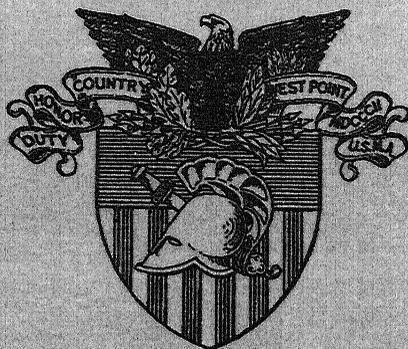


**UNITED STATES
MILITARY ACADEMY**
West Point, New York



The 26th
Sol Feinstone Lecture

on

**THE
MEANING OF FREEDOM**

By

Chief Judge Richard P. Matsch

5 November 1998

The United States Military Academy is pleased to sponsor an annual lecture series on the Meaning of Freedom. It is significant that this lecture program has been made possible by the generosity of the late Mr. Sol Feinstone, a dedicated American patriot whose commitment to the ideals of the American Revolution led him to devote many years of effort, as well as considerable personal resources, to the collection of important letters, manuscripts, and books dealing with our heritage of freedom. His donation of these items to libraries and educational institutions ensures that the message which they proclaim will be preserved and transmitted to future generations of Americans.

Mr. Feinstone's abiding faith in a brotherhood of free nations of men has found further expression in several lecture series which he has endowed in order to permit prominent Americans to interpret the Meaning of Freedom.

The U.S. Corps of Cadets and the staff and faculty of the Military Academy are pleased to recognize the generosity and loyalty of this great American for providing a living endowment in the defense of freedom.

THE MEANING OF FREEDOM

Chief Judge Richard P. Matsch

Thank you, Colonel. General Christman, many distinguished officers in the United States Army, guests and Cows – see, I learned something here today at West Point. As a matter of fact, my wife and I have had a wonderful day here, beginning with the weather, which is something different than I expected, but also, the hospitality. We have been privileged to visit the post and we were even up to Redout Number Four this afternoon. So Dr. Labare has been our guide, and the historian has also taken us about. We feel a great privilege that we have this opportunity to address you cadets. You know, we are from Colorado, and as I have said, we have felt such a warm welcome here. Although I was a little perplexed at what we used to call fatigues – everybody walking around here is in, I guess now they are called, BDUs. But it looked as if a battle was about to be joined and sure enough one is, as I understand it, over in the Michie Stadium. And of course that other Academy whose team will visit here is from Colorado. We don't expect you to give them the same welcome. As a matter of fact, I am going to predict now that the Black Knights will down the Zoomies. But I will tell you that you have to watch your flanks. That option, that attack they have from the wacky-whack, has been pretty effective. I'm also interested that you will be the millennium class. And I am confident, having met some of you this afternoon and this evening, there is no Y2K problem here.

The subject here, "The Meaning of Freedom," is, of course, one that gives you considerable latitude as to how you approach this subject. Being a lawyer and judge, I suppose we approach this, as most problems, with definitions. You know, that is a favorite of

lawyers, to define. I mean, as you know, there is even a controversy of the word "is." But what does the dictionary say with respect to freedom? Well, it says, "To be free. The state or quality of being free." And if you look further, and see the word "free," it says, "Not under the control of some other person or arbitrary power." You know, it's like it was before you got here. That's freedom. But John Stuart Mill wrote a book, treatise, *On Liberty*. Some of you may have seen it. It was published in 1859, and it is, I suppose, the most comprehensive effort to define liberty. And we can, I think, tonight equate liberty and freedom. And Mill said, his definition, "Liberty consists of doing what one desires." Now, in the United States today, we have greater freedom in that respect than any other country in the world and indeed, any country in human history.

