russian roulette, in more ways than

one: the wheel always spins, nobody “wins,” and the “house” always takes its share, in the form of economic dislocations and international instability. We double our bets when we think we're behind, never substantially gaining ground on our adversary—who feels compelled to play the same game, whose “defense” and intelligence apparatus provide its leaders with an endless flow of similar bases for fear, using up more and more of our resources and theirs. And for what?

■ *The City Club*

San Diego, CA,

January 9, 1973.

FOREIGN POLICY

An American foreign policy does not need to be manipulative or brutal to succeed. What is required in our foreign policy leaders is a deep understanding of the history, behavior, policies and resources of other nations and peoples, and even more important, a full understanding and sympathy of the purposes of the Constitution, the course of American history and the beliefs of the American people.

■ *The Cleveland City Club*

Cleveland, OH,

February 6, 1976.

C I T I E S

Our aim must be to create urban environments which take their character from the human needs of the people who live in them. We must make cities where people can live and raise their children in dignity—where they can find work and entertainment—where they can shop and browse, or visit a museum, or listen to a concert, or just take a walk with pleasure—where they can walk their dogs at night and sit in the sun by day, and where they can do all this in peace and safety.

We are not doing this now.

■ *Westchester County*

Anti-Defamation League

Port Chester, NY, March 16, 1973.

T H E L I O N A N D T H E L A M B

I believe we must turn our attention urgently to Israel's economic problems. At the same time that we seek to encourage an improvement in Israel's relations with her Arab neighbors, we should focus our attention on achieving economic as well as military security for Israel.

Then, if some sign of Arab interest in cooperation is forthcoming, Israel will be in a position to play her trump card. That card is her technical know-how.

Is it visionary to see a future where the Israeli people will join in a partnership to provide the scientific, technological and cultural leadership that could bring the entire Middle East into bloom?

Is it naive to hope that the promise of such a renaissance might be equally attractive to all the people of that deeply scarred and war-wearied area?

Is it hopelessly impractical to believe that at last the time has come for the lion to lie down with the lamb?

It seems to me the alternatives are unthinkable.

TO FIRE THE IMAGINATION

America emerged from World War II the most powerful nation on earth—the most powerful nation the world had ever known. American industry could supply the world, American farms could feed it and the American people could look forward to an era of unprecedented prosperity and progress.

To some Americans the promise of the post-war era meant nothing more than upgrading the American dream to include two cars in every garage and a television set in every house. To others—to black Americans—it marked the beginning of an epic struggle to attain basic civil rights, to participate fully and freely in American life so long denied them. In the wake of the Black Civil Rights Movement, and to some degree certainly inspired by it, there has come a succession of non-violent people's revolts: The Youth Revolution, The Anti-War Movement, The Consumer Protection Movement, and most recently, The Women's Liberation Movement. The achievements of these groups, both in improving the quality of life and in showing what people power can do, have been impressive.

The statistics are impressive but statistics can also be misleading. In human affairs it is better to trust what your eyes tell you and we certainly cannot rejoice in what we see as we look at America in this Bicentennial Year.

We have the highest standard of living in the world and the most appalling rate of crime.

We have the technology to send men to the moon in droves and our urban transit systems can't get people to work on time.

We have built some of the most magnificent cities in the world and people are falling all over each other to get out of them.

We have, in the past 20 years, produced a car for every person in this country only to discover that this particular aspect of the American dream is pure poison.

We are the mightiest industrial nation the world has ever known and yet 8 million of our people cannot find work.

We are graduating children from school who cannot read or write well enough to fill out the simple employment application.

We are running out of water and of fossil fuels.

We are, in short, fouling our own nest and squandering our human and natural resources.

The problems our nation faces today are at least as serious as those faced by our Founding Fathers. If we are to

surmount them, we must possess a unity of purpose and courageousness of action at least as great as that which they possessed.

What is needed now is a goal to fire the imagination. What better national goal could we set ourselves than the total revitalization of our cities? How better could we improve the quality of life for all the people of this nation than by transforming our decaying cities into vibrant, wholesome, safe and humane environments where the human spirit can prosper?

I do not believe that government should provide all the funding or that it should play mid-wife to our urban re-birth. That role should be reserved to the people themselves, with a massive assist from the private sector of our economy.

Over the past 200 years, if we have proved anything, we have proved that the civic-mindedness of the American people is worth building on. We must now find a forward-looking leadership to catalyze the public spirit.

■ *The Alfred M. Landon Lecture*

Kansas State University,

Manhattan, KS, April 27, 1976.

WARNINGS

It is a powerful irony, and one whose point must not be missed, that the scientists who invented nuclear weapons both in the United States and in the Soviet Union, who

are in a unique position to evaluate the full destructive potential of the weapons they have created, warn us that unless the arms race is stopped, the human race will be annihilated.

How many warnings must be sounded before we listen?

A world with the capacity for the ultimate crime of total genocide ought not hesitate too long before renouncing that fatal course.



■ Commencement Address

Haverford College,

Haverford, PA, May 11, 1976.

THE BEST YEARS

I am sure, by now, someone has told each of you that in time you will look back on these college years as the happiest days of your life. I cannot agree with this sad old canard. A man who thinks his college years were his best years is a man who has wasted his life.

No one who consistently sets aside time to exalt his mind and his spirit will ever look backwards to find the best years of his life. To such a man, the best years are always now and there are better years ahead.

Some think my generation inherited the worst of all possible worlds. We went straight from the campus to combat in World War II. But it seems to me that our job was easier in many ways than yours will be. Fighting a war was a fairly clearcut, if not a likeable, proposition then. Wars had been

fought before. There was military strategy for guidance. There were tactics. And there were people—too many of them—who had studied war and knew what it was all about.

But who today can speak with absolute certainty of how to provide for the survival of our cities, much less of our whole planet? Who knows how to redirect the desires of the have-not nations that want to have, and of the have nations that want to have more? How do you apportion this earth's finite resources? Who knows the secret for controlling populations that do not want to be controlled?

These are some of the questions you will have to answer. They are tough questions. But your prospects are not entirely bleak.

My optimism about your chances rests on the knowledge of what courageous men and women have accomplished just in your lifetime by simply deciding to do what was right.

I remind you of Rosa Parks, who sat down in the front of a bus in Montgomery, Alabama in 1955.

I remind you of the band of high school students who integrated Little Rock's schools in 1957 and who went on integrating them long after the National Guard had gone home.

I remind you of James Meredith, who entered the University of Alabama in 1963 when the way was barred by the Governor himself.

I remind you of what Frank Wills, the 24-year-old night watchman at the Watergate building, accomplished by doing his duty conscientiously.

I remind you of Archibald Cox, who said "No" to the most powerful man on earth.

I remind you of Sam Ervin, Chairman of the Senate Watergate Committee, whose defense of liberty and of the rule of law and of the Constitution should inspire judges and lawyers, legislators and public officials for years to come.

T H A T E X T R A M I L E

I don't know whether people with an extra degree of humanity are attracted to rural letter carrying, or whether rural letter carrying imparts an extra degree of humanity to the people who do it. But I do know that rural letter carriers are unusual human beings. And I know, from personal experience. For me, all the wonders of the way you work were wrapped up in the remarkable person of Joe Holdcraft. We had the rare good luck to be on Joe's route in Frederick when our children were young. Joe died some years ago, but as long as anyone in my family is around he will never be forgotten.

In those days we had a big, gruff—but loveable to those who knew her—Chesapeake Bay retriever named Impy. She took mischievous delight in charging down the field from our house to the road barking ferociously at anyone who came our way. Well, when Impy faked an attack on Joe Holdcraft, she

met her match. I don't know what magic Joe used on Impy, but in no time at all Impy was delivering our mail to us at the house. Joe had trained her, or maybe hypnotized her, to bring the mail to us in her mouth. The kids, of course, loved Impy in her role as letter carrier almost as much as they loved Joe.

Mail time came to be a very special time of day for all of us thanks to Joe. But we must have made quite a spectacle. It began as soon as Joe came into sight. First, Impy would take off howling and barking across the field; on her heels would be our sons, Charlie and Rob, slaving to get their hands on the Tootsie Pops Joe always had for them, and finally, bringing up a noisy rear, was our Chinese Goose who warned us with her honking whenever the kids got near the road.

This scene was reenacted every single morning as long as we lived in Frederick. The children never tired of it. Impy never tired of it. The goose never tired of it. And if Joe tired of it, he never let on.

There was another side to Joe too. Joe was deeply patriotic, full of local pride. When he came back to Frederick after World War II, Joe looked around

and saw that our Civil War monuments had gotten a little shabby, a little run down while he'd been away.

But Joe didn't complain about it or try to find someone to blame. He just set out all by himself to clean and restore Frederick's historic monuments. Pretty soon he had the Historical Society and just about everyone else in town working to get Frederick spruced up for the future.

We're going to be celebrating our Bicentennial a little less than two weeks from today and it seems to me fitting to remember now that what has made this nation great and what has kept it great is the self-reliance of generations of Americans like Joe who have been ready to go that extra mile, to do that little bit more that makes the difference between just being, and being great.

S P O N S O R

■ **MR. AND MRS. ALBERT KEIDEL, JR.**

■ *Utah Bar Association*

Salt Lake City, UT,

July 17, 1976.

IT IS THE LAW

The government may not condemn, harass, punish or confine, except where the law and the Bill of Rights allow. The Constitution was not written to be ignored according to whim or convenience. It was not written to be suspended in hard times or crises. It is the law, and final.

Nearly all of the sad and comic antics of Watergate were ascribed to national security. The men around the President seem to have believed that they were committing small sins to prevent greater ones.

The same delusion has flourished in the intelligence community.

The rationale is old, and it comes easy. Consider how many tyrannies have been erected, and how many liberties snuffed out, in the name of the nebulous and changeable aim, "the greater good."

The founding fathers knew better than to take the risk. They believed that power grows to the extent it is permitted, and they constructed the

Constitution around this assumption. Its verity has been borne out again and again, most recently by the zealous excesses of the intelligence community. These excesses were covert, hidden even from their victims. They were almost never discovered, and therefore seldom challenged. Unchallenged, they grew and grew and grew.

I believe we have checked them. Our rescue has come in a resounding invocation of the doctrines of Madison and Jefferson. Those doctrines remain our greatest surety against the ill-will or carelessness of men in power.

■ *Saint Mary's Seminary and University*

Baltimore, MD,

October 25, 1976.

THE RIGHT TO BE DIFFERENT

Charles Carroll of Carrollton understood the delicate relationship between religion and power. He saw the dangerous influence of one upon the other. He knew how power had corrupted the purposes of Christianity, and how religions of all sorts had made power terrible. He must have known of witch hangings, and he had the intellect, and the imagination, to extrapolate from them all the varied

religious and political persecutions that have succeeded them in this country. The solution was constantly on Carroll's mind: freedom of worship, and the separation of Church and State.

Again the Act of Toleration presents itself, inseparable from the example of Charles Carroll. The Act was, in a sense, a primitive version of our First

Amendment. It granted freedom of religion. It granted a right to be different, one of the most precious of all we hold.

And if there is one difference that separates us above all others from the totalitarian nations, it is this: the right to be different. The right to believe in, and advocate different views. The right to be eccentric. The right to be heretical.

■ *U.S. Army Test and Evaluation*

Command, Aberdeen Proving

Ground, MD, October 29, 1976.

A G O V E R N M E N T O F L A W S

Secrecy and democracy are uneasy partners. Intelligence requires a certain measure of secrecy, but history teaches that secrecy can be a spawning ground for abuse. Few would argue for public disclosure of the names of intelligence agents or the technological details of collection methods. But the requirements of secrecy were stretched so far that they inhibited even the legitimate review of basic programs and policies.

If they are to exercise their responsibilities wisely, members of Congress, executive branch officials, and the American people themselves must be adequately informed. They must know enough about intelligence activities to be able to weigh and evaluate the moral and political issues involved.

Congress, the executive branch and the intelligence agencies, all have ignored the principle that ours is a government of laws and not of men.

