

# Speaking of a Free Press

200 Years of Notable Quotations About Press Freedoms



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FOREWORD

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A free press was born when America was born. It was not handed down or inherited. The concept of press freedom was deliberately constructed by the framers of our Constitution to instill the spirit of independence as an absolute, crucial ingredient in the creation, existence and survival of a free society.

The collection of quotations in this booklet reflects the beliefs of prominent people in our history who have championed freedom of the press – as well as some who have opposed it. Contemporary leaders also are included; their words reaffirm the important of press freedom in a truly free society.

As we celebrate the bicentennial of the Constitution, these quotations summarize why we have fought and struggled for press freedom – and they reinforce the wisdom of our forefathers in framing the basic principles under which our nation functions.

The meaning of it all is quite clear – a strong, free country and a strong, free press are inseparable.

Jerry W. Friedheim  
Executive Vice President  
American Newspaper Publishers Association Foundation  
1986

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The quotations in this booklet have stood the test of time. They speak volumes about the value placed on a free press by our democratic society.

We are living in a time when there are challenges to a free press not only from those who want to suppress information, but also from those who have become complacent about this valuable freedom. A recently released study by the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation reports that nearly three-fourths of high school students tend to express little appreciation for the First Amendment. The report continues to say that most of their teachers, principals and parents have similar views.

We encourage you to promote knowledge of the First Amendment, especially freedom of the press, whenever possible. Use these quotes to help reach that goal.

Jim Abbott  
Vice President  
Newspaper Association of America Foundation  
2005

## Devious Foes of Freedom \_\_\_\_\_

“Be not intimidated, therefore, by any terrors, from publishing with the utmost freedom whatever can be warranted by the laws of your country, nor suffer yourselves to be wheeled out of your library by any pretense of politeness, delicacy or decency. These, as they are often used, are but three different names for hypocrisy, chicanery and cowardice.”

John Adams  
From an Essay for the Boston Gazette  
\*1765

## Free But Responsible \_\_\_\_\_

“The liberty of the press is indeed essential to the nature of a free state; but this consists in laying no previous restraints upon publications, and not in freedom from censure for criminal matter when published. Every free man has an undoubted right to lay what sentiments he pleases before the public; to forbid this is to destroy the freedom of the press; but if he publishes what is improper, mischievous or illegal, he must take the consequences of his own temerity.”

Blackstone’s Commentaries  
1765

## More Piercing Than Bayonets \_\_\_\_\_

“A journalist is a grumbler, a censurer, a giver of advice, a regent of sovereigns, a tutor of nations. Four hostile newspapers are more to be feared than a thousand bayonets.”

Napoleon Bonaparte  
\*\*[1769-1821]

## The Fourth Estate \_\_\_\_\_

“There are three estates in Parliament but in the Reporters’ Gallery yonder there sits a Fourth Estate more important far than they all. It is not a figure of speech or witty saying, it is a literal fact, very momentous to us in these times.”

Attributed to Edmund Burke  
English Statesman  
[1739-1797]

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\* Dates typeset in this manner represent the actual year in which the words were spoken or written.

\*\* Dates typeset in this manner represent dates of birth and death of the speaker or writer.

Also attributed in 1828 to Thomas Maculey in this form:

“The Fourth Estate ranks in importance equally with the three estates of the realm, the Lords Spiritual, the Lords Temporal and the Lords Common.”

Slavery Without Newspapers \_\_\_\_\_

“With newspapers, there is sometimes disorder; without them, there is always slavery.”

Benjamin Constant  
French writer  
[1767-1830]

Physician, Heal Thyself \_\_\_\_\_

“The press must be free; it has always been so and much evil has been corrected by it. If government finds itself annoyed by it, let it examine its own conduct and it will find the cause.”

Thomas Erskine  
Scottish jurist  
[1750-1823]

Basis of Our Rights \_\_\_\_\_

“What is the liberty of the press ... its security, whatever fine declarations may be inserted in any constitution respecting it, must altogether depend on public opinion, and on the general spirit of the people and of the government. And here, after all ... must we seek for the only solid basis of all our rights.”