Now, what I would like to reflect on with you tonight is what is the source of that freedom? And my thesis here is that it is in the rule of law. You know, we have to go back to the beginning, and this is an appropriate place for it, because West Point, the fortress of West Point, played such a role in the War of the Revolution or the War of Independence. But we have to go back beyond that and the philosophical predicates that were involved in the Constitution making. We, this country, are truly the product of what historians reflect upon in the Age of Enlightenment, the Age of Reason. Those marvelous seventeenth century minds. John Locke wrote a treatise on government. And we, I'm sure all of you appreciate the philosophical debate of, "What is man in the state of nature?" And John Locke believed that a man in the state of nature is free. And engaged in this polarity thinking about "the Individual versus the Authority of the State." And that freedom is the antithesis of authority. And so, in the state of nature, there is no authority and therefore man in a state of nature is free. Now, engulfed in that philosophy is the notion that man is a solitary, autonomous being. And the reason that Locke wrote this was as a vindication of what

historians also know as the Glorious Revolution, in which in England there was an overthrow of the traditional notion of the divine right of kings and the establishment of the limitations on the monarchy—the parliamentary monarchy.

And now, we know scientifically and most of you have a scientific bent, that that isn't, is simply not so – the state of nature is not free. We are herd animals. Consider the biological autonomy of the baby: when we are born, we are totally helpless, and we are totally dependent biologically on the herd, the family in our culture. We also depend upon each other for protection from the environment, the environment which, at times, is certainly hostile. Think about our digestive tracts, for example – and where are we when we rely on the state of nature, when we rely on what nature provides for us without agriculture? Well, those of you who have gone through some sort of survival training, and I assume most of you have or all of you have, are well aware that we do not live in a Garden of Eden. And, of course, we experience as a part of our humanity the natural disasters of the type that have overtaken Central America.

Another figure important to the philosophical development of this nation was Thomas Hobbes. He wrote a book called, *The Leviathan* – “The Monster.” And he argued in that book that we must have an absolute, undivided and sovereign power to achieve social peace. And that the freedom of the individual depends upon external authority, because we are of a warring nature. Then this French fellow, Jean Jacques Rousseau wrote a book in 1762 called *The Social Contract*. That book said, and began with, “Man is born free, but everywhere he is in chains.” Rousseau accepted the Hobbes view of the necessity of extensive order, but found that the basis for it was not in the divine right of kings, but in the sovereignty of the people. And he expressed the view that the individual must yield to the common wheel, the common consensus; of the people.

Now, these three philosophers that I submit form the basis for the American system of government. Consider for just a moment the history of this country before the Revolution: we had the colonists, who, when they first arrived, found this country closest to the state of nature as you are going to find. I mean, everything was provided, assuming that you knew what to do with it. So they came to virgin territory sparsely inhabited by a survival culture. And they had broken away from the European feudal system of order, which had broken down in the Glorious Revolution. They saw, from the beginning, the importance of charters, written documents. Those of you who have been students of American History are aware of the Crown Charters. Every colony started with some type of charter from the crown. They were essentially of two types. One, the commercial stock companies, like a corporation as we know it today, and the other, the proprietary charters, which were extensive land grants to those favored by the monarchy. The commercial chartered companies tended to be the northern colonies, and the proprietary charters went south. And that of course brought in the great conflict that developed in the nineteenth century.

The best illustration of these charters and the best illustration of Rousseau's social contract in action is the Mayflower Compact. That, you will remember, was in 1620 – November 11, 1620. Forty-one families, as they had organized themselves in families, sailing in an old wine ship and having been at sea for two months. Having endured the rigors of that trip, decided, "Well, we need to establish some kind of order; we are kind of in disagreement with each other here, sort of at each other's throats." And so, indeed, they sat down, lawyers being among them, and wrote these words:

“We, ...Do by these Presents, solemnly and mutually, in the Presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil Body Politick for our better Ordering and Preservation, and Furtherance of the Ends aforesaid...

– they were lawyers, as I said –

...And by Virtue hereof do enact, constitute and frame such just and equal Laws, Ordinances, Acts, Constitutions, and Offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general Good of the Colony, unto which we promise all due Submission and Obedience... .”

Rousseau in action.

Consider how that parallels the preamble to our Constitution, which, as the Colonel mentioned, I read at a sentencing. That preamble and those words, “We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution to the United States of America.”

Now, Locke came into the picture, and the best articulation of Locke’s view of natural law is, of course, found in the Declaration

of Independence. And the words that are always quoted on the Fourth of July, attributed primarily to Thomas Jefferson and described as political poetry, are these familiar words, "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Now, not so often quoted, but of great importance to what I have to say here tonight, is the very next line of the Declaration, and it reads as follows: "That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." And finally, the final sentence of the Declaration, "And for the support of this declaration with a firm reliance of a protection of divine providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor." That word, "honor," – not much heard anymore, but, of course, critical to you, your motto, "Duty, Honor, Country."

