

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Monday, February 23, 1970

The House met at 12 o'clock noon. The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

*The ways of the Lord are right and the just shall walk in them.*—Hosea 14: 9.

O Thou God of all goodness and of all grace; we assemble here in this historic Chamber to call to mind once again the birthday of our first President, whom we acknowledge to be the Father of our Country.

We recall with pride his willingness to adventure, his courage amid difficulties, and his devotion to the high principles of righteousness and justice which led him to champion the cause of freedom in our land.

Above all we thank Thee for his faith—the faith which time and again sent him to his knees in prayer seeking guidance and strength and wisdom that he might keep in step with Thee.

May the memory of this great spirit spur us to greater efforts in the adventure of bringing peace, freedom, and justice to this troubled world.

In the Master's name we pray. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, February 19, 1970, was read and approved.

### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 12535. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Army to release certain restrictions on a tract of land heretofore conveyed to the State of Texas in order that such land may be used for the City of El Paso North-South Freeway.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested, bills of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 514. An act to extend programs of assistance for elementary and secondary education, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 11651. An act to amend the National School Lunch Act, as amended, to provide funds and authorities to the Department of Agriculture for the purpose of providing free or reduced-price meals to needy children not now being reached.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendment to the bill (H.R. 11651) entitled "An act to amend the National School Lunch Act, as amended, to provide funds and authorities to the Department of Agriculture for the purpose of providing free or reduced-price meals to needy children not now being reached," requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. ELLENDER, Mr. HOLLAND, Mr. TALMADGE, Mr. AIKEN, and Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 2) entitled "An act to amend the Federal Credit Union Act so as to provide for an independent Federal agency for the supervision of federally chartered credit unions, and for other purposes."

### GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, without it being considered a precedent, I ask unanimous consent that all Members who desire to do so may have permission today to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material in the RECORD following the reading of George Washington's Farewell Address and also in that portion of the RECORD entitled "Extensions of Remarks."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

### GEORGE WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the order of the House of February 10, 1970, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. ANNUNZIO) to read George Washington's Farewell Address.

Mr. ANNUNZIO read the Farewell Address, as follows:

*To the people of the United States.*

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS: The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently

with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience, in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and, every day, the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is to terminate the career of my political life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging—in situations in which not unfrequently, want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism,—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans, by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its

beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete by so careful a preservation, and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence; the support of your tranquility at home; your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But, as it is easy to foresee that, from different causes and from different quarters much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed; it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth, or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which

belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess, are the work of joint counsels, and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest.—Here, every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The *north*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *south*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry.—The *south*, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the same agency of the *north*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *north*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The *east*, in a like intercourse with the *west*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The *west* derives from the *east* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort—and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions, to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as *one nation*. Any other tenure by which the *west* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength; or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greatly security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union, an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalry alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter.—Hence likewise, they will

avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who, in any quarter, may endeavor to weaken its hands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by *geographical discriminations*,—*northern* and *southern*—*Atlantic* and *western*; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations: they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head: they have seen, in the negotiation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the senate of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at the event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government and in the Atlantic states, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi. They have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such they are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an ade-

quate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances, in all times, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government, better calculated than your former, for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government.—But the constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberations and actions of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency.—They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular opposition to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretext. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system; and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be in-

vited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions:—that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country:—that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion: and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular references to the founding them on geographical discrimination. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind.—It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism.—But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purpose of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foment occasional riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which finds a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free

countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent it bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power and proneness to abuse it which predominate in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions of the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern: some of them in our country and under our own eyes.—To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates.—But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation *desert* the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? and let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on

minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect, that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering, also, that timely disbursements, to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions, in time of peace, to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinions should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper object (which is always a choice of difficulties), ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct, and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt but, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it; can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachment for others, should be excluded;

and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence, frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty of nations, has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest; in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducements or justifications. It leads also to concessions, to the favorite nation, of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessary parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted or deluded citizens who devote themselves to the favorite nation, facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base of foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils!—Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, (I conjure you to believe me fellow citizens,) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be im-

partial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike for another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith:—Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence, she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period in not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation, when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliance with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, and a liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or pref-

ences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations, but if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have, at least, believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both houses of congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound, in duty and interest, to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the

belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength, and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors and dangers.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES,

17th September, 1796.