From the Federalist Papers #84  
New York Independent Journal  
1778-1788

Print Nothing, Offend Nobody \_\_\_\_\_

“If all printers were determined not to print anything till they were sure it would offend nobody, there would be very little printed.”

Benjamin Franklin  
[1706-1790]

Rule for Tyrants \_\_\_\_\_

“Whoever would overthrow the liberty of a nation must begin by subduing the freedom of speech.”

Benjamin Franklin  
1722

Sell Not Liberty \_\_\_\_\_

“Sell not virtue to purchase wealth, nor liberty to purchase power.”

Benjamin Franklin  
1785

Formula for Safety \_\_\_\_\_

“When the press is free and every man able to read, all is safe.”

Thomas Jefferson  
1799

The Best Enlightener \_\_\_\_\_

“The press is the best instrument for enlightening the mind of man, and improving him as a rational, moral and social being.”

Thomas Jefferson  
1823

Jefferson’s Choice \_\_\_\_\_

“The basis of our government being the opinion of the people, the very first object should be to keep that right; and were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter. But I should mean that every man should receive those papers and be capable of reading them.”

Thomas Jefferson  
1787

Press as Censor \_\_\_\_\_

“No government ought to be without censors; and where the press is free no one ever will.”

Thomas Jefferson  
1799

Impossible Combination \_\_\_\_\_

“If a nation expects to be both ignorant and free, it expects what never was and never will be.”

Thomas Jefferson  
1816

The Basis of Popular Power \_\_\_\_\_

“Nothing could be more irrational than to give the people power, and to withhold from them information without which power is abused. A people who mean to be their own governors must arm themselves with power which knowledge gives. A popular government without popular information or the means of acquiring it is but a prologue to a farce or a tragedy, or perhaps both.”

James Madison  
[1751-1836]

Righter of Wrongs \_\_\_\_\_

“To the press alone, checkered as it is with abuses, the world is indebted for all the triumphs which have been obtained by reason and humanity over error and oppression.”

James Madison  
[1751-1836]

The Blessings of Freedom \_\_\_\_\_

“Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom must undergo the fatigue of supporting it.”

Thomas Paine  
[1737-1809]

When Reason Is Useless \_\_\_\_\_

“If men are to be precluded from offering their sentiments on a matter, which may involve the most serious and alarming consequences that can invite the consideration of mankind, reason is of no use to us, the freedom of speech may be taken away, and dumb and silent we may be led, like sheep to the slaughter.”

George Washington  
Address to Officers of the Army  
March 15, 1783

Liberty's Shield \_\_\_\_\_

“The loss of liberty in general would soon follow the suppression of the liberty of the press; for it is an essential branch of liberty, so perhaps it is the best preservative of the whole.”

John Peter Zenger  
Colonial printer  
1735

A Global Accounting \_\_\_\_\_

“We have the newspaper which does its best to make every square acre of land and sea give an account of itself at your breakfast table.”

Ralph Waldo Emerson  
1870

The Light That Exposes \_\_\_\_\_

“Not for its own sake alone, but for the sake of society and good government, the press should be free. Publicity is the strong bond which unites the people and their government. Authority should do no act that will not bear the light.”

James A. Garfield  
[1831-1881]

To Make the Country Safe \_\_\_\_\_

“Let the people know the facts, and the country will be safe.”

Abraham Lincoln  
[1809-1865]

A Newspaper's Duty \_\_\_\_\_

“It is a newspaper's duty to print the news, and raise hell.”

Wilbur Storey  
Statement of the aims of the Chicago Times  
1861

Take the Good with the Bad \_\_\_\_\_

“In order to enjoy the inestimable benefits that liberty of the press ensures, it is necessary to submit to the inevitable evils that it causes.”

Alexis de Tocqueville  
French author of “Democracy in America”  
1853

Censorship: Dangerous and Absurd \_\_\_\_\_

“In the countries in which the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people ostensibly prevails, the censorship of the press is not only dangerous, but it is absurd. When the right of every citizen to cooperate in the government of society is acknowledged, every citizen must be presumed to possess the power of discriminating between the different opinions of his contemporaries, and of appreciating the different facts from which inferences may be drawn.”