I was over (whatever direction it is) to see the statue of General MacArthur and his message, about the meaning of "Duty, Honor, Country." And of course, you have, you here have a soldier's honor. It comes, the MacArthurian Legion is alive in you. Knights of the dream, Black Knights of the Hudson. Well, I think those of us who have these ideals still do care a lot about Camelot. But, for our purposes tonight, honor has a little different definition. The definition given by a columnist well before our time – Walter Lippman, newspaperman, columnist, author, who wrote a book in 1929 called *A Preface to Morals*. And he said this, "He has honor if he holds himself to an ideal of conduct, though it is inconvenient, unprofitable, or dangerous to do so. That's the honor that should be in the heart and soul of every citizen of this country. The Declaration speaks to the pursuit of happiness, the pursuit of bliss to many." I suggest that the happiness referred to there is more akin to words of the Dutch philosopher, Spinoza, who said this: "The purpose of life is not to be happy, but rather to use to the

fullest whatever talents that God or luck or fate has bestowed upon you.” Those words, I’m sure, are present in this audience.

When you think of freedom in the way that I wish to present it tonight is to think of it as a paradox. We are a society of ordered liberty. Compare for a moment the two revolutions near in time, the American Revolution and later the French Revolution. Look at the difference in the outcomes. An established government by the consent of the government here and a reign of terror there. Why is that so? Why is that so? Well, it’s so because the Revolution was not an overthrow of the monarchy in the sense of what happened on the streets of Paris. It was really a very conservative effort to preserve the rights of Englishmen as they have been established in this Glorious Revolution that I have mentioned. And our ancestors were seeking not so much to overthrow a monarchy as they were seeking the same rights as their fellow citizens in England. And of course, for many reasons, the English made some bad mistakes, and instead of recognizing those possibilities, imposed yet harsher restrictions on the colonies. But ordered liberty is the important concept. Without order there is anarchy, and with anarchy there is no liberty for anyone.

Consider for just a moment, compare this country with what is happening in Kosovo, in Northern Ireland, in the Middle East, in Africa, and even in the former Soviet Union, where we have governments destabilized, unable to provide for the common defense and to promote the general welfare and to govern by the consent of those being governed. Sir Edmund Burke, an Irishman who became prominent in the English Parliament in 1774, said, “The only liberty that I mean is a liberty connected with order that not only exists with order and virtue but which cannot exist at all without them.” Burke attempted to conciliate between our colonies and England – fortunately, he didn’t get it done.

The challenge here in our system of government has been, continues to be, and always will be this special balance between social order and the individual freedom. Here, I think, there is a special role for the courts. At times the courts function as a counter-weight to some of the excesses of the other two branches of the government. Well, let me return to John Stuart Mill. My copy of his book, *Treatise On Liberty*, has in the front a sort of an inscription, and I guess Mill is the one who wrote it, these words, not written by John Stuart Mill, but apparently he selected them as aptly describing what he was trying to do in his book. And the words are these: "The ground leading principle toward which every argument in these pages directly converges is the absolute and essential importance of human development in its richest diversity. Those words are attributed to Wilhelm von Humboldt... ."

You know, it's not often that we think as being, as articulating individual liberty. But this Constitution of ours created a form of government not previously seen on this earth and which is still unique in this world. John Dickinson, a Philadelphia lawyer and member of the Continental Congress, refused to sign the Declaration of Independence. But then he served in the Continental Army, drafted the Articles of Confederation, and wrote, in a series of little essays called, "Letters from a Pennsylvania Farmer," in 1767, before the Constitutional Convention, this: "Who are a free people? Not those for whom government is reasonably exercised but those who live under a government so constitutionally checked and controlled that proper provision is made against its being otherwise exercised." And so indeed, the framework was constructed, the Constitution, the organic instrument with the checks and balances that are just so controlled. Beginning with, of course, the separation of powers and the three branches of government: Article I, for the legislative branch; Article II, the executive; and Article III, the judicial, the shortest one, not thought of too much as being an important part of

the government. Not until Chief Justice John Marshall got into it with President Jefferson and created on a full cloth, not out of the Constitution, the whole doctrine of judicial review by which the Supreme Court obtained its power to declare legislative enactment unconstitutional. In addition to this separation of powers of the national government, we have of course the division of powers between national and state governments, and so on down to county and local governments.