■ *Anti-Defamation League*

of B'nai B'rith

Los Angeles, CA, December 5, 1976.

T H E M A D I S O N I A N P R I N C I P L E

Democracy is as fragile as it is rare. And American democracy has been shaken to its very foundations these past few years. Watergate, with its burglars, pranksters and blackmailers, was child's play compared with the staggering revelations that came later in the investigations of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.

It's a miracle after all this that there's any vitality left in our Bill of Rights. For that, we have luck to thank. We

have Woodward and Bernstein to thank. But mostly, I think, we have James Madison to thank.

When Madison framed our Constitutional system of checks and balances, he knew what he was doing. "If men were angels," Madison told his colleagues, "No government would be necessary." Then with a shrewd eye on the frailties of men and the temptations of power, Madison devised a system based on conflict. Disagreement, he knew, is an exercise of liberty. The only problem would be to keep any

one part from dominating the whole.

The Madisonian principle is what keeps our system and our freedoms healthy. The Presidency, the Congress and the courts collide with each other, striking the sparks that are the true light of democracy. As long as all three branches are strong enough to check and balance each other, none can tyrannize. None can encroach, unwatched and unchallenged, on our civil liberties.



V I E T N A M

What effect did the war have on us as human beings and what effect did it have on our institutions?

The war provoked a constant, ever more strident exercise of free speech in this country. There was plenty of doubt about national values and purpose in those years, but there was never any doubt about the vitality of the First Amendment.

People and government were in constant collision, with the courts acting as referee. Both sides exceeded the law many times. But in the end the Constitution had the last word.

As a people, we may have stumbled out of the Vietnam nightmare scarred and embittered, but thanks to constant exercise, our civil liberties were still strong.

Vietnam was the most unpopular war in our history. The American people had resisted wars before, but never so massively, never so vocally, and never to such great effect. Vietnam evoked the greatest outpouring of moral indignation and protest in our history. Protest was so general, and the war itself so riddled with ambiguity and paradox, that dissent became respectable. Finally, the futility of it all made Vietnam unpopular even with those who supported it in the abstract.

Now, while some Americans were outraged by the spectacle of sit-ins and marches, I believe that nonviolent, peaceful protest has won an accepted place in our democracy. This bodes well for us as we begin our third century as a nation. Despite the damage and division of Vietnam, we are still a cohesive nation. Our laws are sovereign, our courts uphold them. The

upheaval of the civil rights and anti-war movements has even strengthened our institutions, which served as arbiters. Our civil liberties, continually and loudly asserted, were revitalized.

This is the bright side of that tragic decade.

One of the most poignant recollections I have of the war is of a young combat veteran talking about conscientious objectors. We fought willingly, he said, to make it possible for freedom of conscience to exist in the world.

Not all the men we sent to Vietnam had such a clear sense of purpose and the deep divisions about the war at home did not help much to clarify their doubts.

Now that we have put a little distance between ourselves and the war, one fact emerges forcibly. The veterans of Vietnam have been cruelly neglected. It was their bad luck to fight in a war that was widely viewed as either immoral or futile. No one blamed them, but there was no hero's welcome for them when they returned.

In any fair and compassionate consideration of the ordinary fighting man in Vietnam, the question of the morality of the war must be laid aside. A soldier is asked to risk his life for his country, and our men in Vietnam set themselves to that task, nagged all the while by the ambiguities of the war, the contradictions, the futility.

Deep psychological scars have been documented among our combat veterans. Many of them have had difficulty re-entering civilian life. I think one of the great unpaid debts of the war is to these men. They fought in good faith in a grueling war and deserve our respect and our support.

Vietnam taught us a lesson. And, it is a good lesson for the nuclear age. The community of nuclear powers is growing inexorably. The casual exchange of fissionable material and nuclear reactors holds risks too terrible to contemplate. We have entered an age of energy crisis and economic dislocation. It is a volatile, restless world. It is no time for reckless military interventions.

Our experience with the new varieties of conflict in this nuclear age—big war, small wars and non-wars—affirms rather than impugns the durability of the insights of the founding fathers. They reserved to the President the right to repel attack and this remains valid, it seems to me, in terms of a deterrence strategy. They reserved to the Congress the power to ratify treaties, declare war, raise and regulate our military forces, and define and punish violations of international law—in other words, they vested in Congress the comprehensive war powers.

The alternative to this division of responsibility, which the framers of the Constitution feared and sought to avoid, is to grant dictatorial powers to the executive in this realm. That approach was tried in Vietnam. It produced a near Constitutional crisis and a state of national demoralization in relation to the legitimacy of our foreign and military policies.

We have now restored our Constitutional balance.

Time has a way of reconciling us to history. Wounds heal. Divisions mend. Americans may at last come to feel that our nation and its institutions emerged from the fierce crucible of Vietnam strengthened and purged.

THE MIDDLE EAST

In recent years I have met almost all the major figures who today dominate the political scene in Israel, Egypt, Jordan, and Syria. I have been struck time and time again by the mistrust with which each side views the other. Without attempting to evaluate the arguments, let me illustrate what I mean.

Arabs consider Israel a foreign creation. They point over and over again to the European extraction of much of the Israeli leadership. They are convinced that Israel is expansionistic and determined to hold onto whatever territory it can get. They see Israel as a threat. Arab leaders now claim to have

moderated their views and indicate a willingness to accept Israel's existence in the area. They maintain that Israel has not responded to this moderation.

Israelis reply that Arab tactics have changed but that their strategy remains the same—that is, the ultimate destruction of Israel. They argue that the Arabs are not talking about real peace but only about a settlement which would involve Israeli withdrawal from substantial territories with virtually no corresponding concessions from them. They feel that no peace can be durable unless it assures for Israel both secure borders and normalization of relations with its neighbors.

What I want to emphasize to you is that Arabs and Israelis continue to view each other with deep suspicion. Only time can truly ease this mistrust. But time is not available. The level and sophistication of arms in the area is escalating rapidly. Another war would be far worse than the last.

These are sober words. They speak of the need for hard choices. The point to be underlined is that the time for peace is now—it cannot be put off. Peace is in Israel's interest, it is in the interest of the moderate Arab states, and it is most certainly in the interest of the United States.



THE FOURTH ESTATE

The notion that the press has a role to play in the process of government was not unique to America. When Louis XVI was forced to call into session the Estates General in France after more than 100 years of autocratic rule, he summoned the three estates—the nobles, the clergy and the commoners. But there was another group in France then that, since the invention of the printing press, had become powerful enough to be considered a Fourth Estate. That group was the press.

Although the Fourth Estate never quite made it into the Estates General or its successor, the National Assembly, it did become part of our language. The western world acknowledges, by its use of the quaint expression “the Fourth Estate,” that the press plays a significant role in government.

If we accept the proposition that the Fourth Estate is a part of practical government, then we must look for the place in which it fits in our geometric Constitutional pattern.

The men who devised our Constitution were not content with a simple separation of powers among the three branches of the new government. They actually gave each branch a hand in the other's business. Although some specific powers were reserved peculiarly or preeminently to each branch, there was a great deal of overlapping and intermingling of jurisdictions within the three formal and established branches of government.

The history of our government, in fact, can be seen with some justice as a series of boundary disputes, of advances and retreats, between the various branches.

But where in this rather precise geometric construction of checks and balances is the Fourth Estate? The check which applies to that branch of governance we call the Fourth Estate is the First Amendment, which is a check on government unilaterally. The First Amendment prohibits interference with press activity just as much as the doctrine of separation of powers prevents the legislative, executive and judicial branches of government from invading each others' jurisdictions.

But what of the other side of the equation? The First Amendment is only a one-sided check and does not

provide balance. The other side doesn't exist. And, because there is no balancing factor as in the case of the other three branches, we end up with a paradox. We restrain government in its relations with the press, but we don't restrain the press in its relations with government.

There's good reason for this. The restraints which we impose on the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government cannot be imposed upon the press without endangering the democratic process itself. Freedom of the press is an area too sensitive and too delicate to sustain external regulation.

The only restraint on the press that is permissible in a democracy is the restraint the press imposes on itself. The press, in a very real sense, is a part of the government. By providing much of the information on which the electorate makes its judgments, the press plays an essential role in determining how, and how well, we govern ourselves. If we are to govern ourselves intelligently, then the media must be free to gather information and to disseminate it without hindrance. But it is not enough that the media be free to do their job; they must also be willing to do it responsibly.

■ *Los Angeles World Affairs Council*

Los Angeles, CA,

January 19, 1978.

LEARNING TO SAY 'NO'

As recently as 100 years ago a British envoy in East Asia boasted that he could "declare war and make peace" before the news ever reached Whitehall.

Now, the most remote outpost of the world is only hours away. Like Puck, we can almost "put a girdle round the globe in forty minutes." But,

without Puck's magical ability to undo the mischief he created, we must be very careful how we use our powers. We cannot expect to dictate our vision of the future to others; neither can we afford to be without such a vision.

We urgently need to define what our vital interests in the world arena are. Then, we must condition ourselves not to get involved in every issue, large

and small, that arises on the face of the globe. We have to learn to say "No." We must define the limits of the possible and then we must not stretch ourselves beyond them.

■ *National Town Meeting*

Washington, D.C.,

June 1, 1978.

EDUCATION

We must all of us recognize that education is not something that takes place only in our schools. Our society as it displays itself on television, through family relations, on the streets, is also teaching these children all the time. We must ask ourselves whether the values reflected in the life our children see around them are values that

will reinforce the near miracles our schools and our teachers are being asked to perform. And, if they are not, then we should look to ourselves to improve education in America, before we look to our schools.

■ *New York State Assembly*

and National Conference of

State Legislatures, New York, NY,

June 4, 1978.

T H E R I G H T T O P R I V A C Y

Privacy—the right to be left alone—is perhaps the most fragile and elusive guarantee in the Constitution. Its roots are in 18th century common law, in the idea of the sanctity of the home and private papers. It is a notion that stirred up hot dispute in the years leading up to the American revolution. And it is a notion that stirs up hot dispute to this day.

Despite the careful draftsmanship and the clear intent of the authors of the Bill of Rights, the right to privacy has had an uneasy history. It has been

tested, challenged and litigated constantly. It has been misunderstood and misinterpreted. It has been abused.

Today, it stands in danger of being overwhelmed.

The incredible technological advances of the 20th century have transformed both the nature of privacy and the nature of the threats to privacy. Business, commerce and government now hum to computer rhythms. The bank, credit, medical and business records of almost all of us are stored away in some electronic memory.

Computers don't discard informa-

tion, unless they are ordered to. They don't forget it. They amass it. They retain it. And they spew it forth indiscriminately at the touch of a button.

Technological advances have astronomically multiplied the opportunities for intrusions on our privacy.

This situation is obviously dangerous. And its dangers are accentuated by the continuing dispute over whether or not the privacy protections in the Bill of Rights apply to the intrusions worked by electronic technologies. I believe they do.

■ *Anti-Defamation League*

of B'nai B'rith,

Boston, MA, June 15, 1978.

T O K N O W T H E T R U T H

In a democracy, the people must know the truth if they are to act responsibly and intelligently. A badly informed, or wrongly informed, electorate is a dangerous thing in a democracy. Such an electorate is the prey of demagogues.

It is the President's job to make certain that the country keeps foreign policy controversies in proper perspective. He must somehow get across to

the American people exactly what is at stake for humanity in the nuclear arms talks. (And he must also get it across to the people in his foreign policy establishment.)

The President of the United States is not a referee. He is the team captain. He must have a grand strategy and he must execute it.

If I were making the strategic game plan for the last quarter of the 20th

century, this is what I would tell the American people.

It is vital that Americans see through the emotional smokescreen being laid down by those of limited vision. They should know that stockpiling more and more weapons of destruction in nuclear arsenals around the world simply raises the probability that these weapons will be used.





■ *Rally for Soviet dissident*

Anatoly Shcharansky

July 10, 1978.