#### TOUGHER ENFORCEMENT OF POLLUTION CONTROLS

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, present laws dealing with water polluters have no teeth. Enforcement procedures are cumbersome and imprecise.

Moreover, in many cases, there are no specific provisions for fines, although presumably a judge could impose them.

One of President Nixon's major proposals would put teeth in the enforcement power of the Department of the Interior.

In that connection, he is seeking jurisdiction over boundary and ground waters of the United States affected by pollution in the contiguous zone which extends 9 miles beyond the 3-mile limit, and the high seas where they are contaminated by U.S. discharges.

The President has also proposed that the States establish new water quality standards based on discharge requirements. This change would make it possible to allocate wastes according to the

capacity of the stream or lake to receive them without pollution.

One of the primary objectives of the enforcement approach is to establish new tools to move against polluters, and to shorten the time lapse between a conference and the time when it may be necessary to take an individual polluter to court.

At present, it takes up to 18 months, and sometimes longer, to move through all the procedures necessary to bring a polluter to court.

The President's proposal would eliminate the hearing stage, and go directly from an enforcement conference to the courts. Courts would be empowered to impose fines up to \$10,000 a day for every day of noncompliance with the water quality standards.

In addition, the President proposes injunctive relief under authority to be given to the Secretary of the Interior in those emergencies where there is imminent danger to the public health, or to the aquatic environment.

Mr. Speaker, there is no doubt that the President's new enforcement proposals can lead to broader and more decisive action against polluters.

#### AFTER 101 YEARS, POLITICS OVERTAKES CALIFORNIA REGENTS

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, I rise regretfully, and in some embarrassment, to tender an apology to a former colleague in this body—an apology on behalf of many fellow Californians.

Last week, our State university board of regents voted to deny an honorary degree to New York's Mayor John Lindsay. More specifically, the motion to make such an award failed to muster the required two-thirds vote among board members.

The circumstances seemed strange indeed. As the scheduled speaker for Charter Day ceremonies on the Berkeley campus April 2, the mayor could have expected an almost routine award. For honorary degrees have been offered every Charter Day orator for the past 101 years. Recipients over the past decade have ranged from John F. Kennedy in 1962 to Roy Wilkins, president of the NAACP, in the university's centennial year, 1968.

The board of regents, an august and impressive body of leading Californians who are appointed to 16-year terms, could normally be expected to put tradition and decorum ahead of political or ideological concerns. But these apparently are not normal times. Many of the newer regents, including those whose statewide partisan office makes them ex officio members of the board, seem more responsive to the shifting winds of politics than to the winds of social change.

In giving Mayor Lindsay this gratuitous insult, the 11 regents who voted to withhold a degree have in no way damaged the mayor. Mr. Lindsay might even find his public image has been helped by this dazzling display of smallmindedness.

But I am afraid it leaves our California regents, whose duty is to preside over one of the world's truly great public edu-

cational systems, looking more like the members of a precinct-level political club.

I shall include a short newsstory from yesterday's Washington Star, relating the regents' action:

**CALIFORNIA BOARD DENIES DEGREE TO  
MAYOR LINDSAY**

SAN FRANCISCO (AP)—California Lt. Gov. Ed Reinecke acknowledged he has known New York Mayor John Lindsay for a long time, but, he asked, "what has he done so special to get a degree" from the University of California?

Reinecke's offhand question Friday was echoed by Gov. Ronald Reagan and 20 minutes later UC regents voted against giving Lindsay the customary honorary degree that for 101 years has been a gift to Charter Day speakers.

The written, secret vote was 11 to 11, with two abstentions, it was learned yesterday. Sixteen votes were required to confer the degree.

Reagan and Reinecke, by virtue of their offices, are members of the 24-member board, which considered the matter in executive session.

**THE VIEW FROM GEORGE WASHINGTON'S HOME, MOUNT VERNON;  
ANOTHER YEAR PASSES WITH-  
OUT FINAL PRESERVATION**

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, with the celebration of George Washington's birthday, I must again call the attention of Congress to the failure of the Federal Government to carry out the will of the Congress to preserve the view from Mount Vernon.