Now, people complain about gridlock in Washington. They complain that nothing is getting done. Why can't the White House and Congress get together? Well, the system is designed that way. It's designed, when there is a lack of clear consensus, to gridlock government. That is a part of the protection of individual freedom in the United States. The Constitution was ratified by a special state convention, convened for that limited purpose. And in most of those conventions, the ratification was made on conditions, conditions that the Constitution be amended by a Bill of Rights. Some said, "Not necessary. This government is not going to hurt anybody; we created it that way with checks and balances." And others said, "Put it in there. Put it in there in black and white, on paper, so that nobody can dispute it." And what is, what should be remembered is that this isn't the work of the constitutional convention – this now happens later, and this is a bill going through the Congress for amendment to the Constitution and requiring the ratification not of special conventions but of the state legislatures. And so it was done, and you know that the first ten amendments are what we have come to call the Bill of Rights. Now, I suggest that's an unfortunate term, a "Bill of Rights." It is a list of limitations. Because what it does is limit the grant of power from the people of sovereign to the national government, and the people of sovereign includes their state assemblies, their state legislatures, and we have the Tenth Amendment reserving that power. So these are rights reserved to the people. And this is

John Locke again, because this is saying, “Look, these rights exist independently of government. These rights existed before government. We’ve created this government, but we haven’t given it the power to infringe on these individual rights.” And I think it is better understood, therefore, as being a list of limitations. The rights don’t come from the Bill of Rights. They exist independently of the structure of the government.

You know, freedom has become a confused word in my time, because there is a difference between “freedom to” and “freedom from.” It is a difference that has, as its emphasis, and again, the source of the freedom, whether it existed independently of the government or whether it is provided as an entitlement by the government. And, of course, what we have seen as this country grew and developed, particularly in the economy, developed with increased dependency as we moved off the farm as we no longer were an agrarian society and as we became an industrial society. We had, of course, the problem of the Great Depression, and we look to the government now for protection, security. The economic system went to extremes, and indeed the political leaders at the time were quite willing to say, “The government will do for you.”

I found in some, you know, little notes that I recorded in reading over the time, these words – unfortunately I can’t give you the author – and I checked: the Library of Congress doesn’t know who the author is. But think of these words, “When God made the oyster, he guaranteed him his absolute, economic and social security. He built the oyster a house, his shell, to shelter and protect him from his enemies. But then God made the eagle, and he declared the blue sky is the limit; build your own house.” The eagle, not the oyster, is the symbol of America. There is a lot of freedom in a jail cell – you don’t have to worry about your next meal. You don’t have to worry about whether you need protection

from the heat or the cold; these things are provided to you. As a matter of fact, as a sentencing judge, one of the problems that we have is the institutionalized person who keeps wanting to go back and commits crimes for that very purpose. Yeah, we see those people, because that is the only place that they feel secure.

Well, we've learned a lot of things about freedom, and among them, of course, is that freedom is not free. Those words are down there in Washington on the Korean War memorial. And we know that from this very Academy, so many people have given their lives because freedom is not free. Your oath, the oath you will take as commissioned officers in the United States Army, requires of you that you preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution from all enemies, both foreign and domestic. Mostly the Army has dealt with foreign enemies, but of course we have had our times domestically, not the least of which was the Civil War. And that, in the end – and also the unique part of the history, I'm sure, of this military academy is that it provided the leaders on both sides in that bloody conflict. But that was a great extension of freedom – it eliminated that North- South division with respect to the nature of the economy, really. And of course it ended the institution of slavery.

Today there are many forces at work domestically that are enemies of the Constitution, undermined. And I'm not just speaking now of the obvious efforts at terrorist intimidation and frightening us into changing our course of the Ship of State. I'm speaking of something more insidious, more threatening, more dangerous. I'm talking really of some of our academic institutions who are filled with folks who, for varying reasons, attack these principles. These principles from the Age of Enlightenment, these philosophical foundations of our Constitutional order. These are the people who are deconstructing history, post-modern scholars, people who are trashing what we call or the academics call the Great Cannon of

Western Civilization. And what they emphasize is “Yes, all of these things happened, but also your ancestors murdered the Indians, enslaved the blacks, made waste of the natural environment, segregated women.”