M E S S A G E T O M O S C O W

By every possible means we must send a resounding message to Moscow: All those who wish to be free will not be forgotten by the world outside the borders of the USSR. We will not be quiet. We will not be deterred. We will not permit the spotlight of world opinion which illuminates the practices of Soviet authorities to be dimmed.

The yearnings of the human spirit for free expression will not be stilled. We must not and shall not abandon the heroic men and women in their struggle for human dignity.

■ *Houston Rotary Club*

Houston, TX,

October 12, 1987.

A R E M A R K A B L E N A T I O N

America is the most remarkable nation that has ever existed on the face of the earth. It is remarkable for any number of reasons, ranging from its bountiful natural endowments to the spirit and virtues of its citizens. But, ultimately, America's very special quality—its uniqueness—lies in the fact that here

in this country the individual is the most important unit of society.

During the darkest days of the American revolution, when the colonial army was freezing at Valley Forge, Tom Paine told his fellow citizens, "We have it in our power to begin the world over again." And he was right.

We did begin the world over again. We made the individual citizen the center of a new political universe—not

the state, not a political party, not a class or group—but the individual citizen. And when we did that, we laid the cornerstone for the freest, most creative society the world has ever known.

■ *Bicentennial Council of the*

Thirteen Original States Fund

Wilmington, DE.

October 30, 1978.

T H E L A S T W O R D

To most Americans, the danger of a dictatorship arising through legal means seems remote to the point of fantasy. But every historian in this room knows that Hitler seized control of Germany by using emergency powers provisions contained in the laws of the Weimar Republic.

On September 14, 1976, President Ford signed the National Emergencies Act, which was the result of three years work by the Special Committee on National Emergencies and Delegation

of Emergency Power, a bi-partisan effort, chaired by Senator Frank Church and myself. The legislation terminated the powers and authorities possessed by the President as a result of existing states of national emergencies with provision for regular Congressional review.

When I first urged my colleagues in the Senate to come to grips with the problem of these unterminated national emergencies, I warned them against the cavalier attitude of George Washington Plunkett, a Tammany Hall wardheeler who was fond of ask-

ing: "What's the Constitution among friends?"

Last month, when the two-year grace period in the National Emergencies Act expired and the emergencies were finally officially laid to rest, George Washington Plunkett got his answer. Among friends and foes alike, the Constitution still has the last word in our democratic Republic.

■ *Model United Nations*

Washington, D.C.

February 22, 1979.

F O R E I G N R E L A T I O N S

Establishing diplomatic relations with China promotes stability by normalizing an abnormal situation. But stimulating sinomania in this country, especially a sinomania with anti-Soviet overtones, is a dangerous game that can only lead to greater instability.

Foreign relations are not a card game. They are a deadly serious business. The world is not peopled with

mythical dragons and eagles and polar bears, but with human beings who yearn for peace and security and the necessities of life. We must seek to compose our differences with both China and the Soviet Union and we must recognize that the world will be better served by whatever relaxation of tensions and cooperation can be achieved between these powers than by playing them off one against the other.



■ *Union of Orthodox Jewish*

Congregations, New York, NY,

May 13, 1979.

HUMAN RIGHTS

We should send a clear signal to the furthest corner of the Soviet Union and to the highest councils of the Kremlin that Americans will never ignore, nor allow to be forgotten, the desperate plight of the brave men and women held, without cause, and

against their will, in the Soviet Union. We should lose no opportunity—public or private—to get this message to Moscow: Human beings have rights—they have the right to be free—and they have the right to be heard.

■ *Play and Inventiveness Colloquium*

The Smithsonian Institution,

Washington, D.C., May 24, 1979.

CHILDREN

One of a parent's most important responsibilities is to nurture his or her children toward citizenship by teaching them that they are responsible for themselves and for their actions. And ultimately that they share a responsibility for the world around them.

It will not destroy a child's instinct for play to be taught that his play

should not be destructive or harmful to others. It is no infringement of a child's freedom to insist that he drive safely on the highways. It is not wrong to require more of children than that they blindly pursue their own happiness.

Now, more than ever, children should be taught ethical standards and should be encouraged to recognize that they, too, have moral responsibilities: to their family, to their environment,

to their country, to their fellow man, and above all, to themselves.

It would be a terrible mistake in our celebration of the International Year of the Child if we focused all our attention on the rights of children and none of it on their responsibilities.

■ *St. George's School*

Newport, RI,

May 25, 1979.

EXPLORATION

We are just entering another great era of exploration. The first began in the late fifteenth century with the epic ocean voyages which first taught us the true nature of our planet, which brought power, prestige and prosperity to the exploring nations and which expanded the spirit, enlarged the consciousness and inspired the imagination of mankind.

now beginning, will be of greater significance for our future and for the future of humanity than any exploration previously undertaken by mankind, because now, for the first time, we have gained practical access to space with its infinite resources and its infinite potential for the increase of knowledge.

Think of it! Four and a half billion years after the formation of the Earth, three and a half billion years after life began on our planet, some four mil-

lion years after man-like creatures first appeared, and only about 100,000 years after the establishment of our species, we have cut the apron strings of Mother Earth and broken out of the terrestrial nursery into the unbounded Universe. Out of all the ages when we might have lived, we are living now to see it happen, to share in the discoveries, to enjoy the benefits, perhaps even to participate!

■ *Taiwan Benevolent Society*

Washington, D.C.,

August 4, 1979.

A N A M E R I C A N C I V I L I Z A T I O N

When my ancestors were still living in caves in Europe, or in log huts if they were very enterprising, your ancestors already had developed a written language and a substantial body of literature. By the time my ancestors had finally managed to organize into tribal groups in Celtic England, your ancestors had founded a national university with 30,000 students. And when Christopher Columbus was discovering this great land that we all now call home, Confucius had already been dead for almost 2,000 years.

Those are truly awesome facts.

Thinking about them reminded me of an idea Steve Muller, President of The Johns Hopkins University, developed several years ago in a speech at Houston University.

"An American society exists," he said, "... mighty, productive, bursting with achievement!" But, he added, "An American civilization—not yet."

I think I can say, without fear of contradiction, that here in the United States you have the greatest legal and political opportunity to shape your own future, to achieve your own objectives and to adhere to your own convictions that you could have anywhere in the world.

These opportunities, however, entail responsibilities. It is your job to keep America the very special place it is. You must give generously of your talent and your wisdom and your experience. As cultivated people, you have an obligation to propagate culture. You must participate actively in the political and social process—not just by voting or by supporting civic organizations and causes financially—but by working in the system to make it reflect the values you respect—by working to help America evolve a civilization where you can feel intellectually and spiritually comfortable.

S P O N S O R

■ **THE ROUSE COMPANY**

■ *Brethren Service Center*

New Windsor, MD,

October 14, 1979.

THE POPE'S MESSAGE

Exactly a week ago today at just about this time of day, I stood on the tarmac at Andrews Air Force Base to say goodbye to Pope John Paul II, that remarkable human being who dominated our consciousness and our news media from the moment he set foot on American soil.

But, as the plane door closed behind the Pope concealing his dynamic figure from sight, I wondered for a moment just how long his message would remain with us once he himself had left our shores.

As a nation, we have developed a very short, a dangerously short, atten-

tion span. We turn eagerly from one media event to the next. We seek entertainment, not enlightenment. We seem unable to concentrate on the abiding question of what our humanity requires of each of us.

Yet it is precisely this question that Pope John Paul II has asked us to examine.

America has taken the Pope to its heart. But will America take that message to heart? A message that calls for restraint and sacrifice and sharing.

Thirty-five years ago, there was a consensus among Americans that we had a responsibility to help rebuild a war-ravaged world. We freely offered our help to friend and foe alike then. We agreed that it was the right thing to do.

Today no such consensus exists in America. The constituency that speaks for service and self-sacrifice is small. So, if we are to do the great deeds in the world that our humanity and our good fortune require of us, we must build a new consensus in America—a consensus that favors looking beyond ourselves and our parochial problems to the wider world whose future is so intimately, so inescapably entangled with our own.

■ *Anti-Defamation League*

of B'nai B'rith, Miami, FL.

December 15, 1979.

MANAGING OURSELVES

This decade began brutally, with an expanded war in Vietnam and the killings at Kent State, and it is ending brutally, with Americans held hostage in Iran against the practices of international law and the principles of civilized people.

The intervening years have brought a rise in terrorism at home and abroad that has shaken our confidence in our ability to protect ourselves either individually or collectively. Political scandals, from Watergate to Koreagate, have undermined confidence in the Executive and the Congress.

But the same decade that brought us all these unsettling developments as well as the near-miss at Three Mile Island, also brought us the wonderful news that 90 percent of our children

are now immunized against preventable childhood disease. Unfortunately, however, it is human nature to forget the good too quickly and to remember the bad too long, so we close the books on the 70's with a bitter taste in our mouths.

Perhaps the most unsettling fact of life, as we enter the decade of the 80's, is that the earth's human population will double in the next generation. That raises the specter that food for people and forage for animals will grow perilously scarce.

These statistics are tragic. But they are not inevitable. Miracles are at hand that can turn this situation around.

It is logical to assume that we can integrate weather satellites and all the various satellite systems which sense and observe the Earth from space into

a global information network to warn of natural catastrophes, report on sea conditions, locate distress signals, monitor pollution sources, track deforestation, spot erosion and generally provide the data necessary to restore our planet to health and manage it sensibly.

Of course, if we are to manage our planet properly, we will certainly have to manage ourselves with more skill than we have mustered in the past. We have got to bring the political brutality which has dominated so much of our life, nationally and internationally, under control. It will profit us very little to bring nature under control, if human nature runs amok.

■ *Leadership Conference*

On Civil Rights.

January, 1980.

INSTITUTIONAL MEMORY

The 96th Congress is quite different from its immediate predecessors. Paul Douglas is gone. Phil Hart is gone. Hubert Humphrey is gone. So are Clifford Case and Ed Brooke. And Walter Mondale has moved to the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue.

We are missing some of the most eloquent spokesmen for the broad social, economic, and political agenda that has been forged in the crucible of the civil rights movement.

Almost half of the members of the Senate—48 in all—are serving their first term. Veterans of the battle to legislate that great civil rights agenda are few and far between. The institutional memory is fading.

The new composition of the Congress; the weakening of political parties and of party discipline; the growing power of single issue groups, all are danger signals for you. They warn that politics is in flux. Its destination is unknown, its course uncharted.

LET US REMEMBER

Two years ago—in December 1978—I traveled to the Soviet Union to open America's "Agriculture-USA" exhibit in the city of Kishinev in Moldavia. That city was the scene of bitter pogroms in the days of the Czars, but my story doesn't deal with ancient atrocities. It concerns our own troubled times.

On my way back to Moscow from Moldavia, I stopped briefly in Kiev to lay a wreath at Babi-Yar, in memory of the hundreds of thousands of Jews who were massacred there by the Nazis when they occupied the Ukraine.

It was a humbling and moving experience to stand at the edge of that fatal ravine, under a bleak winter sky, and pay my respects to the Jewish dead.

The ravine's harsh, tragic outlines are softened now by landscaping and

the scene, after years of official neglect, is dominated by a powerful monument. But not a single word in the inscription on that monument tells you that it was Jews who were massacred there—that it is Jews who lie in the mass grave at Babi-Yar.

The omission is significant. It is not accidental. Its implications are sinister.

Elsewhere in the world the memory of the Holocaust is kept alive so that successive generations may learn its lesson: That man's fate is in his own hands—that by remembering the past, we may shape a better future.

Whether that future will be better, not only for Israel but for all mankind, depends on us. It depends on our keeping the memory of the past alive. But it depends on far more than that. It depends on the individual determination of each of us that man's inhumanity to man will not be tolerated.

This means that we cannot remain silent about the torture chambers of an Idi Amin or the mounds of bleached bones in Cambodia or about the hundreds of thousands of people on this earth who die of starvation every single

year, far from the rich fields of Frederick, or about crosses burned on suburban Maryland lawns.

