

The Freedom Collection Presents:

FREEDOM MATTERS!

WHAT IS FREEDOM?

Unit 1, Lesson 1



THE BUSH INSTITUTE

AT THE

GEORGE W. BUSH PRESIDENTIAL CENTER

UNIT I, LESSON I

WHAT IS FREEDOM?

INTRODUCTION

This lesson will explore the nature and experience of freedom. Students will examine the ideas of great thinkers of the past who have written about the sources and characteristics of freedom. They will also examine the actual experiences of contemporary political dissidents who have struggled to achieve freedom from tyranny. Students will develop definitions of freedom and tyranny that they can substantiate with analysis, explanations, and facts.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

- How have people defined freedom's sources and essential characteristics throughout history?
- What are the characteristics of tyranny?
- Why do people seek freedom from tyranny?

OBJECTIVES

STUDENTS WILL:

- Analyze ideas about, and compare actual experiences of, freedom and tyranny.
- Engage in conversations about freedom and tyranny.
- Develop definitions of freedom and tyranny, making use of ideas expressed by prominent thinkers of the past and the experiences of today's political dissidents.

LENGTH OF LESSON

- Day 1—55 minutes
- Day 2—50 minutes

CURRICULUM STANDARDS

TEKS

- WH. 20.C "Explain the political philosophies of individuals such as John Locke, Thomas Hobbes, Voltaire, Charles de Montesquieu, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Thomas Aquinas, John Calvin, Thomas Jefferson, and William Blackstone."

- WH.21A “Describe how people have participated in supporting or changing their government.”
- WH.21B “Describe the rights and responsibilities of citizens and noncitizens in civic participation throughout history.”
- WH.29A “Explain the differences between primary and secondary sources and examine those sources to analyze frame of reference, historical context, and point of view.”
- WH.29B “Analyze information by sequencing, categorizing, identifying cause-and-effect relationships, comparing, contrasting, finding the main idea, summarizing, making generalizations and predictions, drawing inferences and conclusions, and developing connections between historical events over time.”
- WH.30 “The student communicates in written, oral, and visual forms.”
- WH.31A “Use a decision-making process to identify a situation that requires a decision, gather information, identify options, predict consequences, and take action to implement a decision.”

AP WORLD HISTORY

- AP.5.3.I.A “Thinkers applied new ways of understanding the natural world to human relationships, encouraging observation and influence in all spheres of life.”

BACKGROUND

DEFINITION AND SOURCES OF POLITICAL FREEDOM

The lessons presented in “Freedom Matters!” aim to help students understand freedom. Freedom, or political liberty, as the notion appears throughout this plan of study, refers to that condition which broadens the range of choices and actions available to human beings living under governments. The ideal of freedom should always be understood in opposition to restrictions imposed on individuals by other human beings, whether they are acting alone, in groups, or as officers of government. The lessons in “Freedom Matters!” will not be concerned with limitations on human freedom that owe to natural forces or do not originate in choices made by other human beings. Oppression, despotism, or the extreme form of restriction one identifies with tyranny all designate that which opposes freedom.

“A state that denies its citizens their basic rights becomes a danger to its neighbors as well: internal arbitrary rule will be reflected in arbitrary external relations. ... A state that does not hesitate to lie to its own people will not hesitate to lie to other states.”

— VACLAV HAVEL, FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC & FORMER DISSIDENT (1985)

Lesson 1 in this unit offers an introduction to some of the great thinkers of the past who have contributed to our understanding about the nature of freedom, its sources or foundations, and those who have identified its characteristics. The lesson also introduces the stories of

contemporary political dissidents who have experienced tyranny and have acted to achieve freedom.

From these combined sources and from the discussions provoked thereby, students should deepen, refine, and better grasp what is at stake in the opposition between freedom and tyranny.

Now and in the past, thinkers have offered definitions of freedom and have considered why people seek protection from oppression. Analyzing and discussing excerpts from some of their writings will help students think about where freedom comes from (its sources) and what the experience of freedom looks like (its characteristics). The writings selected for this lesson represent four major traditions of thought.

These schools of thought have provided various foundations for grasping fundamental principles underlying freedom. These traditions of thought are not mutually exclusive, and some conceptions of freedom, such as the one expressed in the American Declaration of Independence, rely on more than one of the traditions featured in the lesson.

“Within a system which denies the existence of basic human rights, fear tends to be the order of the day. Fear of imprisonment, fear of torture, fear of death, fear of losing friends, family, property or means of livelihood, fear of poverty, fear of isolation, fear of failure.”