Alexis de Tocqueville  
French author of “Democracy in America”  
1853

Most Powerful Weapon \_\_\_\_\_

“The most powerful weapon of ignorance – the diffusion of printed matter.”

Leo Tolstoy  
From “War and Peace”  
Written between 1865 and 1869

Fatal to Despotism \_\_\_\_\_

“Given a free press, we may defy open or insidious enemies of liberty. It instructs the public mind and animates the spirit of patriotism. Its loud voice suppresses everything which would raise itself against the public liberty, and its blasting rebuke causes incipient despotism to perish in the bud.”

Daniel Webster

[1782-1852]

An Endless Education \_\_\_\_\_

“Newspapers are the schoolmasters of the common people. That endless book, the newspaper, is our national glory.”

Henry Ward Beecher  
American clergyman  
[1813-1887]

The Ultimate Definition \_\_\_\_\_

“When a dog bites a man that is not news, but when a man bites a dog, that is news.”

John B. Bogart  
City editor of The New York Sun  
from 1873-1890

Wrong Job for Pollyanna \_\_\_\_\_

“A litterateur is not a confectioner, nor a dealer in cosmetics, not an entertainer. ... He is just like an ordinary reporter. What would you say if a newspaper reporter, because of his fastidiousness or from a wish to give pleasure to his readers, were to describe only honest mayors, high-minded ladies and virtuous railroad contractors?”

Anton Chekhov  
Russian novelist and playwright  
[1860-1904]

What to Print? \_\_\_\_\_

“There is a great disposition in some quarters to say that the newspapers ought to limit the amount of news they print; that certain kinds of news ought not to be published. I do not know how that is. I am not prepared to maintain any abstract position on that line; but I have always felt that whatever the divine Providence permitted to occur, I was not too proud to report.”

Charles A. Dana  
Newspaper editor  
[1819-1897]

## News and Non-News \_\_\_\_\_

“NEWS is that which comes from the North, East, West and South, and if it comes from only one point of the compass, then it is a class publication and not news.”

Benjamin Disraeli  
British prime minister  
[1804-1881]

## Liberty of Circulating \_\_\_\_\_

“Liberty of circulating is as essential to that freedom as liberty of publishing; indeed without the circulation, the publication would be of little value.”

Justice Stephen J. Field  
In an 1878 case involving the post office

## Attributes of Citizenship \_\_\_\_\_

“I cannot assent to that view, if it be meant that the legislature may impair or abridge the rights of a free press and of free speech whenever it thinks that the public welfare required that to be done. The public welfare cannot override constitutional privileges, and if the rights of free speech and a free press are, in their essence, attributes of national citizenship, as I think they are, then neither Congress nor any state, since the adoption of the 14<sup>th</sup> amendment, can, by legislative enactments or by judicial action, impair or abridge them.”

Justice John Marshall Harlan  
U.S. Supreme Court  
[1833-1911]

## Why Tolerate Criticism? \_\_\_\_\_

“Why should freedom of speech and freedom of the press be allowed? Why should a government which is doing what it believes to be right allow itself to be criticized? It would not allow opposition by lethal weapons. Ideas are much more fatal things than guns. Why should any man be allowed to buy a printing press and disseminate pernicious opinion calculated to embarrass the government?”

Nikolai Lenin  
1920

Invisible but Inexorable \_\_\_\_\_

“The pressure of public opinion is like the pressure of the atmosphere; you can’t see it – but, all the same, it is sixteen pounds to the square inch.”

James Russell Lowell  
American poet, critic and diplomat  
[1819-1891]

Speech Is Civilization \_\_\_\_\_

“Speech is civilization itself. The word, even the most contradictory word, preserves contact – it is silence which isolates.”

Thomas Mann  
From “The Magic Mountain”  
[1875-1955]

Inseparable Destinies \_\_\_\_\_

“Our Republic and its press will rise or fall together. An able, disinterested, public-spirited press, with trained intelligence to know right and courage to do it, can preserve that public virtue without which popular government is a sham and a mockery.”