It means we cannot be indifferent to any man's fate.

And, most especially, it means we cannot ignore the fate of those who risk their lives to speak out against tyranny.

We cannot ignore the fate of Andrei Sakharov, Elena Bonner, Anatoly Shcharansky, Vladimir Slepak, Igor Guberman, Dimitri Dudko, and the hundreds of others who defend human rights in the Soviet Union.

As we remember the victims of the Holocaust, let us also remember the millions of victims claimed by the Gulag Archipelago, to whom no monuments are raised.

■ *Voluntary Council on Equal*

Opportunity, Baltimore, MD,

June 12, 1980.

HISTORIC CHANGES

The profound changes in this nation and its attitudes over the last 15 to 20 years are tremendously impressive.

The Congress has enacted an historic body of civil rights legislation:

- The monumental 1964 Civil Rights Act, passed after a three-month filibuster;
- The Voting Rights Act of 1966, and
- The Fair Housing Act of 1968, to name a few.

These laws constitute a modern day Bill of Rights for black and minority Americans. Nothing I have done in the Congress has been more personally satisfying to me than helping to draft this legislation and get it enacted into law.

■ *Maryland State Lodge, Inc.*

The Fraternal Order of Police,

Ocean City, MD, September 13, 1980.

THE BEDROCK OF NATIONAL SECURITY

This election year you're going to hear a lot about our national security. They're going to tell you that this bomber or that missile system is the be-all and the end-all of national security.

But I tell you that the economy is the bedrock of national security. No missile system, no battleship, no supersonic

aircraft, and no combination of armaments is powerful enough to protect this country if our economy fails.

We are only as strong as our domestic base. If Americans are out of work, if inflation saps our economic strength and the spirit of the people, if our children are improperly educated—then our national security is truly threatened.

And if billions of the world's people are hungry and in despair, our na-

tional security is in jeopardy. Just as we cannot control crime in neighborhoods haunted by desperation, we will not be able to control our own destiny in a world violently destabilized by hunger, overpopulation and unemployment.



■ *The First Baptist Church*

Gaithersburg, MD,

September 28, 1980.

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

When I first met Martin Luther King, Jr., his namesake, Martin Luther King III, was only eight years old; Dexter was only four. That first meeting took place in February 1965 outside the jailhouse in Selma, Alabama.

I had gone down there with two of my colleagues in the House of Representatives—Joseph Resnick of New York and Kenneth Dyal of California—to see if we could help Dr. King get out of jail. He was being held on a civil disobedience charge arising from one of the great causes of his life—the struggle to guarantee the right to vote—the right of his people and of all people to participate fully in the electoral process.

The reason I can fix the date of that first meeting with Dr. King so clearly is because my son Rob, who is just Dexter King's age, asked me only last week to tell him about Dr. King and how we met. While I was talking to Rob, casting back in my mind to pin-

point the exact date of my trip to Selma, my wife, Ann, got up; went to the desk; opened a locked drawer and produced a little slip of paper where Dr. King had signed his name for me that day. He had written the date down too—February 1965.

Shortly after that meeting with Dr. King, the Congress of the United States enacted the Voting Rights Act of 1965—the legislative result of his great crusade for voting rights.

Looking back from the distance of 15 years, that all sounds so natural and inevitable. We tend to forget the ugly, brutal forces that were arrayed against Dr. King—and against all of us—who sought to redeem for black Americans what Dr. King called “The Promissory Note” of the Constitution.

But we forget those terrible events only at our peril, because the forces of evil are never totally defeated. It requires constant vigilance just to keep them at bay.

I came across something else when I was reminiscing with Rob about Dr. King and I've brought it along today because it's a pretty graphic reminder

of how ugly those days were even here in Maryland, so far from the heartland of Martin Luther King's struggle.

This pamphlet was circulated during my reelection campaign in 1966, signed at the bottom by “The Committee to Expose Supporters of M. L. King, Jr.”

There's the picture of us at the jailhouse in Selma with the headline: “Mathias flies 600 miles to Selma, Ala. Jailhouse for Meeting With King.”

There's a smear story about Dr. King and scare stories about the Fair Housing legislation I was sponsoring at the time—which, I'm proud to say, is now the law of this land.

And the bottom line reads: “We need a new Congressman—one who will preserve our property rights and individual freedom.” Well, I'm happy to say, they didn't get one.

But the struggle to control America's future is not over. It is still going on.

S P O N S O R

■ **PAUL MELLON**

■ *United Auto Workers*

Daytona Beach, FL.,

January 23, 1981.

A M I N D T O W O R K

Ralph Waldo Emerson called himself a Transcendental Philosopher, but he was really a very practical man. It was he who coined the classic advice to American business: Build a better mousetrap and the world will beat a path to your door.

If American automobile-makers want the world to beat a path to their door, then they're going to have to come up with a product so revolution-

ary that the world will not settle for less.

If we are to pull ourselves from the jaws of economic disaster, we must have leaders who are pragmatic, not dogmatic. We must build on the things that unite us and resolve the issues that divide us. And we must be prepared for hard work for sacrifice.

Centuries ago, when the prophet Nehemiah rebuilt the walls and gates of Jerusalem, he brought all of the people together and assigned them tasks:

When the great work was finished,

Nehemiah wrote, "So built we the wall . . . for the people had a mind to work."

That spirit is alive in America today. The people have a mind to work. It is now up to our leaders—in government, in the labor movement, in business—to see that they do not work at cross-purposes.

■ *Press conference on Fair Housing*

Washington, D.C.,

February 26, 1981.

J U S T I C E

We are here for a very simple, fundamental purpose: to do justice. If our civil rights history has taught us nothing else, it has taught us that justice is badly served, or not served at all, where civil rights are guaranteed and the means to attain these rights are denied, or frustrated.

We need only recall the travesty that poll taxes and literacy tests for decades

made of black peoples' constitutionally guaranteed right to vote.

Today, less obvious but equally effective barriers stand between the right of all people to equal access to housing and their ability to achieve equal access.

We are here to tear down those barriers.

Congress watchers may say that we are on a fool's errand; that if we could not get the 60 votes for cloture to bring this bill to a vote in the lame duck session of the 96th Congress, then we

won't ever be able to get this bill out of Committee in the more conservative 97th Congress.

But I say that equal access to justice in this country is a question that transcends political considerations. Justice is not liberal or conservative. Justice is justice and I intend to see that it is done and that it is done in this Congress, in this Senate, in this session.

■ *Baltimore Council on Foreign Relations*

Baltimore, MD,

March 23, 1981.

TAKING THE LEAD

The transcendent challenge we face is to find ways to break the vicious circle of poverty, soaring population growth and erosion of the earth's resource base. The United States cannot meet this challenge alone; no nation can. Just as we depend upon our allies to meet the Soviet military challenge, we must seek broad inter-

national cooperation to overcome the threats to our environment and resources.

But, because we have the most to contribute to success, and the most to lose in failure, we should take the lead in organizing cooperative action on controlling population, on developing renewable energy resources and on increasing food production and improving distribution. And we can do so with confidence, happy in the knowl-

edge that we are pursuing a course of enlightened self-interest.

But we've got to get this message out.

It is urgent that the American people—and anyone who aspires to devise a strategic foreign policy for this nation—clearly understand that a world in which 57 people die of starvation every single minute of every single hour of every day is not a safe place to pursue the American dream.

BELIEFS THAT ENDURE

These warm days of the Italian spring tell us that summer is just a month away. We are reminded that we live within a cycle of seasons. Our days skim by on the surface of deep, enduring, elemental rhythms. Spring follows winter, summer follows spring. Turning and returning, the inevitable cycle of the seasons weds constancy to fickleness, stability to change.

There are cycles to the human mood as well. And to the mood of nations. Events and attitudes displace each other, but deep beliefs endure. And they endure with a tenacity that is almost elemental.

And so, when we come together in meetings such as these, and in times such as these, we must first recall those abiding beliefs and interests that make us cleave to one another. Then, reassured of the enduring basis for our relationship, we can move confidently to treat any temporary discomfiture. With the seasons of our content in mind, we can deal better with our discontents.

Today, as disturbing as current events may be, it is encouraging to remember that the NATO alliance is 32 years old this year. In the United States, it has spanned the administrations of eight American presidents. There is no reason to believe it won't span the administrations of eight presidents more and then some.

Our relationship with each other is not only military but economic and cultural. It is public and it is private. We share memories that time will not erase. We share vital interests that time will not erode.

In such a world, our interests are irrevocably intertwined. The NATO nations are and will remain America's closest allies and friends. I cannot conceive of any solution to these difficulties that would serve our interests without also serving yours. I cannot conceive of any way to make progress toward solutions other than by working closely with you.

We cannot hope to serve a useful purpose in our uncertain world by trying to impose our own assumptions—moral, political economic or technical—on others. Our only hope for finding

solutions to the problems that confront our alliance is through cooperation. The effectiveness of that cooperation will depend to a large extent on our ability to deal sensitively with one another and to develop a practical and sympathetic approach to nations that differ from us widely in tradition and in style. To do this, we should concentrate on the many interests that unite us, rather than on the few issues that divide us. In the process, I think we will find a reservoir of goodwill in each of our countries that will see us over the rough spots to the solutions which may elude us now but which we must surely find.

■ *University of Maryland*

Baltimore, MD.

May 29, 1981.

MAKING MOMENTOUS DECISIONS

If you look back at the America I saw when I left this campus in 1949, you find a very different, very much less happy land than you do today. You see a country that was segregated; an America where racial discrimination was the rule and not the exception; where the elderly had little economic security, and where there were vast inequities in the quality and availability of health care and education. Justice Thurgood Marshall was excluded from the University of Maryland Law School in those days.

We have come a long, long way since then. We have not erased the last vestiges of racism in this country but we are firmly committed to that goal. We have not eliminated sexism from

our lives, but we are also committed to that goal. And we have improved the quality of life in a great many ways.

But, despite how far we have come since my days here, we still have miles to go before we rest.

As a Nation, we are faced with momentous decisions: how to control inflation, how to achieve energy independence, how to protect our environment and increase industrial productivity at the same time, how to come to grips with the world population explosion, how to provide millions of new jobs, how to preserve the world's forest and farmlands, and, most important of all, how to keep the peace and protect human rights in a world less dedicated to those goals than we are.

We live in one of the great transition periods in human history. The future of civilization may well depend on the

decisions we make—or fail to make—in this decade. We have an urgent agenda before us. But we also have at our disposal unprecedented resources—both human and technological—for attacking the problems on that agenda.

In such a world, a miraculous future would be certain but for one thing—the dismal failure of political wisdom to keep pace with the extension of human knowledge. We are almost literally able to control the forces of nature, but we still cannot control the forces of human nature. This is the greatest of all the challenges you face.

S P O N S O R

■ **USF&G CORPORATION**

■ *Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of
Public Affairs, University of Minnesota,
Minneapolis, MN, June 13, 1981.*

FROM BRAIN TO WALLET

In the United States and in other rich countries misperceptions about development abound. Americans, in particular, seem to believe that development is not taking place, that foreign aid has largely been wasted. The sad truth is that I rarely receive a letter supporting foreign aid. It is just a non-subject.

Foreign assistance programs are working, both in terms of higher economic growth rates in developing countries and in terms of reducing the levels of misery for the poorest people. But development does not take place overnight and, unreasonably, Americans become impatient when countries mired in poverty for centuries do not

attain U.S. living standards within a decade. We have not been able to sell the American people on development because the evidence of success is too slow in coming to suit the national temperament.

The American worker recognizes self-interest as well as anyone. Someone once said that "man's most sensitive nerve is the one that runs from his brain to his wallet. Tweak that nerve and he's sure to respond."

The way to tweak that nerve in America on the development issue is by showing two things:

- First, that American aid dollars end up buying American goods and services, and
- Second, that trade follows aid.

Development entails significant economic and political benefits for the United States. For example, in the 35 years since the World Bank was founded, the United States has supplied \$934 million in paid-in capital while \$6.4 billion in contracts have gone to U.S. companies.