— AUNG SAN SUU KYI, NOBEL PEACE PRIZE RECIPIENT (1991)

FREEDOM FOUND IN HUMAN NATURE: Some thinkers believe that human nature is the source of freedom. This tradition holds that something within all human beings makes them want to be free. Human beings make judgments and choices. Freedom in all of its aspects applies to all those activities that require judgment and choice. The most important of such activities require others to respect our freedom of judgment and choice. To identify such vital areas of liberty one may speak of human beings having rights. When we designate some freedoms to be rights we assert that every person has a moral obligation to refrain from actions that violate these freedoms. We may also assert an obligation to promote conditions needed for the exercise of these rights. There are no rights without corresponding obligations, and these obligations apply to the bearer of rights as well as to all others. Government is included among these “others”; in some instances it may serve to protect rights, while in others it may pose a threat to rights.

FREEDOM SUPPORTED BY BELIEF IN GOD: Some thinkers find that the source of human freedom in all of its aspects traces back to a divine will, to God. This tradition holds that human beings owe their existence to a supreme being who has endowed them with rights. The rights are sacred because their source is sacred. Therefore, as with those who discover a foundation for freedom in human nature, those who believe in a divine foundation also consider governments to be limited in their reach. Governments must not violate God-given rights.

FREEDOM GROUNDED IN BOTH HUMAN NATURE AND BELIEF IN GOD. Some who have looked into underlying principles have located the source of freedom in dictates both from human nature and from the will of God. According to this tradition, rights and obligations known from reasoning about human nature are confirmed by God’s word. Although the two sources do not conflict, particular laws

and institutions of any actual government may or may not conform to the higher law. Thus, as with the two traditions previously identified, this teaching also sets a standard that puts limits upon what governments may justly command.

FREEDOM FOUND IN CONSENT (SOCIAL CONTRACT): Some thinkers have advanced the idea that freedom has no source in nature or God but owes instead upon the consent of the governed. In establishing or continuing particular governments, human beings arrive at an agreement regarding the kind of government under which they choose to live. The powers of government may be limited or unlimited. But, limited or not in their reach, these powers continue to exist only on condition. That condition is that those who once consented to establishing a government continue in their original agreement. Thus the character of the government as well as the very existence of any government whatsoever would depend upon the consent of those who decide to submit to a political authority. One version of this teaching we find in thinkers who propose an original “social contract.” Some representatives of this tradition combine with the principle of consent a belief in a “law of nature,” or a standard of freedom in “natural rights,” or a “divine law,” or a belief in all of these foundations. Other versions assert that consent as the only ground of political obligation and of rights.

CHARACTERISTICS OF FREEDOM

Regardless of where one locates its source, we can see that liberty applies within three broad concerns of life: *political freedom*, *economic freedom*, and *personal freedom*. The individual exercises freedom in one form as a citizen subject to law, in another form as a participant in the production, consumption, and exchange of goods and services, and in a third domain as a personal being who engages in relations other than those determined by political or economic considerations (for example, marriage, participation in a voluntary association). Rights and their corresponding obligations differ as activity shifts from one to another of these domains.

POLITICAL FREEDOM. Political freedom encompasses the rights or freedoms pertaining to an individual’s participation in the conduct of government. The characteristics of political freedom are typically thought to include the rights to:

- Choose the head of government and other representatives in elections.
- Vote without fear or domination by others.
- Participate in free, fair, and regular elections with secret ballots.
- Rely on unbiased counting of the vote.
- Choose from more than one candidate.
- Join or form a political party.
- Run for office.
- Enjoy equal protection of the laws.
- Petition the government.
- Live under a government in which elected officials determine laws and policies.
- Live under a government that is accountable, open to public scrutiny, and free of corruption.

ECONOMIC FREEDOM. Economic freedom refers to the rights of individuals to work, to enter into contracts, and to possess, use, and inherit property. Economic freedom is greatest when the economy is influenced more by individuals and the private sector than government control. The characteristics of economic freedom are typically thought to include the rights to:

- Acquire, own, use, and inherit property protected by the rule of law.
- Exchange goods and services in open markets, at home and internationally.
- Establish or work for a business and engage in economic activity, including contracts, free of undue governmental interference and of corrupt officials.
- Have recourse to legal enforcement of contractual obligations.
- Be provided a reliable medium of exchange in currency (money) and instruments of credit.
- Choose and change one's occupation or place of employment.
- Form or join a labor union and engage in collective bargaining.
- Form, join, or invest in a corporation or private professional organization.
- Enjoy legal protection against monopolies and collusions in restraint of free trade and discouraging of competition.

"A simple way to determine whether the right to dissent in a particular society is being upheld is to apply the town square test: Can a person walk into the middle of the town square and express his or her views without fear of arrest, imprisonment, or physical harm? If he can, then that person is living in a free society. If not, it's a fear society."