George Washington lived at Mount Vernon. He prized the view as one of the Nation's great treasures.

In 1961, the Congress, by unanimous action, authorized stabilization of the open and wooded character of the Maryland shore immediately opposite Mount Vernon. Many Members of the Congress had worked together to make this possible. It was my great privilege to join the gentleman from Colorado, Chairman WAYNE ASPINALL, and the Senior Senator from New Mexico CLINTON ANDERSON, in introducing the bills authorizing the Piscataway National Park which came into being in October 1961.

One of our fellow Members here, the Honorable Frances P. Bolton, was inspired to purchase, with her private funds, more than 400 acres of land in the area. This land was conveyed as a gift to the Federal Government. Owners of over 170 other parcels of land donated scenic easements on their land to the Federal Government. These lands and easements constitute the substantial majority of all the lands needed to accomplish the purpose of the congressional authorization.

Many of us and many conservationists and preservationists throughout the country assumed the goal had been achieved on February 22, 1968, 2 years ago, when the Secretary of the Interior declared the park "substantially complete."

This brave statement was a legal necessity to validate the gift of land and easements already made.

But "substantial completion" is not

enough. There remain about 100 acres along the waterfront and some 1,200 acres on the slopes behind not under scenic control.

The danger is immediate. For example, one landowner has requested the local authorities to allow him to rezone over 100 acres of land designated as park land, from rural residential to commercial. While final action has not been taken as of this Washington's Birthday, it has been approved and recommended by the land zoning agency.

It is difficult to reconcile this dreary episode with all the brave talk in high places about conservation and historic preservation. Here is a setting which combines great scenic beauty with unique historical associations, on the threshold of the Nation's Capital, on the banks of the river which was to have been made a model for the Nation. As Dr. Spencer Smith of the Citizens Committee on Natural Resources has asked:

If we can't win this one, what can we win?

In a few short years the Nation will observe the 200th anniversary of its founding. Mount Vernon, even now a mecca for over a million and a quarter pilgrims each year, will be highlighted as a principal surviving landmark of the Revolution, unsurpassed in the aesthetic qualities of its structures, its gardens, and its setting. Is this unspoiled setting, until the present moment so providentially preserved, to be heedlessly and needlessly sacrificed on the eve of the bicentennial? When the President fails to ask for funds for land acquisition and the Congress does not correct this omission, are we to mutely acquiesce? If so, we may well deserve a subdivision, a neon-lighted hotdog heaven, or a sewage plant in front of George Washington's home.

So much has been done by private individuals, by foundations, by the local governments involved, by the State governments involved, and by the Congress, that the failure to take those last few steps to complete this project is shocking.

It appears that some prodding is needed from the administration that has pledged itself to natural beauty and cleaning up the Potomac. The Department of the Interior and the administration can hardly recommend that we pass bills to create a park all up and down the Potomac, if it cannot find the time to complete this project which has passed the Congress two times already without a dissenting vote.

Washington's birthday is a fitting time for us to consider our obligations and to move forward quickly.

**THE DRUG PROBLEM**

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, Saturday's Washington Post carried a most informative feature article by Ben W. Gilbert, and an editorial on the drug treatment program run by Col. Hassan Jeru-Ahmed, head of the Black Man's Development Center in Washington. Last week, I visited one of Colonel Hassan's centers and talked with him about his program, as part of my continuing in-

vestigation of facilities and methods of dealing with the problem of drugs and drug addiction in this country. In the past, I have visited the Phoenix Drug Control Program in New York City, with Mayor Lindsay; the drug treatment facility for women in Alderson, W. Va.; Washington's DATRC program; and the Department of Corrections' pilot methadone project established here last fall.

Colonel Hassan's program as it presently operates has a number of serious weaknesses, but it has some unique assets, too. Because of a lack of funds, there are inadequate medical screening procedures for determining whether applicants for treatment are heavily addicted to heroin when they apply for methadone treatment. There is no monitoring of the progress of addicts through urinalysis which indicates whether an addict has resumed taking heroin, and there is no follow-up procedure to determine whether the graduates of Colonel Hassan's rapid detoxification program remain off heroin, after they are taken off methadone.