Joseph Pulitzer  
Newspaper publisher and editor  
[1847-1911]

Better Overdone Than Underdone \_\_\_\_\_

“If there is one thing we ought to be careful about, it is in regard to interfering with the liberty of the press. ... I think it is a great deal better to err a little bit on the side of having too much discussion and having too virulent language used by the press, rather than to err on the side of having them not say what they ought to say, especially with reference to public men and measures.”

Theodore Roosevelt  
[1858-1919]

No Maybe About It \_\_\_\_\_

“The First Amendment does not speak equivocally. It prohibits any law ‘abridging freedom of speech or of the press.’ It must be taken as a command of the broadest scope that explicit language, read in the context of a liberty-loving society, will allow.”

Justice Hugo L. Black  
U.S. Supreme Court  
1929

A Subject, Not a Citizen \_\_\_\_\_

“If the press is not free, if speech is not independent and untrammelled, if the mind is shackled or made impotent through fear, it makes no difference under what form of government you live, you are a subject and not a citizen.”

U.S. Sen. William E. Borah  
[1865-1940]

A Public Trust \_\_\_\_\_

“The function of the press is very high. It is almost holy. It ought to serve as a forum for the people, through which the people may know freely what is going on. To misstate or suppress the news is a breach of trust.”

Justice Louis D. Brandeis  
U.S. Supreme Court  
[1856-1941]

A Chance to Be Better \_\_\_\_\_

“A free press can of course be good or bad, but most certainly without freedom it will never be anything but bad. ... Freedom is nothing else but a chance to be better, whereas enslavement is a certainty of the worse.”

Albert Camus  
French author  
[1913-1960]

## Guardian of All Freedoms \_\_\_\_\_

“A free press is the unsleeping guardian of every other right that free men prize; it is the most dangerous foe of tyranny. ... Under dictatorship the press is bound to languish, and the loudspeaker and the film to become more important. But where free institutions are indigenous to the soil and men have the habit of liberty, the press will continue to be the Fourth Estate, the vigilant guardian of the rights of the ordinary citizen.”

Winston Churchill  
[1874-1965]

In a less formal observation Churchill once said:

“I am always in favor of the free press but sometimes they say quite nasty things.”

## Perils of Censorship \_\_\_\_\_

“Censorship always defeats its own purpose, for it creates in the end the kind of society that is incapable of exercising real discretion.”

Henry Steele Commanger  
Historian  
1950

## Dual Assignment \_\_\_\_\_

“The job of the newspaper is to comfort the afflicted and afflict the comfortable.”

F.P. Dunne (Mr. Dooley)  
American journalist and humorist  
[1867-1936]

## Balance of Power \_\_\_\_\_

“Without a free press there can be no free society ... Without a lively sense of responsibility a free press may readily become a powerful instrument of injustice.”

Justice Felix Frankfurter  
In *Pennekamp v. Florida*  
U.S. Supreme Court  
1946

Journalists: Uphold the Truth \_\_\_\_\_

“I am a journalist myself and shall appeal to fellow journalists to realize their responsibility and to carry on their work with no idea other than that of upholding the truth.”

Mahatma Gandhi  
[1869-1948]

None of Their Business \_\_\_\_\_

“The organization of our press has truly been a success. Our law concerning the press is such that divergences of opinion between members of the government are no longer an occasion for public exhibitions, which are not the newspapers’ business. We’ve eliminated that conception of political freedom which holds that everybody has the right to say whatever comes into his head.”

Adolf Hitler  
[1889-1945]

Not as a Stepping Stone \_\_\_\_\_

“In college circles, journalism is thought of as a possible stepping stone to literature or political life and not as a career that presents good opportunities in and of itself. If these colleges will encourage young men to look toward journalism, there will be more well-equipped recruits whom we can trust with the task of guiding the king of America – public opinion.”

H.V. Kaltenborn  
Radio commentator and political analyst  
[1878-1965]

No Nation Should Fear the Truth \_\_\_\_\_

“We are not afraid to entrust the American people with unpleasant facts, foreign ideas, alien philosophies, and competitive values. For a nation that is afraid to let its people judge the truth and falsehood in an open market is afraid of its people.”