— NATAN SHARANSKY, FORMER SOVIET DISSIDENT (2006)

PERSONAL FREEDOM:

Personal freedom encompasses a range of individual rights, sometimes referred to as "civil liberties." The characteristics of personal freedom are typically thought to include the rights to:

- Make decisions about private life; privacy.
- Move and travel without restrictions.
- Enjoy immunity from undue surveillance.
- Assemble in or organize a public demonstration.
- Form civic groups, interest groups, and other associations.
- Express opinions freely in public and in private; free expression.
- Have access to free and independent media.
- Exercise religion, worship, and think freely in public and in private.
- Receive an education that is free from political indoctrination.
- Marry and establish a family.
- Experience due process of the law under an independent judiciary.
- Enjoy protection of the rights of all people, including women and children under the rule of law.

ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IN SECURING FREEDOM. The role of government should be to secure political, economic, and personal freedoms for individuals. Government accomplishes these ends by:

- Preventing individuals or groups from oppressing other individuals or groups
- Restricting officers of government from oppressing individuals or groups

Several principles have helped define the role of government in securing freedom. Among these are provisions for limited government; for the rule of law; for separation of legislative, executive, and judicial powers; for subordinating military to civilian authority; for protecting individual rights; and for securing the consent of the governed.

Various means have proven helpful to limiting the power of government. The aim has been to make rulers responsible in exercising powers placed in their trust. Several of these safeguards contribute to that widely operating limitation known as the rule of law. Other means have to do with making explicit what rights within what spheres of action are to be reserved to individuals or to voluntary associations. Over time, this effort has produced constitutions, codes of law, and bills of rights that direct governmental authorities to secure liberty.

In forming government people agree to accept certain limitations on their freedom, most notably the right to exact revenge for injuries. A sensible purpose in yielding such freedom is to better secure what freedom remains. There remain political, economic, and personal rights for individuals, these to be had while sacrificing no more liberty than necessary. In exchange for some of their freedoms, people require arrangements that promise to prevent governments themselves from becoming oppressive.

Because government has been entrusted exclusively with the right to limit some freedoms, it is a two-edged sword. Government can promote freedom for its citizens, but government can also oppress. To help students understand the nature of tyranny and to recognize the signs that it is being imposed, they will conclude the lesson by viewing videos from the Freedom Collection, which includes testimonies by contemporary political dissidents who have risked much to gain rights for their countrymen. These firsthand accounts highlight men and women who have endured tyranny and experienced the difficult consequences of resistance, suffering imprisonment, intimidation, loss of property, occupation, or life itself. Some have witnessed the birth of freedom in their countries. Others are exiles from countries that still endure despotism.

RESOURCES

- Handout, Thoughts on Freedom cards
 - NOTE: You will need to print and prepare the cards prior to the start of this activity. It is recommended that you have one set of cards per group of four students.
- Freedom Collection videos
 - “Why I Became a Dissident” (Various, English and subtitles, 6:59), http://www.freedomcollection.org/themes/why_i_became_a_dissident/
 - Nima Rashedan: War on Media (Iran, English,

- 5:04), http://www.freedomcollection.org/interviews/nima_rashedan/?vidid=253
- Martin Butora (Slovakia, English, 5:43), http://www.freedomcollection.org/interviews/martin_btora/?vidid=893
- Claudio Jose Sandoval: Repression and Discrimination (Venezuela, subtitled, 5:27), http://www.freedomcollection.org/interviews/claudio_jose_sandoval/?vidid=440

PREREQUISITES

None, as this is the introductory lesson to Unit One.

NOTES TO THE TEACHER

- This is an introductory lesson designed to be completed in two class periods.
- Teachers may elect to use any or all of the suggested videos, which are available to download in advance of a lesson from the Freedom Collection website. Each video also has an accompanying transcript that is available on the website.

PROCEDURE

(times below are suggested)

DAY 1

1. (5 minutes) Warm-Up: Begin the lesson by having students write what the word “freedom” means to them.
2. (5 minutes) Call on several of the students to share their definitions. As they share, record their answers on the board and ask students to look for and analyze common elements. Explain that they will be examining ideas about freedom and actual experiences of freedom to help refine their definitions.
3. (10 minutes) Using the background provided, complete a direct teach to ensure students understand the sources of freedom.
4. (20 minutes) Divide students into groups of four, providing each group with a copy of the *Thoughts on Freedom* cards handout. Each card includes an excerpted quote from a great thinker reflecting on the four possible sources of freedom: human nature; God; both human nature and God; or consent (social contract). Students should create a graphic organizer and work in their groups to determine and record the following for each quote:
 - Which source of freedom is represented by the quotation?
 - Which characteristics of freedom does the quotation describe?

- What specific phrases in the quotation suggest the importance of freedom and why people seek it?
5. (10 minutes) Once students have completed their analysis, engage them in a class discussion around the following questions:
 - How did you categorize each quotation? (answers provided below)
 - How are the ideas contained in the quotations similar or different?
 - Which quotations did you find adequate, which lacking?
 - Which quotations resonate with you the most, which least?
 6. (5 minutes) Ask students to create a list of the ideas and concepts that define freedom based on what they have learned today. Instruct them to keep this list, as they will use it the next day.