However, Colonel Hassan's centers have had unusual success in attracting addicts into a drug treatment program. In addition, the members of his staff, many of whom are ex-addicts, appear able to establish a relationship with addicts in treatment that facilitates the counseling and rehabilitation work needed to deal with the underlying personal problems that lead to addiction. This rapport with the addicts, and the roots of Colonel Hassan's centers in the community are great assets.

I am hopeful that the city's new Heroin Addiction Treatment Agency will explore possible ways to reduce the liabilities of Colonel Hassan's program and to maximize its assets so that its effectiveness may be continued and increased.

The article and the editorial follow:

**THE DRUG PROGRAM OF COLONEL HASSAN**

(By Ben W. Gilbert)

The drug called methadone is an inexpensive heroin substitute developed during World War II. Until recently it was relatively unknown outside medical and pharmacological circles. Now it has become a symbol of the effort to do something about narcotics addiction, which is blamed for at least half of the city's crime. The public is impatient to get on with the use of methadone, partly out of sympathy for the unfortunate addict who is "hooked," but mainly to reduce the volume of drug-related crime.

And because of this impatience, the public is understandably puzzled by the arm's length attitude of law enforcement authorities toward Col. Hassan Jeru-Ahmed, head of the Black Man's Development Center. Colonel Hassan wants to continue with his methadone program, which has been treating hundreds of addicts (he claims 1,500). The government threatens to close the program down. And a lot of people are asking why. Isn't it doing some good? Even if it does not qualify in every detail shouldn't it be helped? What will happen to the addicts who trust Colonel Hassan—but do not trust the government?

A part of the answer to all these questions is the strong feeling on the part of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs that there are substantial risks in the administration of methadone to heroin addicts and that this justifies retaining tight controls on its distribution and use. But this is not a complete answer because it does

not take into account Colonel Hassan's undoubted ability to attract addicts to his program. This is a not inconsiderable asset which argues for an effort to find a way to salvage the program out of humanitarian considerations and in the interest of combating drug-related crime.

Colonel Hassan's center is one of several dozen private and public methadone treatment programs around the nation which supply methadone to heroin addicts as a means of ending their dependence on the illicit drug which may cost an addict as much as \$50 a day. (Comparable doses of methadone cost only a few pennies.) Although methadone is accepted for use as a pain-killer, its use in narcotic treatment programs is considered experimental and it is officially listed as a dangerous narcotic—there have been deaths from overdoses. There have been published figures suggesting that many addicts on methadone abandon a life of crime and become employable. But there is little data available about the long-term effects of methadone usage on the heart, liver, brain and other bodily organs. Such risks of physical harm to the addict who probably has been heavily damaged by heroin may, in a certain sense, be less important than the risk that worries the Bureau of Narcotics of substituting one narcotic addiction for another or of having methadone supplies leak out of control and become a supplement to the illicit supply of heroin.

Methadone is as addictive as heroin and when it is administered by hypodermic into the veins it gives the addict a heroin kick or "high." The federal bureau believes that the substitution of methadone for heroin without medical supervision and without a program of rehabilitation will do little for the addict and probably won't make more than a temporary dent in the crime rate either. Guidelines now being prepared by the bureau for issuance next month are designed to make sure that the methadone programs are something more than a method to dispense low-cost narcotics over the counter. Their complaint with Colonel Hassan is that he lacks the professional staff and records to show that he is doing more than that.

Typically, methadone programs such as the one now under way at the Department of Corrections involve shifting the addict from heroin to methadone and building up his dependence on methadone taken by mouth until a sufficiently high dosage level is reached to create a "blockade" which takes away the impact of heroin. Then counselling, psychotherapy, group therapy, vocational rehabilitation, and remedial education are brought into play to help the addict cope with the problems which made him an addict in the first place. An ultimate long-term objective is to remove the addict from methadone and end his addiction. None of the programs have achieved this goal on a significant scale.