John F. Kennedy  
[1917-1963]

An Invaluable Abrasive \_\_\_\_\_

“It is never pleasant to read things that are not agreeable news, but I would say that it is an invaluable arm of the Presidency – to check really on what is going on in the administration. And more things come to my attention that cause me concern or give me information. So I would think that ... there is a terrific disadvantage not to have the abrasive quality of the press applied to you daily, to an administration, even though we never like it, and even though we wish they didn't write it, and even though we disapprove, there isn't any doubt that we could not do the job at all in a free society without a very, very active press.”

John F. Kennedy  
[1917-0968]

Equal to Courts and then Some \_\_\_\_\_

“In my opinion, the newspapers are equal to the courts – and sometimes ahead of the courts in our system – in protecting the people's fundamental rights.”

U.S. Sen. Robert F. Kennedy  
[1925-1968]

The Trouble With Nibbling \_\_\_\_\_

“Whenever you start nibbling away at freedom of the press, it's hard to know when to stop. We've got to have a free press, whether it's responsible or not ...”

Bernard Kilgore  
Newspaper publisher  
[1908-1967]

A Multitude of Tongues \_\_\_\_\_

“The First Amendment ... presupposes that right conclusions are more likely to be gathered out of a multitude of tongues, than through any kind of authoritative selection. To many this is, and always will be, folly; but we have staked upon it our all.”

Judge Learned Hand  
American jurist  
[1873-1961]

Pipeline to Government \_\_\_\_\_

“A free press is not a privilege but an organic necessity in a great society. Without criticism and reliable and intelligent reporting, the government cannot govern. For there is no adequate way in which it can keep itself informed about what the people of the country are thinking and doing and wanting.”

Walter Lippmann  
American columnist and author  
[1889-1974]

The Truth Will Emerge \_\_\_\_\_

“The theory of a free press is that the truth will emerge from free reporting and free discussion, not that it will be presented perfectly and instantly in any one account.”

Walter Lippmann  
American columnist and author  
[1889-1974]

The Daily Book \_\_\_\_\_

“For the newspaper is in all literalness the bible of democracy, the book out of which a people determines its conduct. It is the only serious book most people read. It is the only book they read every day.”

Walter Lippmann  
From “Liberty and the News”  
1920

The Newspaper's Functions \_\_\_\_\_

“The newspaper is an institution developed by modern civilization to present the news of the day, to foster commerce and industry through widely circulated advertisements and to furnish that check upon government which no constitution has ever been able to provide.”

Col. Robert M. McCormick  
Newspaper editor and publisher  
[1880-1955]

## The First Freedom \_\_\_\_\_

“It is well to remember that freedom through the press is the thing that comes first. Most of us probably feel we couldn’t be free without newspapers, and that is the real reason we want the newspapers to be free.”

Edward R. Murrow  
American broadcaster and public official  
[1908-1965]

## Privacy vs. Secrecy \_\_\_\_\_

“Never do anything in secret or anything that you would wish to hide. For the desire to hide anything means that you are afraid, and fear is a bad thing and unworthy of you. ... Privacy, of course, we may have and should have, but that is a very different thing from secrecy.”

Jawaharlal Nehru  
Indian statesman  
[1889-1964]

## Cornerstone of Freedom \_\_\_\_\_

“Freedom of conscience, of education, of speech, of assembly are among the very fundamentals of democracy and all of them would be nullified should freedom of the press ever be successfully challenged.”

Franklin D. Roosevelt  
[1882-1945]

## The Fires of Freedom \_\_\_\_\_

“If the fires of freedom and civil liberties burn low in other lands, they must be made brighter in our own. If in other lands the press and books and literature of all kinds are censored, we must redouble our efforts here to keep them free. If in other lands the eternal truths of the past are threatened by intolerance, we must provide a safe place for their perpetuation.”

Franklin D. Roosevelt  
1938

A Mirror in the Ads \_\_\_\_\_

“The newspaper is a microcosm of the national life. This is as much the case in regard to advertisements as to the letter-press. A glance over the advertising columns of a large ... paper shows reflected, as it were in a mirror, the whole of the active life of the people.”