And we have the rise of identity politics. We look at each other now and measure people according to what they are. “What is your race? What is your ethnicity? What age group are you in? What is your gender? What is your sexual orientation?” And we have seen also the rise of religious dogma, to the extent that “Well, if God tells me to do it, and I talk to God a lot, I don’t think it’s against the law. And I don’t care if it’s against the established order. I am uncompromising in it.” And indeed we have the rise of single-issue politics, the debates that are not really debates but are emotional wars: of abortion, pro-life, pro-choice; over the control of firearms. And continue to go on. Our law schools today tend to be filled with what are called “critical legal scholars,” people who talk about Eurocentrism, logocentrism, falacentrism, ageism. All of this has been a conspiracy to segregate people and to keep them from the pursuit of their own happiness. But what is happening is an attack, a direct attack on these philosophical principles that are the basis for the United States Constitution.

We have other forces, the rise of the entertainment cultures, politics of spectator sports, apathy. What did we have, estimates of about a third of the electorate voted on Tuesday across the nation? “Don’t bother me with that stuff, I’m too busy to worry about politics.” We have a society that is in pain and risks avoiding. We want to even be free –now, our sense of freedom is to be free from our own biological limitations. We don’t want disease or birth defects, traumatic injury or any of those things to hold us back, and if they do, we go to the courts and sue somebody about it. So the courts are being asked not to just adjust differences among people or to determine whether the state can prove a crime beyond a

reasonable doubt – they are being asked to reverse the frailties of nature.

The technology that has developed – I was over in your science labs today, and they were gainfully trying to explain to me what they were doing over there. I said, “This is like being in a foreign language lab.” But, take the Internet – you know, chat rooms, e-mail. We are a paradox; it’s pulling us together. We have more opportunity for communication today than ever dreamed of, and yet we are torn apart by it. You know, I think we’ve gone from a culture where we communicated the cultural precepts, these philosophical principles, to a culture of communication itself. Marshall McLuan, when television first came in, said, “The media is the message.” Well, the Internet has become the message.

And then, of course, there is terrorism, the technology that is available to the terrorists, holding all of us hostage. I never thought that I would see the day where courtrooms, courthouses, halls of Congress, seats of county governments would be barricaded and where we would have magnetometers, testing each citizen coming through because of the threat, the possibility that that person may be carrying a weapon. And of course the limitation of that, as you well know, there is no defense to some of the available weapons of mass destruction out there, including biological agents.

Well, the Supreme Court of the United States, dealing with Eighth Amendment claims first, and it’s cruel and unusual punishment. Chief Justice Warren looked at that and the court has looked at some other issues and spoke about, “We should measure these things, due process, according to the evolving standards of decency that mark the progress of the maturing society.” Those are the words of the court. Justice Scalia I heard speak, not too long ago, who said, aptly I think, “Yes, indeed. Society is mature, but they

also rot.” Carl Sandburg, the man of the people, wrote back in 1948, “If she, America, forgets where she came from, if the people lose sight of what brought them along, if she listens to the deniers and mockers, then we will begin the rot and the disillusionment.” We have those people now, among us, who are anti-government, who have formed themselves in militias, who wear your BDUs. I don’t know where they get them, but they have military weapons, organizing themselves into military forces, ready to fight. These people are angry. They do not know limits. They see this country, this Constitution, as an enemy, an insidious enemy because it is destroying their freedom. They do not care a thing for the social contract. They want things the way they were. So we have the militia movement. We have the Posse Comitatus. And we have the words of the Revolution being used against our own government, words like, “Don’t tread on me.” And words like, “The tree of liberty must be watered with the blood of tyrants. It is its natural fertilizer.” And they send such messages to government officials.