DAY 2

1. (10 minutes) Explain that to continue the process of deepening their concept of freedom, the students need to consider the opposite or absence of freedom, which is tyranny. Have students begin by writing what the word “tyranny” means to them. Call on several of the students to share their definitions.
2. (10 minutes) To further their understanding of the concept, teachers will show the “Why I Became a Dissident” video, in which political dissidents describe living under tyranny. Instruct students to think about the three questions below, taking notes, while they watch the video. Ask students to share their answers at the conclusion of the video.
 - What characteristics of tyranny did you see or hear described in the video?
 - What did you learn about why people seek freedom from tyranny?
 - Do you think there is a universal desire of people to be free?

“Why I Became a Dissident” (Various, English and subtitles, 6:59),

http://www.freedomcollection.org/themes/why_i_became_a_dissident/

President George W. Bush narrates this clip that shows the power of individuals in beginning freedom movements. Various dissidents discuss what inspired them to take action and the impact their decisions made. Images of freedom movements between interviews allow students to visualize what a freedom movement might look like.

3. (15 minutes) Next, depending on the classroom setup, teachers should pick or allow students to pick two of the following videos in which political dissidents describe living under tyranny. Instruct students to take notes on the nature of tyranny and oppression as they watch. Tell them that they will use this information and what they learned yesterday to create definitions of freedom and tyranny. Suggested interviews include the following:
 - Nima Rashedan: War on Media (Iran, English, 5:04),
http://www.freedomcollection.org/interviews/nima_rashedan/?vidid=253
Mr. Rashedan was a journalist who went to prison for publishing criticisms of the oppressive

government in Iran. After he left the country in 1998, the government shut down over 50 newspapers. Men overran the newspaper offices, vandalized the computers, and took the journalists' possessions.

- Martin Butora: Normalization (Slovakia, English, 5:43), http://www.freedomcollection.org/interviews/martin_btora/?vidid=893
In this video clip, students will hear about the political purges that started after the Soviet Union invaded Czechoslovakia in 1968. These purges caused the citizens to become very passive. Because the government controlled everything, all opposition was repressed. Even when a few started to publish and express their ideas underground, the general feeling was they wouldn't be able to accomplish anything.
 - Claudio Jose Sandoval: Repression and Discrimination (Venezuela, subtitled, 5:27), http://www.freedomcollection.org/interviews/claudio_jose_sandoval/?vidid=440
In this video clip, students will hear of the government arresting citizens who weren't activists, but who were merely speaking out about the terrible quality of service on Venezuela's state-run subways. The government also tapped phones and planted evidence on suspected activists. Sandoval also speaks of activists receiving phoned death threats by hired killers, as well an incident in which an activist's car was shot full of holes to intimidate and scare him.
4. (10 minutes) Instruct students to create definitions of freedom and tyranny based on the ideas and actual experiences of freedom analyzed in the lesson. Remind them to use the list they created on day 1 of the ideas and concepts that define freedom and the notes they have taken today as they complete the statements, "Freedom is..." and "Tyranny is..."
 5. (5 minutes) As a closing activity, ask students to volunteer to share their definitions of freedom and tyranny. NOTE: These definitions will be used again in the final lesson; please ensure that students keep them.

ENRICHMENT/EXTENSION ACTIVITIES

- Have students research other pertinent quotations on political freedom to include in their final definition.
- Have students compare their definition of freedom to the definition of freedom included in the background section.

THOUGHTS ON FREEDOM

FREEDOM FOUND IN HUMAN NATURE

Men should be subject to nothing, not to another man, not to disturbing passion, not to fortune. (Cicero, *De Officiis*)

Cicero (106 BC–43 BC) was a Roman philosopher, lawyer, and political theorist who wrote *De Officiis* in 44 BC. The essay, divided into three books, criticizes Julius Caesar and his dictatorship while defining the ideals of public behavior.

Cicero. *De Officiis*. Translated by Walter Miller, 1913. Harvard University Press. Accessed: http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Cicero/de_Officiis/1D*.html

You shun slavery—beware of enslaving others! If you can endure to do that, one would think you had been once upon a time a slave yourself. For vice has nothing in common with virtue, nor Freedom with slavery. (Epictetus, *Golden Sayings*)

Epictetus (c. 55 AD–135 AD) was a Greek philosopher. Many of his teachings, which were compiled and transcribed by his student Arrian, focus on self-knowledge and the pursuit of good, as determined by the capacity to act for ourselves.

Epictetus. *Golden Sayings*. Raleigh: Hayes Barton Press, 1937. Accessed: http://books.google.com/books?id=nGbnw3g_3s8C

In the Roman republic when any one of the three classes becomes puffed up and manifests an inclination to be contentious and unduly encroaching, the mutual interdependency of all the three and the possibility of the pretensions of anyone being checked and thwarted by the others, must plainly check this tendency. And so the proper equilibrium is maintained by the impulsiveness of the one part being checked by its fear of the other. (Polybius, *Histories*)

Polybius (c. 200 BC–c. 118 BC) was a Greek historian whose *Histories* covered the period 264 BC–146 BC. His writing discusses the separation of powers in government.