W. Stead Jr.  
Author of “The History of Advertising”  
Date unknown

Why the Press Is Free \_\_\_\_\_

“The publisher is not granted the privilege of independence simply to provide him with a more favored position in the community than is accorded to other citizens. He enjoys an explicitly defined independence because it is the only condition under which he can fulfill his role, which is to inform fully, fairly and comprehensively. The crux is not the publisher’s ‘freedom to print’; it is rather the citizen’s ‘right to know.’ ”

Arthur Hays Sulzberger  
New York Times publisher  
[1891-1968]

Accuracy Equals Fairness \_\_\_\_\_

“The first duty of a newspaper is to be accurate. If it be accurate, it follows that it is fair.”

Herbert Bayard Swope  
Newspaper editor  
Letter to the New York Herald Tribune  
March 16, 1958

Free Debate of Ideas \_\_\_\_\_

“The basis of the First Amendment is the hypothesis that ... free debate of ideas will result in the wisest governmental policies.”

Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson  
U.S. Supreme Court  
1948

Why Rome Fell \_\_\_\_\_

“The cause of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire lay in the fact that there were no newspapers in that day. Because there were no newspapers there was no way by which the dwellers in the far-flung nation and the empire could find out what was going on at the center.”

H. G. Wells  
Historian and author  
[1866-1946]

A Plea for Intelligent Restraint \_\_\_\_\_

“I have witnessed admirable restraint and judgment by journalists. I have been gratified by the readiness of many of you to carefully consider sometimes withholding publication of information which could jeopardize national interests or to treat or present a story in a manner which meets the public need, yet minimizes potential damage to intelligence sources. The trick is to recognize the potential for damage and to consult on how it might be minimized. We are always ready and available on short notice to help on that.”

William J. Casey  
Director of the Central Intelligence Agency  
Speaking to the American Society of Newspaper Editors  
1966

Let the Truth Come Out \_\_\_\_\_

“It is the purpose of the First Amendment to preserve an uninhibited marketplace of ideas in which truth will ultimately prevail ...”

Justice Byron White  
U.S. Supreme Court  
In Red Lion Broadcasting v. Federal Communication Commission  
1969

Inconvenient \_\_\_\_\_

“The First Amendment is often inconvenient. But that is beside the point. Inconvenience does not absolve the government of its obligation to tolerate speech.”

Justice Anthony Kennedy  
U.S. Supreme Court  
[1936- ]

Otherwise, Truth Would Be Suppressed \_\_\_\_\_

“The First Amendment is not so construed as to award merit badges for intrepid but mistaken or careless reporting. Misinformation has not merit in itself; standing alone it is antithetical to the purposes of the First Amendment as the calculated lie; ... The sole basis for protecting publishers who spread false information is that otherwise the truth would too often be suppressed.”

Justice Byron White  
U.S. Supreme Court  
In Ocala Star-Banner Co. v. Damron  
1970

Basic to Democracy \_\_\_\_\_

“Freedom of the press is the staff of life for any vital democracy.”

Wendell Willkie  
American lawyer, utility executive and political leader  
[1892-1944]

Reality, Not Rhetoric \_\_\_\_\_

“I do not believe also in the abolition of free inquiry, or that the ideas represented by ‘freedom of thought,’ ‘freedom of speech,’ ‘freedom of press’ and ‘free assembly’ are just rhetorical myths. I believe rather that they are among the most valuable realities that men have gained, and that if they are destroyed men will again fight to have them.”

Thomas Wolfe  
American author  
[1900-1938]

The Watchdog of Society \_\_\_\_\_

“If you want a watchdog to warn you of intruders, you must put up with a certain amount of mistakened barking. Now and then he will sound off because a stray dog seems to be invading his territory ... or because he is outraged by a postman, and that kind of barking can, of course, be a nuisance.

“But if you muzzle him and leash him and teach him decorum, you will find that he doesn’t do the job for which you got him in the first place. Some extraneous barking is the price you must pay for his service as a watchdog.