In dealing with the heroin problem, it is important to understand something about the psychology of the addict. Typically, he is described as a "now" oriented person, likely to be dependent, impulsive and immature with a low tolerance for frustration. Given a constant dosage level of either heroin or methadone (thereby avoiding the withdrawal problem), he can function and lead a nearly normal life, a fact which permits the Corrections Department to use its halfway houses for methadone therapy. While on drugs, the addict is usually quite docile; it is only when he is without drugs that he is apt to be a danger to the community.

In contrast to the Corrections' program, which is one of methadone maintenance, Colonel Hassan's program is a withdrawal or detoxification program. Addicts who come to his three stations get rapidly declining doses of methadone to end their dependence within three weeks. The government experts

say that it is comparatively easy to get the addict off heroin in this manner, but the hard part is keeping him off very long; they argue that very few addicts ever make it. Colonel Hassan disputes this, insisting that the former addicts who assist in his program have more success than government-salaried counselors. He has no data to back up his claim.

In drawing up the proposed regulations which could put Colonel Hassan out of business permanently, the Bureau of Narcotics in consultation with other government agencies is dealing with these problems:

**Security**—Supplies of methadone may get into illicit channels to be used by individual addicts or mixed with heroin at high prices. Colonel Hassan has members of his Black Liberation Army guarding his bulk supplies but he prefers to give out pills rather than the orange juice concoction the government wants him to use.

**Supervision**—Without medical examinations at the outset, low-grade addicts or even non-addicts may enroll in the program to get the drug. To provide for professional supervision, the proposed guidelines would require that a nurse or a doctor be on hand to give out the individual doses, something that Colonel Hassan is not now doing.

**Monitoring**—The Bureau wants assurance that the methadone patient is really off heroin, which can be determined with periodic urine examinations. Colonel Hassan is willing to do this, but lacks the resources.

**Rehabilitation**—Methadone cannot legally be used merely to tide an addict over a difficult period. There must be an accompanying rehabilitation program. The adequacy of Hassan's program has been questioned in the absence of detailed records.

**Research**—What happens to the methadone patient ultimately? Does he revert to a life of addiction and crime or does he become a useful citizen? There has been very little follow-up research of this kind outside of New York City, but the government is now going to insist on it.

The government proposes to give Colonel Hassan a "reasonable" amount of time to alter his program so that he can comply with the new rules and there have been some promises of government agency help in meeting them. This must be done without jeopardizing his main asset—the confidence of those addicts who are not ready to embrace a government-sponsored program for fear that this will entangle them with the law.

#### A HELPING HAND FOR COLONEL HASSAN?

The great asset of Colonel Hassan's methadone treatment program which is the subject of an article elsewhere on this page today, is that he can reach heroin addicts who might be unwilling to report regularly to a city agency. The liabilities are his difficulty in meeting proposed new federal regulations to control methadone, an addictive synthetic heroin substitute, and a shortage of funds. There are chicken and egg aspects to this. To conform to the proposed regulations designed to keep the drug out of illicit channels, Colonel Hassan who is scrounging for funds to keep going, will need a great deal more money. But until Colonel Hassan improves his program, he is unlikely to get much more help from the foundations that have been providing him with funds.

The new Heroin Addiction Treatment Agency just set up by the city government under Dr. Robert L. DuPont Jr., may hold the key to the future of Colonel Hassan's program. Dr. DuPont's assignment is to "direct a full-scale counter attack on the heroin epidemic existing in the District." His job is to coordinate all existing programs, public and private and help expand them. Obviously, the easiest way to get to those addicts who trust Colonel Hassan is through Colonel Hassan. One answer, assuming that the Has-

san effort can be made to conform to legal requirements, would be for the city to contract out parts of its program to Colonel Hassan.

#### THE INSPIRATION OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

Mr. PETTIS. Mr. Speaker, a new inspiration may be found on this, the 238th anniversary of George Washington's birthday.

As we move forward to meet the challenges of our time, we can find renewed strength to master them in the principles and ideals fostered by our first President, indeed our greatest American.