That's the kind of "altruism" a hard-headed, tight-fisted American worker can identify with, if he's told about it.

■ *The death of Egyptian President*

Anwar el-Sadat

October 6, 1981.

M E N O F P E A C E

What is it in human nature that makes us so angry at men of peace? Yet time and again, a man of peace has been struck down by violence, while the peace he sought is still fragile and insecure, and while the hearts of the people are still yearning for peace. The hopes of the world lift them up to a pinnacle where they become targets to be struck down so that fear will rule and light will be snuffed out by darkness.

■ *Testimonial dinner for*

Judge Albert L. Sklar

Baltimore, MD, November 18, 1981.

C O N S T I T U T I O N A L F A B R I C

In more than 20 years in Congress, I have never seen such a concerted assault on the federal courts as has been mounted during the first 10 months of the 97th Congress. We already have before us some 30 court-curbing bills. Several of them would drastically curtail federal court jurisdiction. The sponsors of these bills make no bones about their purpose: They want to abolish federal court jurisdiction over some very specific

and controversial areas of the law. Abortion, school prayer, busing and the all-male draft are among the issues they would remove from lower court and Supreme Court jurisdiction.

None of us should view these proposals without some sense of alarm.

Once you go down this road, once you take this route, there is no area of human endeavor that could not be reached by a simple act of Congress altering the jurisdiction of the federal courts to control the outcome of cases. Tomorrow, our most basic Constitutional protections could be at stake. In

fact, the entire Bill of Rights could be up for grabs.

One of the great strengths of the American system is that we have not allowed our Constitution to be pulled and hauled with each ebb and flow of the tide of public opinion. Today, however, the tug-of-war in Congress over these court-curbing bills threatens to rend the fabric of our Constitution.

We must not let that happen. Those who seek to service justice in America must take a stand against court-curbing now, before it is too late.

■ *School Prayer*

The Senate,

May 6, 1982.

CHURCH AND STATE

We should not repudiate the historic policy of freedom that has served us so well for two centuries. It is a policy of separation of church and state, and I believe that any Constitutional amendment to authorize school prayer will irreparably breach that rule.

In the interest of liberty, in the interest of freedom of religion, and in the interest of all Americans, our generation and the generations to

come, I urge Senators to look hard and deep at this proposal. When they have done so, I am confident they will conclude that a Constitutional amendment with respect to prayer in schools is a radical turn on the road of American history and a detour that most of us will not judge it is wise to take.

■ *A. Philip Randolph Institute*

Washington, D.C.,

June 18, 1982.

SHAPING AMERICA'S FUTURE

The struggle to control America's future is not over. It is still going on.

Fewer and fewer people each election year are girded for the battle, however, because fewer and fewer people are exercising the precious right to vote that Martin Luther King, Jr., fought so long and hard to achieve.

Campaigns are increasingly becoming the domain of the political professionals—media consultants, direct mail experts, campaign managers and,

of course, the ubiquitous attorneys and accountants. And these new technocrats cost megabucks.

The decreasing voter participation in elections and the increasing cost of campaigns tell us the same thing in different ways. They tell us that fewer and fewer people are shaping America's future. When voters stay away from the polls by the millions, as they did in the last election, then the single-minded, single issue groups that consistently put their own narrow interests ahead of the broad national interest can manipulate the political system.

We who are committed to making America work for all Americans must not give up the future without a struggle. There's no doubt that the forces of reaction in this country are girding for a fight in November. They are more determined, better organized and richer than ever. But they are not the majority in America. They are a minority in America. Your fight is to see that they remain a minority at the polls as well.

■ *National Institute of Public Affairs*

Washington, D.C.,

June 28, 1982.

THE TRUTH ABOUT FEDERAL WORKERS

The conventional wisdom today is that people want the federal government off their backs and out of their pocketbooks.

There's certainly an element of truth in that. That's part of the story. But that's not the whole story.

The simple truth is that the federal government has grown in direct pro-

portion to the increasing demands the American people have placed on it. This simple truth, however is constantly being obscured nowadays by those who deal more easily with symbols than with substance.

The most unfortunate political development in recent years has been the growing tendency of those seeking public office to use the federal worker as a whipping boy. When a politician is under attack, it's always possible to dispatch a truth squad to correct the record. But where is the truth squad

that corrects the record when politicians attack federal workers? It doesn't exist.

And that is extremely unfortunate because federal workers are among the most dedicated and productive in the nation. They have earned the support of the country and they deserve to have it.

■ *U.S. Chamber of Commerce*

Washington, D.C.,

September 20, 1982.

CHALLENGES

Americans instinctively prefer to avoid involvement in the affairs of the rest of the world.

The tug of isolationism is easy enough to understand, but actually there is less reason today than ever before for thinking in isolationist terms. We do not stand alone in the world. Our allies and other friendly countries contribute substantially

to the common defense and to the achievement of other common objectives. And both the United States and the rest of the world are more prosperous today than ever before.

We have made great progress in the last 30 years toward a world that is freer and fairer. We must always bear in mind what a tremendous amount we have achieved when we survey the challenges that remain before us: the challenges of achieving arms reductions and stopping the spread of

nuclear weapons; of eliminating extreme poverty, malnutrition and illiteracy; of providing jobs for all who seek work, and of ending injustices based on all forms of discrimination—in short, the challenges of building a just society in a free world. Our track record is remarkable. It should spur us to action, not lead us to despair.

■ *Data Resources, Inc.*

New York, NY,

September 28, 1982.

“T H E R E A R E N O I S L A N D S A N Y M O R E ”

The United States can no longer “go it alone” in world affairs. This nation is now irrevocably dependent for its future economic well-being on the rest of the world, as the rest of the world is dependent on the United States.

Isolationism has destroyed our foreign policy and protectionism has wrecked our economy more than once in the past. They could again, unless

we somehow persuade my colleagues in Congress, and all who doubt, that an open international trading system and development of the poorer nations of the world are very much in the self-ish economic and political interests of the United States.

Almost half a century ago, Edna St. Vincent Millay wrote: “There are no islands anymore.” Few had any idea of what she was talking about then. But today the prophetic vision of a poet has become fact—a fact which we ignore only at grave peril to ourselves and to the free world.

■ *The City Club*

Cleveland, OH,

December 17, 1982.

S C I E N C E A N D F R E E S P E E C H

Freedom of speech goes a long way toward explaining why the United States is the world’s preeminent scientific power. It is no coincidence that science has flourished in a nation that is so dedicated to an essential principle of scientific progress that we have incorporated it into our Constitution.

That is why we should be very leery of the idea that national security demands that we cut back on First

Amendment protection for scientific communication. Our own experience suggests that such a policy would be counterproductive.

The government’s attempts to restrict scientific communication are troubling. So far they have done little damage. But they pose a challenge to the First Amendment which we ignore at our peril. If it is true, as Jefferson once said, that “The ground of liberty must be gained by inches,” then surely it can be lost the same way—inch by inch.

Our dedication to the First Amendment must be as far reaching as the expression whose freedom it protects. That vision must extend to the library and the laboratory, as well as to the public park and the printing press. And if that vision is to prevail, it must be embraced and sustained not only in the halls of Congress but by all those “who mean to be their own governors.”

■ *The John F. Kennedy School of
Government, Harvard University,
Cambridge, MA, January 14, 1983.*

ICE CUBES

The American people—all the world's people—yearn for some immediate, tangible evidence of progress toward nuclear disarmament. If we are to avoid popular disillusionment, and perhaps worse, we must produce evidence of progress fairly soon.

Albert Einstein maintained that you should try to "make everything as simple as possible but not more so." And that seems to me to be pretty good advice when you consider a total freeze. The idea of a total freeze is very seductive; but I think it falls into Einstein's category of being too simple to be possible. Freezing huge hunks of ice just isn't as easy as it may seem to be.

What we need to do, if we are talking about freezing in a serious, mature way, is to talk about the various elements that could be frozen. We ought

to be preparing ice cubes—of a usable, manageable and practical size—that can be frozen quite easily individually. And then one by one they might gradually cool the nuclear arms race and bring it to a point where its direction could be reversed.

Some ice trays are already filled with water and are ready to pop into the freezer. As a first step, we must resume Comprehensive Test Ban negotiations. A sensible next step would be to ratify the Threshold Test Ban and Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaties.

It is perhaps presumptuous of me to propose arms control measures in the presence of this company. But, in one respect, I may be uniquely qualified to speak. I visited Hiroshima and Nagasaki shortly after the bombs fell, before any of the cleanup had begun. Having walked through the atomic ruins of two cities, it is the fixed purpose of my life to assure that no city anywhere is ever again subjected to nuclear attack.

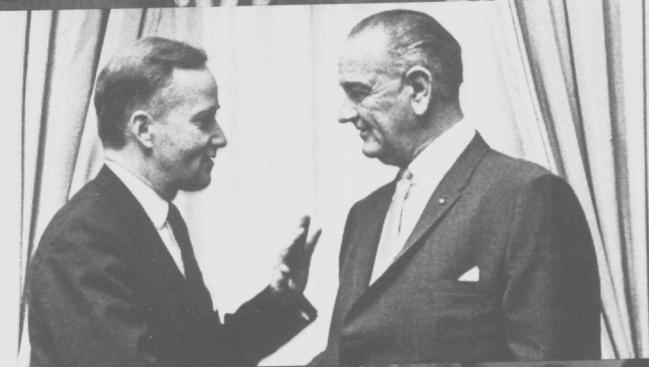
My longtime preoccupation with arms control stems from that experience with suffering and sorrow, death and destruction. My determination to seek solutions—ice cube by ice cube—is best conveyed by a memorable remark of David Ormsby Gore. He said:

It would indeed be a tragedy if the history of the human race proved to be nothing more than a story of an ape playing with a box of matches on a petrol dump.

We may not be able to eliminate the petrol dump. We may not be able to confiscate the matches all at once. But we could start taking them away from the ape one by one.

S P O N S O R

■ **FRIEND OF
SENATOR MATHIAS**



■ *Haverford College*

Haverford, PA,

January 27, 1983.

THE DEMOCRATIC BALANCE

The strain between popular sentiment and the rule of law has been an American political constant. It has also been the source of many great and minor compromises. It has required us to practice and to ennoble pragmatism and tolerance. It has made government a cumbersome instrument of the peoples' will by requiring that the demands of a temporary majority always be balanced against the permanent protection of minority or individual rights.

Our democracy rests on that balance. It has never been an easy one to keep. And in recent years the delicate equilibrium has been slipping more dangerously than usual. There are two unmistakable trends working against the democratic balance. One is the decline of voter participation. The other is the rise of special-interest influence.

These twin developments are complementary. They feed on and accentuate one another. When fewer Americans vote, the power of those who do is amplified. But even greater power goes to those who have the resources to mobilize minority opinion and to make it—by default—the voice of all the people.

Inflation of organized political spending has raised the cost but cheapened the value of our elections. Not only does it confer special status on special pleaders, it also aggravates public cynicism about public servants.

To those Americans whose voice is weakest because their wallet is thinnest, the effort to make themselves heard at election time can easily come to seem a losing battle.

Withholding their vote, they are implicitly withholding their consent as well. They undermine not only the premise of representative democracy but also its performance. Those who do the voting and finance the vote-getting put themselves in position to write new benefits of their own into law and to strike old restraints off. The crucial balance is eroded as the majority ceases to rule and law ceases to inhibit greedy minorities.

We have not reached the abyss yet. But we have begun the slide, and we had better get quickly back to firmer ground.

What is important is that by one means or another, we reestablish a working tie between the government and the people. Elections provide the surest connection. But if they are short-circuited by special interests or boycotted by a majority of voters, they transmit no signal from the citizenry and generate no purpose among the leaders. In disuse, democracy will decay. Renewing itself, on the other hand, it can send a powerful signal of hope through our own society and abroad.