Polybius. *Histories*. Translated by I. Scott-Kilvert. Accessed: <http://www.constitution.org/rom/polybi.htm>

Upright governments have *liberty* as their aim, that men may live for themselves; not citizens for the sake of the consuls, nor a people for a king, but conversely, consuls for the sake of the citizens, and a king for his people." (Dante Alighieri, *On Monarchy*)

Dante (1265–1321) was a well-known Italian poet, most famous for his *Divine Comedy*. *On*

Monarchy discusses secular and religious authority, criticizing the Pope's ability to supercede the Emperor's authority.

Dante Alighieri. *On Monarchy*. Translated by Aurelia Henry, 1904. Houghton Mifflin. Accessed: <http://books.google.com/books?id=RkwJAQAAMAAJ>

If the sovereign, the heart, should invariably consult with reason, his vizier, and, when desire was transgressing, should give to wrath to have power over him (yet, without giving him full liberty, should make him angry in subjection to reason, the vizier, so that passing all bounds he should not stretch out his hand upon the kingdom), there would then be an equilibrium in the condition of the kingdom, and all the members would perform the functions for which they were created, their service would be accepted at the mercy seat, and they would obtain eternal felicity. (Al-Ghazali, *The Alchemy of Happiness*)

Al-Ghazali (1058 - 1111) was an influential Muslim philosopher and theologian. *The Alchemy of Happiness*, written circa 1105, focuses on happiness as the highest state of existence, which can only be reached through complete devotion to God.

Al-Ghazali. *The Alchemy of Happiness*. Translated by Cauld Field, 1909. London: J. Murray. Accessed: <http://sacred-texts.com/isl/tah/index.htm>

But freedom of men under government is to have a standing rule to live by, common to every one of that society, and made by the legislative power...not to be subject to the inconstant, uncertain, unknown, arbitrary will of another man; as freedom of nature is to be under no other restraint but the law of nature. (John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*)

John Locke (1632-1704) was an English philosopher and a famous Enlightenment thinker. *The Second Treatise of Government*, published in 1689 as part of his larger work *Two Treatises of Government*, discusses natural rights and contract theory to form a more civilized society.

Locke, John. "Second Treatise of Government." *In Two Treatises of Civil Government*. Edited by Thomas Hollis. London: A. Millar et al., 1764. Accessed: <http://oll.libertyfund.org/title/222/16265/704346>

Liberty consists in the freedom to do everything which injures no one else; hence the exercise of the natural rights of each man has no limits except those which assure to the other members of the society the enjoyment of the same rights. These limits can only be determined by law. (National Constituent Assembly of France, Declaration of the Rights of Man, 1789)

The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen was approved by the National Constituent Assembly of France on August 26, 1789, following the beginning of the French Revolution. The Declaration, based in part on the Declaration of Independence, guaranteed the universal nature of natural rights and liberties to French citizens.

"Declaration of the Rights of Man." Approved by the National Constituent Assembly of France, August 26, 1789. Accessed: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/rightsof.asp

No matter what part of the world we come from, we are all basically the same human beings. We all seek happiness and try to avoid suffering. We have the same basic human needs and concerns. All of us human beings want freedom and the right to determine our own destiny as individuals and as

peoples. That is human nature. (Tenzin Gyatso, His Holiness the XIVth Dalai Lama, Nobel Peace Prize Acceptance Speech)

Tenzin Gyatso (born 1945) is the 14th and current Dalai Lama who serves as the leader of the Tibetan people. He accepted the Nobel Peace Prize on December 10, 1989, focusing his speech on the need for compassion to resolve conflicts not only in Tibet but around the world.

Gyatso, Tenzin. "Nobel Peace Prize Acceptance Speech." Speech given December 10, 1989. Accessed: http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1989/lama-acceptance_en.html

Freedom is the alone unoriginated birthright of man, and belongs to him by force of his humanity; and is in dependence on the will and co-action of every other in so far as this consists with every other person's freedom. (Immanuel Kant, *The Metaphysics of Ethics*)

Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) was a Prussian philosopher who wrote *The Metaphysics of Ethics* in 1796. Kant's philosophy is centered on freedom, as he believes that without it people would not be able to act based on reason.