“A free press is the watchdog of a free society. And only a press free enough to be somewhat irresponsible can possibly fulfill this vital function.”

Alan Barth  
Columnist  
[1906-1979]

Democracy Tolerates Satire Well \_\_\_\_\_

“Since I write a humor column I have a vested interest in a free press. I don’t seem to have any problem making fun of the President of the United States, the Cabinet, Congress, the CIA and the FBI. I don’t know if our leaders read the column or not, but since I’ve been writing it I have had no visits from anyone in a raincoat telling me I better knock it off.

“The people who attempt to do the same thing I am doing in 95 percent of the world are either in gulags under house arrest or are jobless. For some reason not too many governments can handle satire. My heroes in the world are the men and women in these countries who, knowing the consequences, persist in holding up their leaders to ridicule.

“The problem, if there is a problem in this country, is because we have a free press people have no idea what it’s like to live in a country that doesn’t.”

Art Buchwald  
Columnist  
[1925- ]

A Good Newspaper \_\_\_\_\_

“A good newspaper, I suppose, is a nation talking to itself.”

Arthur Miller  
London Observer  
November 26, 1961

Death of a Newspaper \_\_\_\_\_

“Every time a newspaper dies, even a bad one, the country moves a little closer to authoritarianism; when a great one goes, like the New York Herald Tribune, history itself is denied a devoted witness.”

Richard Kluger  
from “The Paper: The Life and Death of the New York Herald Tribune”  
1986

A Journalistic Virtue \_\_\_\_\_

“Whatever else one may say about the newspaper business, self-examination is one of its virtues. Searching questions about right conduct or wrong conduct are put whenever journalists gather.”

Marquis W. Childs  
Newspaper columnist  
[1903-1990]

Freedom of Press Equals Democracy \_\_\_\_\_

“A democracy ceases to be a democracy if its citizens do not participate in its governance. To participate intelligently, they must know what their government has done, is doing and plans to do in their name. Whenever any hindrance, no matter what its name, is placed in the way of this information, a democracy is weakened, and its future endangered. This is the meaning of freedom of press. It is not just important to democracy, it is democracy.”

Walter Cronkite  
Broadcast journalist  
[1916- ]

Society's Best Hope \_\_\_\_\_

“Even on the day we criticize it most, a free press is a society's best hope to remain free.”

Roy Danish  
Director, Television Information Office  
1984

First Target of Tyranny \_\_\_\_\_

“There are very few friends of a free press in the world. Year by year those countries which enjoy a free press grow fewer in number. Because a free press is the deadliest enemy of tyranny, it is the first target of tyrannical governments everywhere.”

Mark S. Fowler  
Chairman, Federal Communications Commission  
1981

Strong Free Press \_\_\_\_\_

“A strong, free country and a strong, free press are inseparable.”

Jerry W. Friedheim  
American Newspaper Publishers Association  
1976

The Need to Censor \_\_\_\_\_

“When there are no papers, there is no agitation. That is why we imposed censorship.”

Indira Gandhi  
[1917-1984]

On Freedom of the Mind \_\_\_\_\_

“Freedom is always the exception, never the rule. Of all human beings, who have lived on this earth, only a few have lived in freedom. For the anonymous millions living private lives in this country today, the First Amendment, above all else, is the constitutional expression in their behalf of the greatest of all human values: freedom of the mind.”

Philip Kerby  
Editorial writer, Los Angeles Times  
[1911- ]

Worse Than Bad News: No News \_\_\_\_\_

“The one thing that’s worse than hearing about all that violence and all that bad news on television is not being permitted to hear it.”

Charles Kurault  
Broadcast journalist  
[1934-1997]

All in the Family \_\_\_\_\_

“The press is like the peculiar uncle you keep in the attic – just one of those unfortunate things.”

G. Gordon Liddy  
Watergate co-conspirator  
January 12, 1987

On Responsible Journalism \_\_\_\_\_

“The media can, and should, be much better. The media need to care about values. I’ve had some very sharp disagreements with First Amendment absolutists who say that all the media have to do is report; values are somebody else’s business.