In a day when there is, unhappily, considerable endeavor to find fault with the Nation's heroes, it is so refreshing to see individuals take the time and effort to laud America's finest hero. I refer to the editorial notice which the Ralph Brown Buick Co., placed in the February 18 edition of the Washington Post, the text of which I would like to include here in the RECORD:

1732—GEORGE WASHINGTON—1970—WE NEED YOU

Up to a half century ago everyone knew who George Washington was. Parson Weems and the cherry tree episode helped instill honesty in our little noggins, and love of country was the guiding principle taught at home and in school. The picture of Washington praying at Valley Forge was proof that no law prohibited worship in school either. We thanked God in our own way and followed the precepts of the great man whose picture adorned every class room. That was a long long time ago.

The other day we asked a group of youngsters about Washington and one lad wanted to know what channel he was on. But to a youngster in Indiana fifty years ago, Washington was the nation's original hero, boy and man, who carved his way from cherry tree to first president. He fought his way through the British, crossed the Delaware, starved through the terrible winter at Valley Forge and won the war at Yorktown.

This was the simple faith of all Americans in the bygone days and these simple faiths sustained us and guided us because George Washington was real, America was real. We knew who we were and where we were going. A look at what has been accomplished by Americans in such a short span of years proves that we got there—further and faster and better than any country in the history of civilization making our citizens the most envied people in the world.

When we look at some of the confusion surrounding much of the atmosphere these days, we yearn for recall of the notions that grew up around the memory of Washington. They are not as corny as a lot of agitators would have us believe. The self appointed sophisticates never had to face the scourge of Valley Forge nor cross an ice-bound Delaware. They accept Liberty as a right while assuming no responsibility for duty.

It is difficult to match Washington's greatness against today's standards; he might even be different in viewpoint, but as a man, he would have been the same; the same man of destiny he proved to be in 1776 when we faced our most crucial period. Then, one man stood tall to lead us out of the wilderness of despair. No man, before or since, has ever come nearer meeting and conquering the challenge of such a crisis than did George Washington.

Rightly have we called him our greatest American. The principles and ideals for which he stood, the battered and torn by enemies foreign and domestic, have survived and are the envy of the world. The keystone

of our government and its ethical standards are as sound today as when he established them two hundred years ago.

We might dust off the Gilbert Stuart portrait of Washington and put it back on every classroom wall to remind us of our great heritage and help prepare today's youth to combat the enemies of America who keep whittling away at the foundations of this greatest heritage we are privileged to call home.

Indeed, George Washington, we need you.  
RALPH H. BROWN.

#### WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY WILL ALWAYS BE A MONDAY HOLIDAY

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, Americans have been celebrating the birth date of our first President, George Washington, for almost 200 years. As Members of this body know, beginning in 1971 we will celebrate the occasion on the third Monday in February, rather than on February 22. The change occurs because the Monday holiday law, which I sponsored in the 90th Congress, and which was signed into law by President Johnson on June 28, 1968, becomes effective in 1971. This popular legislation received the active support of both management and labor. Among the principal organizations who worked with me in behalf of this measure were the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, and the Discover America Travel Organization, the travel industry's trade association.

We celebrate President Washington's birth date today, February 23, on a Monday, and for many Americans it will make a pleasant 3-day weekend. The Monday holiday law, which takes effect next January, will create four additional 3-day weekends throughout the year so that Americans can make better use of their leisure time. In addition to Washington's Birthday, Memorial Day will be observed on the last Monday in May, Columbus Day on the second Monday in October, and Veterans Day on the fourth Monday in October.

Some will again, no doubt, criticize the celebration of President Washington's birth date on a date other than February 22. However, it is interesting to note that George Washington was born on February 11, 1731, according to the Julian calendar which was then in effect. In the year 1750 the British Parliament adopted the Gregorian calendar which had been established many years earlier by Pope Gregory XIII.

This change placed the existing calendar out of line by 11 days. Beginning in 1752, most persons in Great Britain and her colonies advanced their birth dates to correspond to the new calendar. However, it appears that it took some years for the Gregorian calendar to have general effect. The first recorded public celebration of Washington's birthday took place not on February 22, but on February 12, when in 1781 Comte de Rochambeau, commander of the French forces aiding the revolutionists, declared a holiday for his troops in honor of the anniversary of Washington's birth. The Comte de Rochambeau was obviously using the old calendar, but since February 11 fell on a Sunday, he and his

troops celebrated Washington's birthday on Monday, February 12.