Kant, Immanuel. *The Metaphysics of Ethics*. Translated by J.W. Semple. Edited by Reverend Henry Calderwood. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1886. Accessed: <http://oll.libertyfund.org/title/1443/56215>

FREEDOM SUPPORTED BY BELIEF IN GOD

The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me...he hath sent me to bind up the brokenhearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound. (Old Testament, Isaiah 61:1)

Isaiah 61:1 Standard King James Version, Pure Cambridge

The other kind of liberty I call civil or federal, it may also be termed moral, in reverence to the covenant between God and man, in the moral law, and the politic covenants and constitutions amongst men themselves. This liberty is the proper end and object of authority... it is a liberty to that only which is good, just, and honest. (John Winthrop, "Speech to the General Court," July 3, 1645)

John Winthrop (1587-1647) was a governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony and a Puritan lawyer. In this speech Winthrop asserted that the duty of the government is not to promote general welfare but rather justice while fighting corruption.

Winthrop, John. "Speech to the General Court." Speech given July 3, 1645. Accessed: <http://www.hnet.uci.edu/mclark/HumCore/CoreF2005/WebCoreF05/F05Winthropspeech.htm>

The early colonial clergy... preached equality because they believed in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. They justified freedom by the text [Book of Genesis] that we are all created in the divine image, all partakers of the divine spirit. (Calvin Coolidge, "The Inspiration of the Declaration of Independence," Speech of July 5, 1926)

Calvin Coolidge (1872-1933) was the 30th president of the United States. He gave this

speech during the 150-year celebration of the signing of the Declaration of Independence in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Coolidge, Calvin. "The Inspiration of the Declaration of Independence." Speech given at the 150-year anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, July 5, 1926. Accessed: http://books.google.com/books?id=_aXkAAAAQBAJ

Every man and woman on this earth has rights, and dignity, and matchless value because they bear the image of the Maker of Heaven and earth. (George W. Bush, "The Second Inaugural Address," Speech on January 20, 2005)

George W. Bush (born 1946) was the 43rd president of the United States. His Second Inaugural Address focused on foreign policy, especially the promotion of democracy in the world and making human rights an integral part of U.S. foreign policy.

Bush, George W. "The Second Inaugural Address." Speech addressing the United States following his reelection, January 20, 2005. Accessed: http://www.gutenberg.org/files/925/925-h/925-h.htm#link2H_4_0056

FREEDOM GROUNDED IN BOTH HUMAN NATURE AND BELIEF IN GOD

The foundation of authority is laid in the free consent of the people. The choice of public magistrates belongs unto the people by God's own allowance. (Thomas Hooker, "Sermon to the General Court," 1638)

Thomas Hooker (1586–1647) was Puritan colonial leader in the United States who founded the colony of Connecticut due to his disagreements with the limitations placed on suffrage in Massachusetts. His "Sermon to the General Court" was given on May 31, 1638, at the First Church of Hartford following the formation of the Constitution of Connecticut earlier that month.

Hooker, Thomas. "Sermon to the General Court." Transcription by Douglas Shepard, 1638. Accessed: <http://www.polisci.uconn.edu/people/faculty/doc/besso%20article.pdf>

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with inherent and inalienable Rights; that among these, are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness; that to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new Government. (Thomas Jefferson, *Declaration of Independence*)

Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) was a Founding Father and leading Enlightenment figure who also served as the third president of the United States. Jefferson drafted the Declaration of Independence during June 1776, and following changes from Benjamin Franklin and other members of the Second Continental Congress, the Declaration was ratified on July 4.

Jefferson, Thomas. *The Declaration of Independence*. Accessed:
<http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/declaration.html>

Art. I. —all men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential, and unalienable rights; among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties; that of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property; in fine, that of seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness.

ii.—it is the right as well as the duty of all men in society, publicly, and at stated seasons, to worship the Supreme Being, the great Creator and Preserver of the universe. And no subject shall be hurt, molested, or restrained, in his person, liberty, or estate, for worshipping god in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience; or for his religious profession or sentiments; provided he doth not disturb the public peace, or obstruct others in their religious worship. (A Declaration of the Rights of the Inhabitants of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1780)

The Declaration of Rights is one of four parts of the Constitution of Massachusetts, written primarily by John Adams in 1779 and approved in 1780. The Constitution served as the model for the Constitution of the United States.

“A Declaration of the Rights of the Inhabitants of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.” *In The Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts*. 1780. Accessed:
<https://malegislature.gov/laws/constitution>

This is a world of compensations; and he who would be no slave, must consent to have no slave. Those who deny freedom to others, deserve it not for themselves; and, under a just God, can not long retain it. (Abraham Lincoln, *Letter to Henry L. Pierce and others*)

Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865) was the 16th president of the United States. His letter to Henry L. Pierce, a manufacturer and later state representative and mayor of Boston, is in reply to an invitation to a festival honoring Thomas Jefferson that he could not attend.