We are not too old a nation either to restore our own health or to help others with their quests for democratic solutions. To be a persuasive advocate, however, we have to be a convincing example. If our practices do not tally with our ideals more closely, we will not succeed in urging other governments to follow either.

The world is full of revolutions—but ours is unique in having given birth to a government that exposes itself to overthrow every four years. We no longer think it necessary that “the tree of liberty . . . be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots.” We do know that it remains essential to be able to throw the rascals out without bloodshed. And we know that to make radical changes in an orderly fashion, we must have not just the passive consent but the active engagement of all the people, those who lose the election as much as those who win it.

Much of our American experience in self-government has been successful because of the happy accidents of our geography and the healthy antecedents of our founding fathers. Those conditions cannot be automatically duplicated, and if the democratic idea is as sound a theory as I believe it to be, it only needs ordinary men and women in ordinary places—not Washingtons, Jeffersons and Madisons on a new continent—to make it a reality.

The ordinary men and women on whom it must first rely, however, are our own fellow citizens. We must make good the promise of our ideals by making better the practice of our democracy. Then we can say of America what Pericles said of Athens under democratic rule:

Our city is an education to Greece. . . . Alone of the states we know, Athens comes to her testing time in a greatness that surpasses what was imagined of her.

■ *The American Council on Germany*
and the Atlantik-Brücke
Berlin, Germany, March 25, 1983.

COOPERATION

Cooperation has to begin at home. Within our own community no single nation, not even the United States, is large enough or rich enough to prosper alone.

This reality has guided our alliance for more than three decades. It should not be in dispute today. There is no escaping our reliance on one another. There is no honorable alternative to mutual support.

Yet there are powerful interests

acting now in defiance of this precept. Some seek economic refuge in protectionism. Some pursue illusions of peace—peace to be gained by rejecting necessary measures of collective defense or peace to be imposed by overwhelming investments in arms.

Whether American or European, whether protectionist, pacifist or unilateralist, they are linked by a common error. They deny the stubborn, uncomfortable fact of dependence in the belief that it is feasible for one nation either to control the conduct of others

or to immunize itself against that conduct. Their faith is misplaced. To follow them in it would be foolish, perhaps even suicidal.

I do not mean to suggest that there are easy answers to our economic problems. Quite to the contrary, the industrialized West faces a period of wrenching structural change in the work we do and the skills and organization we need to do it. My point is simply that we cannot negotiate separate passages through this storm.

■ *North Atlantic Assembly*

Copenhagen, Denmark,

June 13, 1983.

AN ALLIANCE RESPONSIBILITY

Many decades ago, an English humorist described the Balkans as nations which “produce more history than they can consume locally.” We can now, with trepidation instead of irony, use an analogous description for several tension-filled regions which are no farther, in terms of geopolitics, from us than Sarajevo was from Verdun in 1914. It is in those breeding grounds of tomorrow’s conflicts that we must act today in concert and in measured haste.

As we have used our combined strength to deter aggression in Europe, we should be joining forces to fight

despair in the Third World and to build stronger defenses there against Soviet intrusion and the conditions which encourage it. We must increase our separate contributions in aid, trade and development credit to win this marathon economic contest, but we should also make our work an alliance responsibility.

Such a common effort will require some of us to reconsider the emphasis we have put on traditional relationships with particular developing nations and to rearrange certain priorities from the past. But whatever we may sacrifice of our apparent national interests, we will regain through the

effectiveness of a genuinely multi-lateral engagement.

For the alliance to acknowledge the dimensions of the challenge, the crucial tie between western security and global progress toward prosperity, would be an invaluable stimulus to American policy-makers who sometimes appear to have forgotten how clearly they saw a nearly identical set of interlocking concerns at the time of the Marshall Plan.

The common danger is high. We must face it together or fail our responsibilities to one another and to history.

THE SOVIET UNION

What makes the Soviet Union a danger . . . is the Kremlin's conservatism and the armed might which is simultaneously its one reliable support and its most effective expression. The issue for western policymakers is not the inherent evil of such a system, nor a mythical "master plan" that must be countered. . . . We should not fear the giant we face so much as the deformities which cripple all but his sword-bearing arm.

This disproportionate influence of military men and military considerations is the thinly concealed reality of

Soviet politics. In Poland even the fig leaf has vanished. . . .

To retain control—over ambitious rivals in the first place, over a sullenly acquiescent populace in the second—the Soviet leaders must also project a certain degree of dynamism, enough to suppress doubts within the elite, above all, about the inevitability of Soviet progress. Unable to achieve such advances in economic development at home, the Kremlin has been limited to demonstrating and thus reconfirming its power abroad. . . .

To contain Soviet power more positively, we should not isolate ourselves from Soviet society but should

seek, instead, to engage it in the most varied ways on the widest of fronts. . . .

We should be the servants only of the priorities we set for ourselves. Our goal in dealing with the Soviets is to deter conflict, oppose threats to our freedom and our allies, and wait, as patiently as our adversary, for decay within the U.S.S.R. to slow and alter its character and conduct. . . .

In the past—indeed in the present—we have relied too exclusively on force. We would advance our prospects better by seeking, first of all, to understand our opponent and second, where possible, to conclude durable understandings with him.

■ *World Affairs Council of Northern*

California, San Francisco, CA,

September 21, 1983.

A S T R A T E G Y F O R T H E L O N G H A U L

Unfortunately, incident more than intent, circumstance rather than conscious choice, have shaped not only American foreign policy but the way it is made. While our talent for improvisation has saved us from many perils, it has also steered us on an uneven path in world affairs.

We need to design both a strategy for wielding our power effectively and a system for executing that strategy efficiently.

A strategy abroad linked clearly to perceived interests at home is a strategy Americans will understand and support. If its goals are those of economic and democratic development, it will correspond to American principle and experience. If its pursuit hinges on cooperation with other nations, we will be able to apply American power without making our intervention unilateral and, hence, suspect to ourselves or our friends. What such an approach lacks in drama or the illusion of quick

results, it should make up both in consistency and continuing public support.

This is a strategy for the long haul in a turbulent, unpromising world. It requires patience, even a willingness to forego high-profile spectacle. It must be a steady, relatively unglamorous journey toward greater stability in international affairs, toward a more durable order among nations, toward wider prospects of justice and dignity for individual men and women.

■ *AFL-CIO*

Hollywood, FL,

October 3, 1983.

T H E B U D G E T D E F I C I T

The common thankless task of the Western democracies is not only to deter war but to contain an epidemic of disorder that leads to violence and invites Soviet interference.

In this muffled, continuous battle America must lead. Our resolve is crucial. Our strength will be decisive. And that strength is a compound of our ideals, our arms, our diplomatic skill and our economic vitality. That last element is in question now and it

is to that question that I want to turn.

There are many factors that affect our ability to master the changes we face. One single barrier, however, casts the longest shadow over both American and global prospects of recovery. It is the deficit in the U.S. federal budget.

The budget deficit not only soaks up private credit and undermines recovery, but it also dooms us to a trade deficit that, understandably, makes us resent the economic rivals who are also our essential political partners. When we see ourselves importing \$70 billion

more this year than we export—and that gap could be \$100 billion in 1984—it is natural to blame the unfair practices of others. There is unfairness, and we must fight it. But our first task is to get rid of the unsound fiscal policies that destroy the competitive advantage our skilled workforce, our matchless technology and our vast natural resources give us in the world marketplace.

■ *The American University*

Washington, D.C.,

October 14, 1983.

THE ESSENCE OF LEADERSHIP

Future peace agreements are likely to be reached in a cautious and deliberate fashion. The Arab-Israeli dispute, as we know it, has gone on for nearly three-quarters of a century and is unlikely to be resolved through one or two dramatic gestures. To quote Dr. Samuel Johnson's eloquent biographer, we will not know "The pre-

cise moment when the friendship was formed—as in filling a vessel drop by drop, there is at last a drop which makes the heart run over."

It is the essence of leadership to see that the drops continue to flow. The United States can demonstrate a willingness to assume this role by renewing its quiet but firm efforts to induce Arab nations to recognize Israel, thus dispelling a cloud that has obscured the Middle East landscape and its paths

towards peace. At the same time, the Administration should move quickly to sweep aside any doubts in the minds of the new Israeli leadership about the sincerity of the U.S. opposition to Israel's settlement policy. As Jawaharlal Nehru pointed out many years ago: "Peace cannot suddenly descend from the heavens. It can only come when the root causes of trouble are removed."

■ *Calvin Bullock Forum*

New York, NY,

November 3, 1983.

MANAGING THE GLOBAL ECONOMY

National security and international economics are not discrete fields of policy; they are intimately linked. National security cannot be measured solely by an inflexible calculus of relative levels of military hardware. Nor can our economy's contribution to national security rest solely on its ability to meet defense contract timetables.

In a world of ever accelerating inter-

dependence—a world economy beyond the control of any single nation—a world economy in which so many have a stake—U.S. national security demands that the global economy itself be one of the chief assets we seek to protect.

And we will protect the world economy as much by the wisdom of our judgments as by the weight of our arms.

We will be one step closer to wisdom if the first judgment we make is that

the United States cannot manage the world economy alone. We no longer live in the late 1940's, when the United States GNP astonishingly accounted for over half of total world production. Today we account for about 25 percent. Our economic security depends in large part on the prudence of other governments as they join us in managing the global economy.

T H E U . S . A N D T H E U . S . S . R .

The one, perhaps the only, common vital interest of the United States and the Soviet Union is that we do share both the planet and the capacity to destroy all the life on it. We need, therefore, to develop some rules to keep the conflict of our other interests in check, to insure that our rivalry never becomes a fatal one. To make those rules and to keep them in effect, it is imperative that the United States and the Soviet Union acquire the ability to conduct a civil conversation with each other.

We have to begin to speak to one another regularly, candidly and civilly about as many subjects as we can profitably discuss on as many channels as we can possibly keep open.

We should constantly be on the lookout for limited openings, for marginal advances, for small opportunities to create a measure of understanding and a broader set of mutual interests. We should not expect such explorations to suddenly catapult us onto the high road to peace. But we may find in the process—and it will be slogging hard work—that we have built some safeguards for survival.

After 50 years of uneasy diplomatic relations and of false starts, we need to make a fresh start by junking some old ideas and nonsensical goals. The Soviet empire is not going to collapse in the next few years, and if we set that as our goal, we rule out any profitable or lasting discussion with Moscow.

At the other extreme, we should forget the old, naive notion of the two

superpowers getting together to sort out the woes of the world. We simply have far too many deep conflicts of interest with the Soviets to suppose that we can bury our disagreements in a joint venture to manage the globe.

Look, instead, at our situation as an inevitable marriage of inconvenience. The price for an annulment is mutual annihilation.

We should be trying to get to a higher level of communication at a lower level of decibels. And we have the best reason in the world to prefer discussion over confrontation, the prospect that a war of words could precipitate a war of weapons which would surely be the last for us or anyone else on earth.

■ *New York Republican County*

Committee, New York, NY,

February 15, 1984.

OUR VISION

The laws may express the ethic of the Nation, the government may express the will of the Nation, but the political parties must express the vision of the Nation.

What is our vision?

For many of us it is a free and just society. Some would describe it as a guarantee of human rights. However it is expressed, we need to think about the world we want as well as the world we have.

In the industrial Western world, human rights are the freedom to speak, to print, to pray, to assemble, and to

leave. In the Third World and the Eastern bloc, human rights are in government-issued jobs, shelter, health care, and education. In this dichotomy, the difference is not the desirability of the goals, but rather the source we look to for achieving them.

Our vision should reflect a society in which the freedoms are beyond question, a society in which individuals, institutions and governments are "bound down by the chains of the Constitution" so as to render any assault on liberty impossible. But our society must not be neutral toward the material needs of life. Because we do not look to government to issue all jobs, shelter, health, and education,

does not mean that these things are not necessary. They are, in fact, vital for a free and progressive society and we cannot call ourselves just if they are denied to many of our own people.