“I don’t believe that’s true. And the choice of what we say and how we say it, what we report – we do have an impact, and we need to care what that impact is. Journalists need to be more committed to objectivity and thoroughness and accuracy and fairness. We need to respect other people’s privacy, whether those people are public figures or private figures. ... We need to do these things because they are decent and because they are right and because if we don’t, people are going to reject the very rights that are essential to their own freedoms.

“Media can’t correct all the problems that are faced by families and individuals, but what we can do is bring those problems into the open where they can be discussed, examined and dealt with. That is the media’s job. And I would rather have it done by all those separate voices called the media than by any single voice called government.”

Jean Otto  
Editorial page editor, Rocky Mountain News  
1983

A Clear Choice \_\_\_\_\_

“Given the choice between government regulators and the journalistic judgments of free men and women, we must choose the latter, or we court tyranny.”

U.S. Sen. Robert Packwood  
1984

All and Nothing at All \_\_\_\_\_

“A journalist owes nothing to those who govern his country. He owes everything to his country.”

Vermont Royster  
Newspaper editor  
[1914-1996]

Speaking from Experience \_\_\_\_\_

“As long as a country has no civil liberty and freedom of information and no independent press, then there exists no effective body of public opinion to control the conduct of government.”

Andrei D. Sakharov  
(Written from exile)  
[1921-1989]

Let There Be Light \_\_\_\_\_

“The government is not a fungus and can thrive only in the sunlight.”

U.S. Rep. Patricia Schroeder  
1984

Freedom vs. Right to Privacy \_\_\_\_\_

“If the rash of lawsuits (for libel and invasion of privacy) makes us more careful, more compassionate and more sensitive to people and their needs, they may not be all bad.

“But if they keep us from being aggressive and fulfilling our responsibilities to our readers, to our communities and our country, they will remove one of the major checks in our Constitution’s marvelous set of checks and balances.”

Thomas Schumaker  
Editor and publisher, Transcript-Telegram, Holyoke, Mass.  
1984

The People's Surrogate \_\_\_\_\_

“Every bit as important as improving the credibility of the press is the need to foster greater understanding of the concept of freedom of the press. It is not ... a special privilege granted to those few who own printing presses. Rather, it is a right granted to the people for their protection against the vicissitudes of government and all other sources of power and influence. ... The newsman is but the surrogate for the people in a never-ending search to uncover the truth.”

Stanford Smith  
American Newspaper Publishers Association  
[1919- ]

Character Flaw \_\_\_\_\_

“The fact that a man is a newspaper reporter is evidence of some flaw of character.”

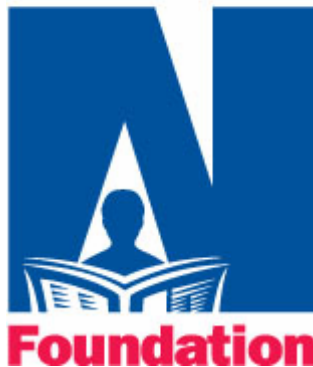
Lyndon B. Johnson  
Quoted in People Magazine, February 2, 1987

Nothing to Read \_\_\_\_\_

“I’ve never canceled a subscription to a newspaper because of bad cartoons or editorials. If that were the case, I wouldn’t have any newspapers or magazines to read.”

Richard M. Nixon  
On NBC Television, April 8, 1984

# **Newspaper Association of America**



## About the NAA Foundation

The Foundation, established as ANPA Foundation in 1961 by the Board of Directors of what was then called the American Newspaper Publishers Association, derives its revenues from an endowment fund. The Foundation is a 501 ( C ) ( 3 ) charitable organization; as such, all contributions for the Foundation are tax deductible. In 1992 the Foundation officially adopted its current name: The Newspaper Association of America Foundation.

The Newspaper Association of America Foundation was established to advance informed and intelligent media use by all citizens, especially young people; and to encourage them to value the people's right to know and their right to a free and unfettered press.

## Mission Statement

NAA Foundation is dedicated to developing tomorrow's readers by encouraging them to acquire and value information from newspapers and other media.

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