Lincoln, Abraham. “Letter to Henry L. Pierce and others.” *In Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. Volume 3*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953. Accessed: <http://name.umdl.umich.edu/lincoln3>

FREEDOM FOUND IN CONSENT (SOCIAL CONTRACT)

Man cannot continue in the ... liberty that God hath given him. The liberty of one is thwarted by that of another; and whilst they are all equal, none will yield to any, otherwise than by a general consent. This is the ground of all just government. (Algernon Sidney, *Discourses on Government*)

Algernon Sidney (1623–1683) was an English member of Parliament and a republican political theorist. *Discourses on Government*, published in 1698, expressed Sidney’s opposition to absolute monarchy and the divine right of kings.

Sidney, Algernon. *Discourses Concerning Government*. 1698. Accessed: http://www.constitution.org/as/dcg_000.htm

A commonwealth is said to be instituted, when a multitude of men do agree, and covenant every one with everyone, that to whatsoever man, or assembly of men, should be given by the major part, the right to present the person of them all, that is to say, to be their representative; every one as well he that voted for it, as he that voted against it, shall authorize all the actions and judgments, of that man, or assembly of men, in the same manner, as if they were his own, to the end, to live peaceably amongst themselves, and be protected against other men. (Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*)

Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) was an English political philosopher. *Leviathan* is his most famous work, published in 1651, which discusses the need for the existence of a social contract and a strong government to avoid civil war and discord.

Hobbes, Thomas. "Book I, Chapter XVIII: of the rights of sovereigns by institution." *The English Works of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury; Now First Collected and Edited by Sir William Molesworth, Bart.* Edited by Sir William Molesworth. London: Bohn, 1839-1845. Accessed: <http://oll.libertyfund.org/title/585/89846>

Every man being born free and his own master, no one, under any pretext whatsoever, can make any man subject without his consent. To decide that the son of a slave is born a slave is to decide that he is not born a man. (Jean Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*)

Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) was a French Enlightenment philosopher, whose writings influenced the French Revolution. *The Social Contract*, published in 1762, argues against the divine right of monarchs and places sovereignty in the hands of the people.

Rousseau, Jean Jacques. *The Social Contract, or Principles of Political Right*. Translated by G.D.H. Cole. 1762. Accessed: <http://www.constitution.org/jjr/socon.htm>

Men should be subject to nothing, not to another man, not to disturbing passion, not to fortune.

- CICERO, *DE OFFICIIS*

Cicero (106 BC - 43 BC) was a Roman philosopher, lawyer, and political theorist who wrote *De Officiis* in 44 BC. The essay, divided into three books, criticises Julius Caesar and his dictatorship while defining the ideals of public behavior.

In the Roman republic when any one of the three classes becomes puffed up and manifests an inclination to be contentious and unduly encroaching, the mutual interdependency of all the three and the possibility of the pretensions of anyone being checked and thwarted by the others, must plainly check this tendency. And so the proper equilibrium is maintained by the impulsiveness of the one part being checked by its fear of the other.

- POLYBIUS, *HISTORIES*

Polybius (c. 200 BC - c. 118 BC) was a Greek historian whose *Histories* covered the period 264 BC - 146 BC. His writing discusses the separation of powers in government.

You shun slavery—beware of enslaving others! If you can endure to do that, one would think you had been once upon a time a slave yourself. For vice has nothing in common with virtue, nor Freedom with slavery.

- EPICETUS, *GOLDEN SAYINGS*

Epicetius (c. 55 AD - 135 AD) was a Greek philosopher. Many of his teachings, which were compiled and transcribed by his student Arrian, focus on self-knowledge and the pursuit of good, as determined by the capacity to act for ourselves.

Upright governments have liberty as their aim, that men may live for themselves; not citizens for the sake of the consuls, nor a people for a king, but conversely, consuls for the sake of the citizens, and a king for his people.

- DANTE ALIGHIERI, *ON MONARCHY*

Dante (1265 - 1321) was a well known Italian poet, most famous for his *Divine Comedy*. *On Monarchy* discusses secular and religious authority, criticising the Pope's ability to supercede the Emperor's authority.

Liberty consists in the freedom to do everything which injures no one else; hence the exercise of the natural rights of each man has no limits except those which assure to the other members of the society the enjoyment of the same rights.

These limits can only be determined by law.

- NATIONAL CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF FRANCE, DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN, 1789

The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen was approved by the National Constituent Assembly of France on August 26, 1789 following the beginning of the French Revolution. The Declaration, based in part on the Declaration of Independence, guaranteed the universal nature of natural rights and liberties to French citizens.

If the sovereign, the heart, should invariably consult with reason, his vizier, and, when desire was transgressing, should give to wrath to have power over him (yet, without giving him full liberty, should make him angry in subjection to reason, the vizier, so that passing all bounds he should not stretch out his hand upon the kingdom), there would then be an equilibrium in the condition of the kingdom, and all the members would perform the functions for which they were created, their service would be accepted at the mercy seat, and they would obtain eternal felicity.