Our vision must be to achieve for the American people the best of both worlds: The liberty that has quickened our spirit and liberated our talents since 1776, guaranteed by solemn compact between government and people; and the just and equitable provision by a free enterprise system for the physical needs and economic opportunity to sustain a free people.

S P O N S O R

■ **CSX CORPORATION**

DEFINING LIBERTY

It has always struck me as significant that Lincoln, of all people, said that we needed a good definition of the word "liberty."

Lincoln illustrated the problem with an example. "The shepherd drives the wolf from the sheep's throat," he said, "for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as a liberator, while the wolf denounces him for the same act as the destroyer of liberty." "Plainly," Lincoln concluded, "the sheep and the wolf are not agreed upon a definition of the word liberty."

That, of course, is a parable. Liberty for one man may be tyranny for another.

Lincoln went on to put the story of the wolf and the sheep in the context of the America of his day—a society torn by the most terrible conflict imaginable, a bloody and fratricidal war between two irreconcilable defini-

tions of liberty. But Lincoln's words were prophetic. Even today we must choose between conflicting definitions of freedom.

The job of defining freedom for our time is never really finished. The definition of liberty always remains in draft form.

Part of our task is to make sure that the definitions of freedom that have already been embodied in law stay up-to-date. Another important aspect of the job is to figure out how to make freedom work in entirely new situations. This aspect of defining freedom is becoming more and more critical because of the breakneck pace of technological change. Advances in science and technology are transforming our world daily; and in the new terrain, it is not always clear where freedom lies. In the era of the computer, of space travel, and of genetic engineering, it is still true, as it was in Lincoln's day, that two parties can call the same thing by the incompatible names of liberty and tyranny. But it is often much harder to determine which party is the sheep and which is the wolf.

Abraham Lincoln knew what liberty meant for his time. The challenge that echoes down the years from his day to ours is to define liberty for our own time. The careful, thoughtful elaboration of that definition is the task set before the law and before those of us who practice it. Part of the definition will emerge from the deliberations of our legislatures, and from the executive actions of government at all levels. But we will find another crucial part of it in the litigation of particular cases in the courts, in the counsel that lawyers offer clients, and in the efforts of the bar to improve public understanding of the law. All of these activities have a part to play in sharpening our definition of liberty. All can make a contribution to the dictionary of freedom.

■ *Third World Organization*

for Peace and Trade

Washington, D.C., May 4, 1984.

THE WORLD ECONOMY

The international economic system still has many flaws. But the truth is that many of the problems facing the world economy and the developing world are the consequences not of the system's flaws but of its successes. Improved health care, life expectancy, agricultural methods, and communications have raised the expectations of Third World peoples and increased demands on developing nations' resources. For the industrialized world, growth in international trade and the openness of international financial markets mean that no country, in-

cluding the United States, can insulate itself from the overall condition of the world economy.

Industrial countries—especially the United States—are now affected by decisions and developments beyond their borders. Because the United States insists on financing its massive federal deficits with foreign capital, we are rapidly evolving from a net capital exporter to a net capital importer. Increasingly our economic fate lies in the hands of currency traders and security dealers in London, Frankfurt, Zurich, and Tokyo. For the first time in recent memory, the United States is getting a faint feeling for what it is like for a Third World commodity exporter to have its economy determined by the caprice of the Chicago Board of Trade.

Every nation with a market economy is now dependent on the world economy and has an enormous stake in its success. Yet somehow none of us can get beyond our own economic nationalism. We have lost the creative vision that marked the early postwar years. To find our way again, I believe we must return to the organizing principles of the Bretton Woods Conference. They are that the world is going to be a richer, better place if we maintain a liberal environment for world trade, keep capital markets open and pursue a vigorous program of assistance to the developing world.

■ *Hate Groups in Maryland*

Washington, D.C.,

June 5, 1984.

A UNION OF PEOPLE

Our Constitution protects the right of all citizens to free speech. It also guarantees religious freedom; all citizens may worship as they please without fear of government interference or physical or mental harassment. These two

freedoms, taken together, impose on each citizen a responsibility as great as the rights that are guaranteed. Our freedom must not be used to limit the free exercise of our neighbors' rights. The Constitution imposes an implicit duty on each citizen to reject the

bigotry in our society and to renew our dedication to a union of people as well as a union of states.

■ Princeton University

Princeton, NJ,

July 23, 1984.

ETHNIC ADVOCACY

Whether ethnic diversity and its attendant foreign attachments have been, on the whole, a good or bad thing for the nation has been debated since the birth of the Republic.

The case for ethnic political activities is usually made in terms of the evils of suppressing free expression rather than any positive benefits accruing from the influence of the special interests. Lobbying, it is pointed out, is the exercise of the right of petition, sanctified in Anglo-American usage since the time of Magna Carta in 1215, and specifically named as one of the rights for which this nation was founded.

The affirmation of a right, and of the dangers of suppressing it, does not, however, in itself assure that the right will be exercised responsibly and for the general good. Without challenging the right of petition, presidents and

political thinkers since the Founding Fathers have warned against the evils of the politics of factions, especially in the conduct of foreign relations.

At a time when rival factions within the new nation were pulling, one toward England, the other toward France, Washington warned against "the twin evils of excessive animosity and excessive attachment to particular foreign nations, especially the latter, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists."

Ethnic politics, carried as they often have been to excess, have proven harmful to the national interest. Bearing out George Washington's warnings, they have generated both unnecessary animosities and illusions of common interest where little or none exists. There are also baneful domestic effects: fueled as they are by passion and strong feelings about justice and rectitude, debates relating to the interplay of the national interest with the specific policies favored by

organized ethnic groups generate fractious controversy and bitter recrimination. Public debate becomes charged with accusations of "betrayal" and "sellout," which is to say, of moral turpitude, when in truth the issues that divide us are with few exceptions, questions of judgment and opinion about what is best for the nation.

Ethnic advocacy represents neither a lack of patriotism nor a desire to place foreign interests ahead of American interests; more often it represents a sincere belief that the two coincide. Similarly, resistance to the pressures of a particular group in itself signals neither a sellout nor even a lack of sympathy with a foreign country or cause, but rather a sincere conviction about the national interest of the United States. There is a clear and pressing need for the reintroduction of civility into our public discussions of these matters.

■ *Foreign Policy Association*

New York, NY,

September 17, 1984.

G R O W T H

America has always defined itself and its success in terms of growth. Our pledge as a Nation—the guarantee of equal opportunity—depends on our ability to expand, to make room for newcomers and new generations and to make our lives richer in spirit as well as in substance than the lives of our parents. To keep that pledge, we must make steady progress. Too long an interruption in our advance or too

steep a slide backwards threatens us not only with economic default but with political discord as well.

Our first priority is to fortify ourselves by solidifying the ground on which we stand. The federal budget deficits, as projected for the rest of the decade, are the equivalent of economic quicksand. They will not stabilize themselves. They will not grow smaller spontaneously. And we cannot grow out of them. Nor can we make them go away with mirrors. We must bring them down to tolerable size—and interest rates along with them—by conscious, committed and bipartisan effort.

The recipe for change is well-known. Revenues must be matched more closely to outlays. Spending must be cut. Taxes must be raised. We have made a token beginning, but though it is better than a default, it is less than a convincing down payment.

This political season will produce short tempers and long answers, probably generate more heat than light. But the real answers are no mystery. The long-term requirements of growth spell out the imperative of change.

■ *North Atlantic Assembly*

Brussels, Belgium,

November 16, 1984.

W E H A V E O V E R C O M E

Some years after the French Revolution, when the Abbe' Sieyes' was asked what he had done in the revolution, his reply was brief and to the point. "Survived," he said.

As we survey the Nato alliance after 35 years, we too can say that we have survived. But should we not be able to say more than that? Should we not be able to say, in the words of the American civil rights movement, that we have overcome—overcome the threat of nuclear Holocaust—overcome the

reality of Third World hunger—perhaps even overcome those elements of our nature that make man the most dangerous of animals?

■ *Article*

The New York Times,

January 25, 1985.

T H E P U R P O S E O F G O V E R N M E N T

While the deficit is a clear and present danger to the Republic, we must make sure that in our efforts to eliminate or at least reduce it, we do not create new threats to the Republic.

In all of what will surely be a painful process, the very purpose of government must be kept constantly in mind. The preamble to the Constitution sets forth that purpose concisely: It is to "establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to

ourselves and our posterity." The economic decisions we make in this time of crisis should promote, not obstruct, those fundamental objectives of our constitutional government.

Justice is the goal of our society. And in no aspect of life, for example, is justice more vital than in matters of money—there must be equity in sharing costs and in sharing benefits. To require one group to surrender benefits while another retains untaxed or undertaxed income raises questions of equity.

The mandate to promote the general welfare clearly forces us to consider alternatives to every step of the deficit reduction process. We must think

about education and housing and health care as elements of the general welfare while we also consider that a sound economy and stable currency are necessary to general welfare.

We must also consider what we should spend to achieve the Constitutional objectives. It is not what we cut that should be our emphasis but rather what we consider important enough to retain because we are convinced that it is right.

■ *Anti-Defamation League*

of B'nai B'rith

New York, NY, March 5, 1985.

F R E E D O M O F T H E P R E S S

A treasure trove of our national ideals is packed into the 45-word cask of the First Amendment. But none is more important to the survival of our democratic system than the guarantee of freedom of the press. This phrase embodies our society's aversion to prior restraint, or censorship. It forbids

American government to gag the press. But it does not necessarily prohibit exacting sanctions against the press if its speech injures others.

Damages for defamation—the injury of reputation by speech—are not inconsistent with the First Amendment. But when the reputation is that of a public official, and the speech is criticism of official conduct, a much more difficult question arises. The

essence of First Amendment protections is the right to speak about public affairs freely and without fear of retaliation. Where criticism of government is concerned, as one wise jurist has pointed out, "whatever is added to the field of libel is taken from the field of free debate."

F O R A B E T T E R L I F E

In a world that challenges us to compete, we must pool our resources, not fragment them. In a time when progress depends upon invention, we must develop the power of our minds, not just our weapons. In the pursuit of happiness, we must recognize that instant gratification is unlikely to endure, that the "greatest good for the greatest number" is both a practical and an idealistic standard for a healthy society.

To live up to that standard today and to arm ourselves against the challenges of change is the dual purpose of our political economy. Our task is not just to distribute both wealth and sacrifice. We must invest both for a better life.

Such investments require a public strategy, formed by common consent and executed by the community through the agency of government. Education is the most obvious area of such mutual enterprise. The minds we train and strengthen are the ones we rely on to advance our society's horizons, not just individual well-being.

But, if schools are a shared resource and shared responsibility, so are school lunches. We cannot make healthy workers out of sickly children.

By the same test, we cannot have a robust population in a poisoned natural environment or a vigorous community in the midst of urban decay. We cannot escape these dangers or overcome them in our "separate and individual capacities." And we cannot always realize our greatest promise through single efforts. The research we do into new technologies depends not just on pioneering intellects but also on patient and public support where risk outweighs the prospect of profit.

Thus, as we look at the immediate danger of the budget deficits, we must also look ahead to other challenges and other prospects. We cannot slash our social investments today without cutting off the growth of society tomorrow. And we cannot borrow so heavily against the future that we foreclose it.

Those realities narrow our choices. While there is much spending we can reduce, there is also substantial revenue we can raise. The lasting solution to our budget problems is to draw on both sides of the ledger.

As we make these hard choices, we will also be renewing our common ties and reconfirming our individual potential. In America's well-justified reliance on private energies, we cannot risk neglecting our equally important community identity.

"Americans," Tocqueville wrote of us, "acquire the habit of always considering themselves as standing alone. . . . Thus not only does democracy make every man forget his ancestors, but it also hides his descendants, and separates his contemporaries from him."

We do stand in a certain measure alone. But the remarkable thing about Americans is how much taller and stronger we stand when we stand together. In the urgent task of directing our political economy to serve the common good, "to promote the general welfare," we must stand now for the broadest vision of our democracy. To attain that vision, we will need political courage and vision at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue and, throughout the nation, a people challenging its leaders to lead.