What I want to leave you with in this lecture is the importance of remembering our roots. Remember, we are a multi-cultural society. We have great diversity, but so did those colonies. Think for a moment about the religious differences that divided them and how they separated off into separate colonies because of those religious differences and the choice of religious freedom. Rhode Island. Think of the ethnic separation of people, and yet they came together; they formed this Constitution. They recognized that freedom, the ability to grow and pursue one’s own destiny must be earned. And the beginning of it is self-discipline.

You know, I know that you have a good History Department, and it probably still teaches the history of the Peloponnesian Wars and that Greek whose name I have trouble pronouncing, Thucydides, I think, said that “There is no need to suppose that human beings

differ very much from one another. But it is true that the ones who come out on top are the ones who have been trained in the hardest school.” That’s where you are, in the hardest school. And you are being trained to do your duty. You know, sometimes this country is best seen not by one of us, but by a foreigner. Such is the case of Alexis de Tocqueville in his famous work on democracy when he was here in 1837 or so.

Well, it is again today – there is a book and it is written by an Englishman; his name is Paul Johnson, and it came out last year, or maybe the year before. It’s simple, about the history of the American people, about 1,100 pages long. But it begins with these words –now viewed, we are being viewed by an Englishman – “The creation of the United States of America is the greatest of all human adventures. No other national story holds such tremendous lessons for the American people themselves and for the rest of mankind. It now spans four centuries, and as we enter the new millennium we need to retell it. For if we can learn these lessons and build upon them, the whole of humanity will benefit in the new age which is now opening.”

We built the foundations of freedom; there is an opportunity in the next century to build these foundations beyond these shores, to give these blessings of liberty to others. Your mission, your mission will be to see one, that they are preserved at home, and two, I hope, that they will extend far beyond these shores. I have every confidence that this millennium class will get the job done.

Thank you for the privilege of being here.



ABOUT THE SPEAKER

Judge Matsch hails from Iowa. He received his law degree from the University of Michigan in 1953. He served two years in the United States Army and then moved to Denver. He served in private practice as a Federal prosecutor and as the Deputy City Attorney for the City and County of Denver before he was appointed to the Federal District bench. Recently, Judge Matsch presided over the Oklahoma City bombing trials of Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols. On the first day of the McVeigh trial, he announced, "This is not theater. This is a trial." Later in the trial, a reporter for National Public Radio recalled, "I wish you could have been in Judge Matsch's courtroom today, the dignity in which he runs things has restored faith in the American Justice System in this reporter." When he passed sentence on Terry Nichols, Judge Matsch referred to Terry Nichols as an enemy of the Constitution and explained, "This was not a murder case. It was a crime, and the victims have spoken eloquently here. But it is