- AL-GHAZALI, THE ALCHEMY OF HAPPINESS

Al-Ghazali (1058 - 1111) was an influential Muslim philosopher and theologian. *The Alchemy of Happiness*, written circa 1105, focuses on happiness as the highest state of existence which can only be reached through complete devotion to God.

But freedom of men under government is to have a standing rule to live by, common to every one of that society, and made by the legislative power...not to be subject to the inconstant, uncertain, unknown, arbitrary will of another man; as freedom of nature is to be under no other restraint but the law of nature.

- JOHN LOCKE, SECOND TREATISE OF GOVERNMENT

John Locke (1632 - 1704) was an English philosopher and a famous Enlightenment thinker. *The Second Treatise of Government*, published in 1689 as part of his larger work *Two Treatises of Government*, discusses natural rights and contract theory to form a more civilized society.

No matter what part of the world we come from, we are all basically the same human beings. We all seek happiness and try to avoid suffering. We have the same basic human needs and concerns. All of us human beings want freedom and the right to determine our own destiny as individuals and as peoples. That is human nature.

- TENZIN GYATSO, HIS HOLINESS THE XIVTH DALAI LAMA, NOBEL PEACE PRIZE ACCEPTANCE SPEECH

Tenzin Gyatso (born 1945) is the 14th and current Dalai Lama who serves as the leader of the Tibetan people. He accepted the Nobel Peace Prize on December 10, 1989, focusing his speech on the need for compassion to resolve conflicts not only in Tibet but around the world.

Freedom is the alone unoriginated birthright of man, and belongs to him by force of his humanity; and is in dependence on the will and co-action of every other in so far as this consists with every other person's freedom.

-IMMANUEL KANT, *THE METAPHYSICS OF ETHICS*

Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) was a Prussian philosopher who wrote *The Metaphysics of Ethics in 1796*. Kant's philosophy is centered on freedom, as he believes that without it people would not be able to act based on reason.

The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me...he hath sent me to bind up the brokenhearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound.

- OLD TESTAMENT, ISAIAH 61 : 1

The other kind of liberty I call civil or federal, it may also be termed moral, in reverence to the covenant between God and man, in the moral law, and the politic covenants and constitutions amongst men themselves. This liberty is the proper end and object of authority... it is a liberty to that only which is good, just, and honest.

-JOHN WINTHROP, "SPEECH TO THE GENERAL COURT," JULY 3, 1645

John Winthrop (1587–1647) was a governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony and a Puritan lawyer. In this speech Winthrop asserted that the duty of the government is not to promote general welfare but rather justice while fighting corruption.

The early colonial clergy... preached equality because they believed in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. They justified freedom by the text [Book of Genesis] that we are all created in the divine image, all partakers of the divine spirit.

- CALVIN COOLIDGE, "THE INSPIRATION OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE," *SPEECH OF JULY 5, 1926*

Calvin Coolidge (1872–1933) was the 30th president of the United States. He gave this speech during the 150-year celebration of the signing of the Declaration of Independence in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

**The foundation of authority is laid in the free consent of the people.
The choice of public magistrates belongs unto the people by God's own allowance.**

- THOMAS HOOKER, "SERMON TO THE GENERAL COURT," 1638

Thomas Hooker (1586–1647) was Puritan colonial leader in the United States who founded the colony of Connecticut due to his disagreements with the limitations placed on suffrage in Massachusetts. His "Sermon to the General Court" was given on May 31, 1638, at the First Church of Hartford following the formation of the Constitution of Connecticut earlier that month.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with inherent and inalienable Rights; that among these, are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness; that to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new Government.

- THOMAS JEFFERSON, *DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE*

Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) was a Founding Father and leading Enlightenment figure who also served as the third president of the United States. Jefferson drafted the Declaration of Independence during June 1776, and following changes from Benjamin Franklin and other members of the Second Continental Congress, the Declaration was ratified on July 4.

Every man and woman on this earth has rights, and dignity, and matchless value because they bear the image of the Maker of Heaven and earth.

- GEORGE W. BUSH, "THE SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS,"
SPEECH ON JANUARY 20, 2005

George W. Bush (born 1946) was the 43rd president of the United States. His Second Inaugural Address focused on foreign policy, especially the promotion of democracy in the world and making human rights an integral part of U.S. foreign policy.

Art. I. — all men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential, and unalienable rights; among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying, and defending their lives and liberties; that of acquiring, and defending their lives and liberties; that of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property; in fine, that of seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness.

- A *DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, 1780*

The Declaration of Rights is one of four parts of the Constitution of Massachusetts, written primarily by John Adams in 1779 and approved in 1780. The Constitution served as the model for the Constitution of the United States.

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- ABRAHAM LINCOLN, LETTER TO HENRY L. PIERCE AND OTHERS

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- THOMAS HOBBES, LEVIATHAN

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- ALGERNON SIDNEY, DISCOURSES ON GOVERNMENT

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- JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU, THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

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