■ *Maryland Associates for Dyslexic*

Adults and Youth, Baltimore, MD,

November 18, 1985.

LEARNING DISABILITIES

Learning disabled children are among education's toughest challenges. Each is unique, and each has an individual cluster of difficulties.

Yet people with learning disabilities survive and some excel in a variety of walks of life. The roster of those who have become great and made extraordinary contributions may be well known to you, but is still little known to the general public.

That Edison and Einstein overcame learning disabilities is legend among specialists but unknown by most people. Woodrow Wilson and Nelson Rockefeller had to cope with learning problems, but in spite of that learned a great deal about history, politics and government and were able to apply their knowledge effectively in successful careers.

Unhappily, there are other cases, of course less well known, but of no less importance to students of the problem, to educators and ultimately to the

general public. These are the kids who do not get adequate help with learning disabilities, whose personalities are bent by the day-to-day difficulty and discouragement of falling behind their peers. If they become failures, it is in part because we have failed them.

When a capable and intelligent child does not make the grade, we must look at the flaws in the educational establishment and maybe in teachers and parents themselves.

■ *Dedication of a Memorial Bust of*

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

U.S. Capitol, January 16, 1986.

R E C O N C I L I A T I O N

Today, Martin Luther King, Jr., takes his rightful place among the heroes of this Nation. It is fitting that we dedicated this bust of Dr. King here in the Great Rotunda of the Capitol where a grieving nation paid its last respects to Abraham Lincoln and it is proper that Dr. King join the brave and "worthy patriots, dear to God and famous to all ages" whose memories are celebrated and protected here.

But, as is written on the tomb of Sir Christopher Wren: "If you would see (Dr. King's) monument, look around you."

When you see a lunch counter with black and white Americans eating together, then you see his monument.

When you see black and white children playing together in a school yard, then you see his monument.

When you see a bus in Birmingham or a voting booth in Selma, then you see his monument.

When you see black Americans and white Americans working together for a better life for all Americans, then you see his monument.

When you see an act of peaceful protest anywhere in the world today, then you see his monument.

And when you see any act of justice done or any act of injustice thwarted, then you see his monument.

From his jail cell in Birmingham in 1963, Dr. King wrote a letter to a group of white clergymen who had criticized him for joining the protests in that city. He said:

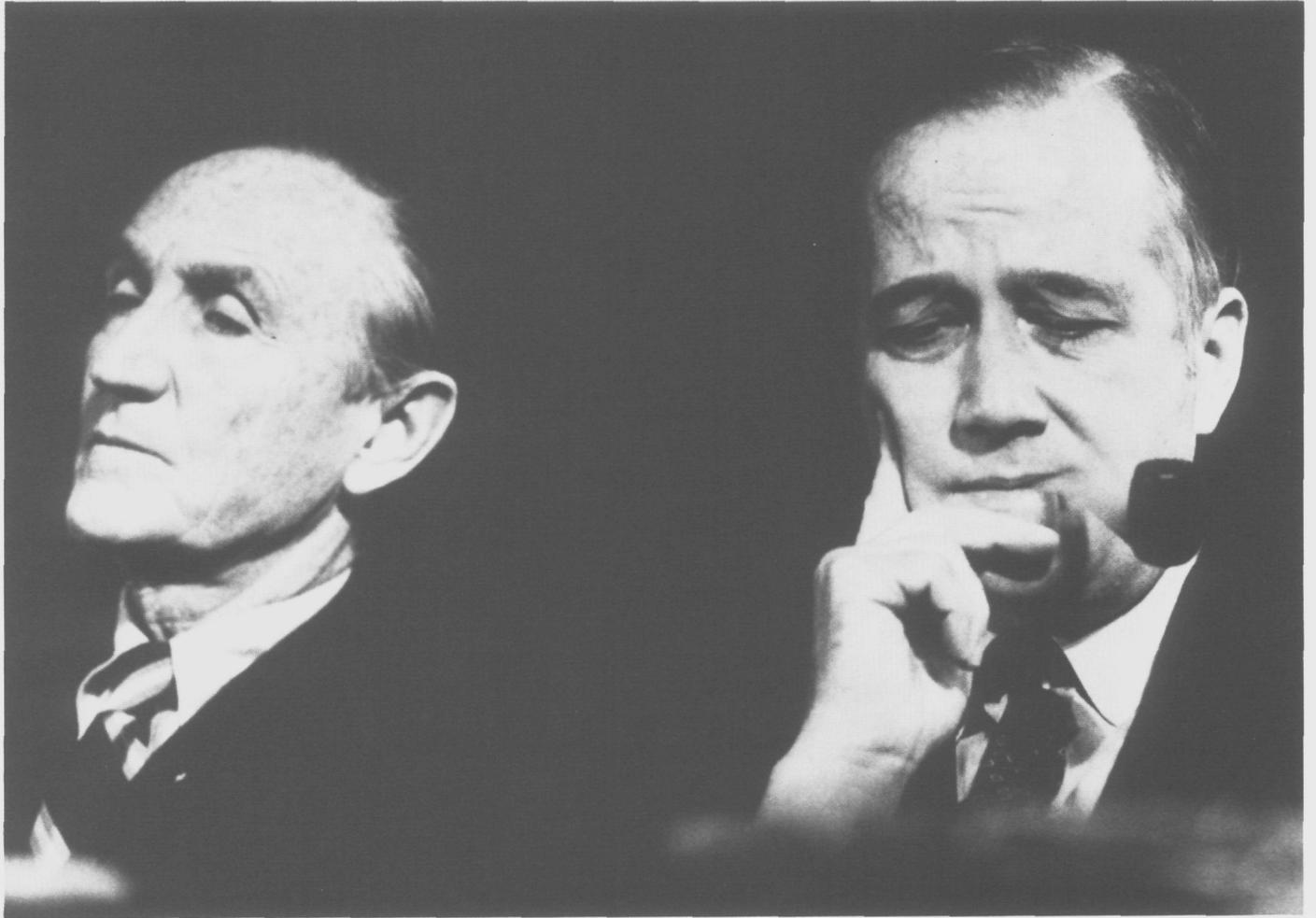
I am in Birmingham because injustice is here. . . . Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny.

The single garment of destiny, woven for us by Martin Luther King, Jr., is called reconciliation. The achievement of Martin Luther King, Jr., which was a goal that had eluded such great presidents as Abraham Lincoln and Theodore and Franklin Roosevelt, was to bring about a unity of the American people, black and white. When you see evidence of that unity, evidence of national reconciliation, you see his monument.

It is this great reconciliation we celebrate today. It is this great reconciliation that we commemorate. And, by so doing, we commit ourselves to preserve it and to perfect it in the years ahead.

S P O N S O R

■ **LYN P. MEYERHOFF**



■ *The Mansfield Center, University of*

Montana, Missoula, Montana,

May 20, 1986.

SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES

In a world menaced by social and economic turmoil, regional and civil wars, and a growth of weapons and terrorism, the United States bears special responsibilities.

These responsibilities are shared by each and every American, because we are a democracy, and because we lay claim to a special status among nations. But I am confident that if we are true to our basic principles and values—to due process, to a decent respect for the opinions of mankind, to certain

inalienable rights—we can define and implement effective policies which not only are consistent with our national interests but also keep faith with George Washington's far-seeing vision for his country's future.

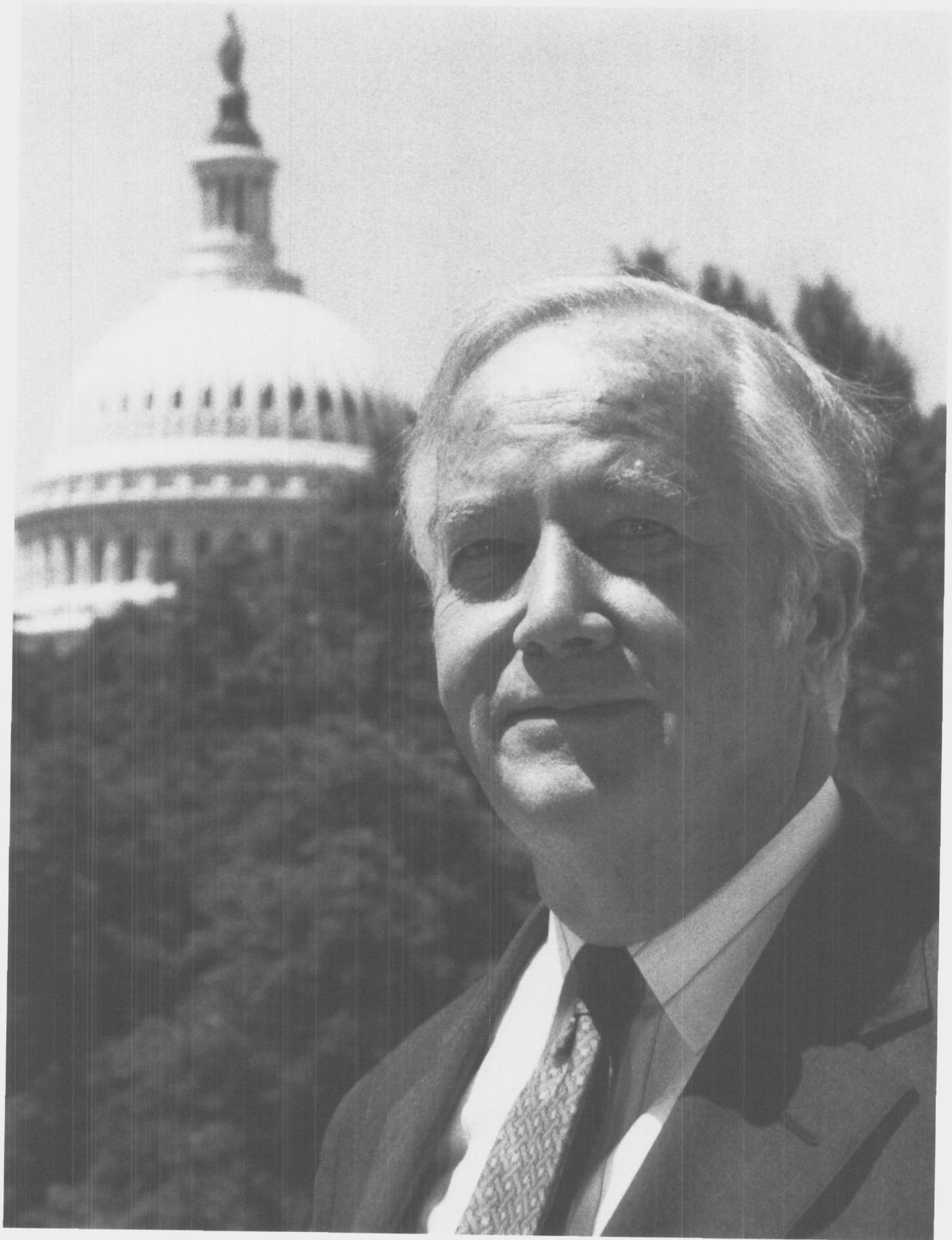
S P O N S O R

■ **DAVID ROCKEFELLER**

A NOTE OF THANKS

In my years in public life I have been blessed with the help of a dedicated and talented staff and I acknowledge with thanks their contribution to all of the work in which I have been engaged. In particular, Margaret S. Nalle has been of great help in the selection and editing of this text, and Alan Dessoiff has prepared and proofread it.

Above all, I thank my wife Ann for her creative ideas, constructive criticism and for her insistence that excellence is worth pursuing.



A C K N O W L E D G M E N T S

This publication is intended to be a permanent reminder of some of the more significant thoughts of a perceptive and concerned person in his years of public service. The power and consistency of his efforts to form a more perfect union are embodied in the text of this publication.

Readers may note that a number of the pages of this book have been sponsored by various individuals and corporations. Their contributions were made to the newly created Charles McC. Mathias, Jr. Fund at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies. The income from the Fund will be used to support the School's educational and research programs relating to international affairs.

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