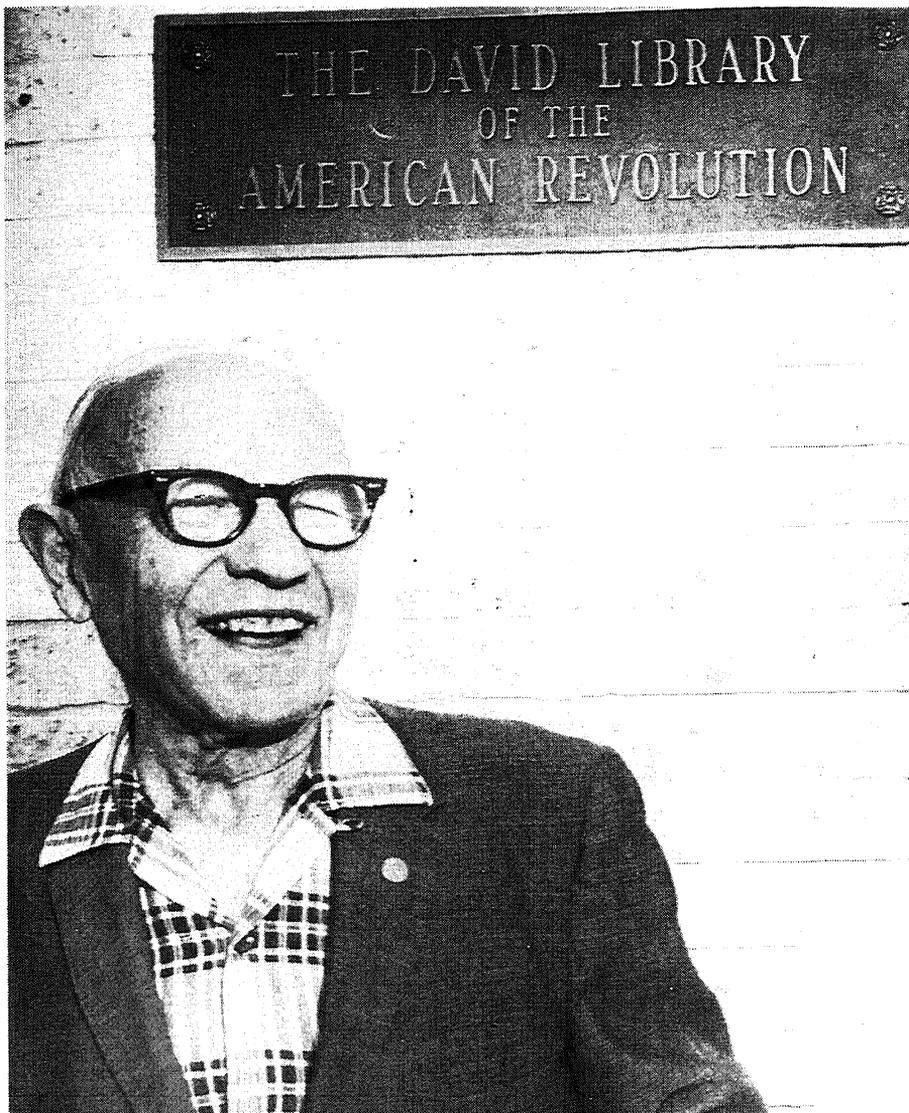


not a crime to them so much as it is a crime against the Constitution of the United States – that’s the victim. The evidence in this case shows that Terry Nichols participated in a plot to undermine the government of the United States. He joined with those who think of the United States government as some kind of occupying foreign power or some kind of oppressive force that is taking away the freedom of this nation.” Judge Matsch then read the preamble of the Constitution, which sets out the purposes of this nation’s government. He asked, “What was going on in the Alfred Murrah Building on April 19, 1995?” Judge Matsch then named the agencies in that building one by one, where workers were trying to, on the morning they were bombed, to do what was called for in the Constitution: establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, common defense and promote the general welfare. Some of the children of those workers played nearby in the daycare center of the building’s second floor.

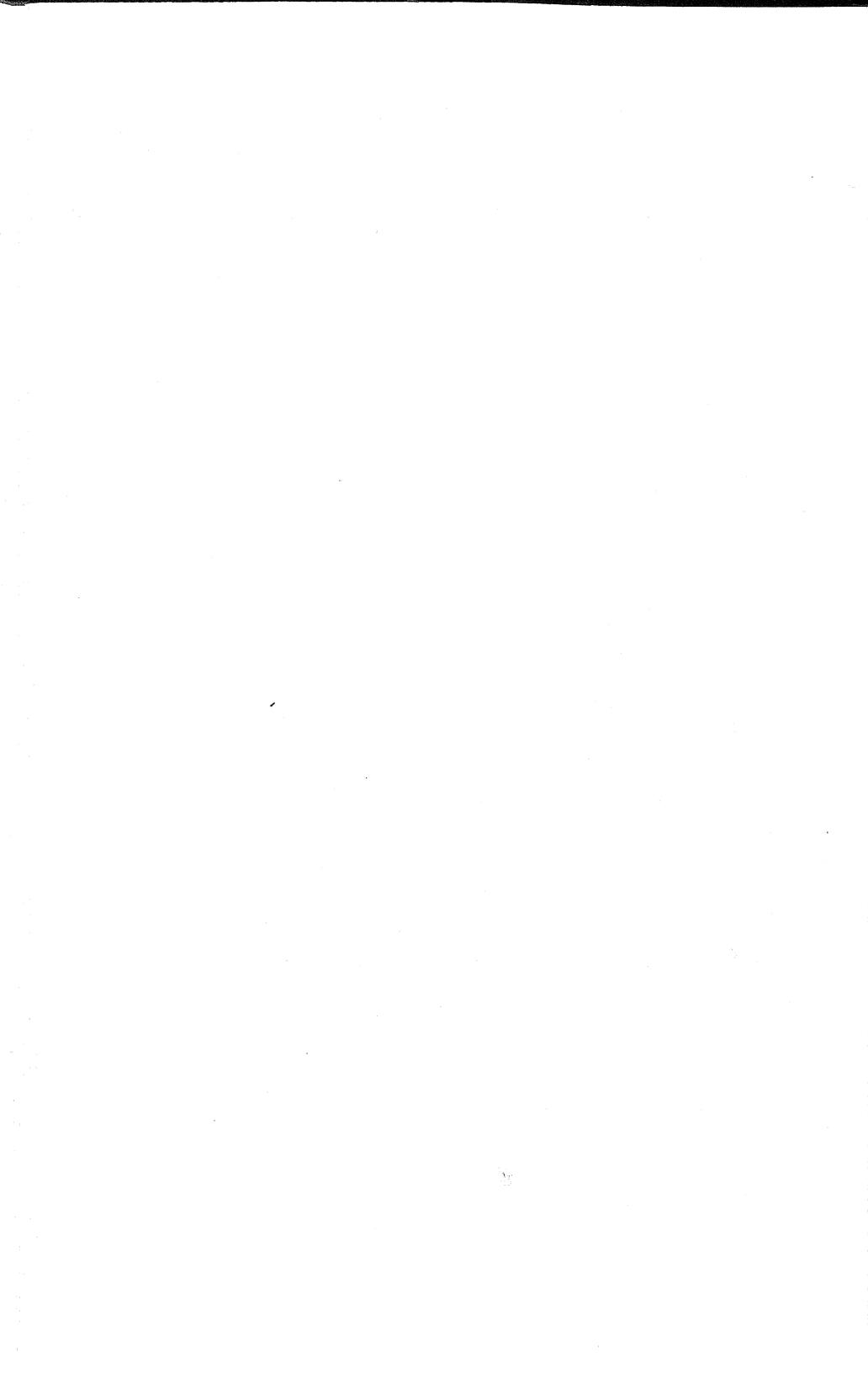
His Federal District Court colleague John Cane calls Judge Matsch a hero. “I don’t mean a hero like John Wayne,” he says, “But he lives by a standard that is essentially heroic, in the sense that he believes in the time-honored virtues of integrity, courage, loyalty, and patriotism.”

PAST FEINSTONE LECTURES

- 1971 - General Harold K. Johnson
- 1975 - Rear Admiral Jeremiah A. Denton, Jr.
- 1976 - Herman Wouk
- 1977 - Sidney Hook
- 1978 - Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
- 1979 - Barbara W. Tuchman
- 1980 - Alistair Cook
Isaac Bashevis Singer
- 1981 - Carl Sagan
- 1982 - George F. Will
- 1983 - Hanna H. Gray
- 1984 - Milton Friedman
- 1985 - Daniel Patrick Moynihan
- 1986 - Tom Wolfe
- 1987 - Elie Wiesel
- 1988 - A. Bartlett Giamatti
- 1989 - Dr. Richard Selzer
- 1990 - Dr. John Stoessinger
- 1991 - Fred Friendly
- 1992 - Dr. Orlando Patterson
- 1993 - Terry Anderson
- 1994 - Ambassador Madeleine K. Albright
- 1995 - Dr. Doris Kearns Goodwin
- 1996 - Dr. Stephen Jay Gould
- 1997 - Pete Seeger



Dr. Sol Feinstone, (1888 – 1980), Founder and First Director of the David Library of the American Revolution, Washington Crossing, Pennsylvania.



SOL FEINSTONE'S CREDO

DEDICATED TO

The Judeo-Christian commitment of self-sacrifice for peace on earth, and the brotherhood of free nations of free men;

The Spirit of '76, a struggle of free men to remain free;

The immigrants who came after the revolution and helped build our country in freedom;

The underprivileged of all races who, by uplifting themselves, will raise all mankind to a higher humanity.

MY DEFINITION OF FREEDOM

In the beginning there was a void of sameness; the spark of life made everything different.

The stamp of sameness is the stamp of death.

Freedom to me means a social order based on individual freedom to live differently and dream differently. I dream of a Brotherhood of Free Nations of Free Men.

SOL FEINSTONE