The next year citizens in Richmond, Va., celebrated the birth date on February 11. According to Douglas' American Book of Dates, the observance of February 22 did not become general until 1796.

Mr. Speaker, George Washington was a great American, and his birthday will continue to be respected and commemorated in this country through the years. Beginning in 1971, however, most Americans will be able to look forward to the occasion with the expectation of an extended weekend with their families at home, or elsewhere in our great country.

A most informative editorial which takes account of various historical data appeared in the Waukegan News-Sun edition of Saturday, February 21, 1970. This message has particular significance to us here today, and is reproduced as follows:

#### IS TOMORROW WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY?

This year is the last that February 22 will be observed as Washington's Birthday. Federal legislation passed in 1969 and since copied by almost all the States says that beginning in 1971 the "third Monday in February shall be a "legal public holiday" in honor of the first president.

(Actually, the holiday falls on the third Monday this year, too, since the 22nd is a Sunday. But that is merely a quirk of the calendar.)

The great man would not mind this juggling with his birthday. The fact is that he was not quite sure himself when he should celebrate it.

Contrary to what every schoolboy knows, George Washington was not born on Feb. 22, 1732, but Feb. 11, 1731. You can blame it all on Julius Caesar, or rather S—genes the Greek, who devised the Julian calendar at Caesar's direction in 46 B.C.

The trouble was that the Julian year was about 11 minutes longer than the solar year. A modest error, perhaps, but by the time of Pope Gregory XIII in 1582, the date of the vernal equinox—the first day of spring—was out of kilter by 10 days.

The Pope ordained, as Popes could do in those days, that Oct. 5, 1582, would be Oct. 15, and made further refinements in the calendar to keep this sort of thing from happening again.

Great Britain and her colonies, however, resisted this "Papish" innovation. When they finally did get around to admitting, in the middle of the 18th century, that the Gregorian calendar made sense, their year was 11 days out of line.

Parliament changed it all in two fell strokes. First, New Year's Day, 1752, was moved from the medieval date of March 25 to Jan. 1, in effect abolishing the last 83 days of 1751.

The result was that Washington, who was 19 in 1750 (old style), had no birthday at all in 1751 but became 20 on Feb. 11, 1752 (new style).

Confused? Read on.

Parliament still had to get rid of those 11 extra days. So it arbitrarily decided that the day after Sept. 2, 1752, would be Sept. 14. Thus the following February, in 1753, Washington celebrated his 21st birthday not on the 11th but on the 22nd, as every schoolboy knows he should have.

The important thing, of course, is that Washington was ever born at all. Feb. 11, 1731, or Feb. 22, 1732, the third Monday or whenever—he remains first in the hearts of his countrymen through every succeeding generation.

#### PARAPSYCHOLOGY, ENERGY, AND YOUR LIFE: PART IV

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, today I am inserting into the Record the fourth in a series of lectures by Irving Laucks of Santa Barbara, Calif.

#### PARAPSYCHOLOGY, ENERGY, AND YOUR LIFE—IV (By Irving Laucks)

##### ENERGY AND EVOLUTION: LEADERSHIP IN A UNIVERSAL SOCIETY

In previous talks I have tried to show first, the process of Evolution as the creator of the Universe and the fashioner of the myriad forms both living and lifeless contained therein. If this process commenced *infinitely* long ago there will have been abundant time for such variety to have been developed—including a Leader of the Universe so experienced that to the late-comer man, he appears all wise and all powerful, as Deity.

Second: that this universal process of evolution is due to some inherent property of the basic essence of which the whole of the Universe consists—Energy. I have tried to show that a proper appreciation of the powers of this basic energy would be of great practical value in solving most of the problems confronting Earthman and setting him on a proper development track, by substituting cooperation for competition.

Third: that the variety of energy called psychic is most important for the future of man, both in his further evolution on Earth and in a third nonmaterial realm of this great process of evolution.

It is remarkable that of all the varieties of energy studied since Newton's time, psychic has had the least attention; and yet, from the cave-man who contrived a sling to Einstein's relativity, its invention has been of greatest importance in man's progress. "There is nothing," as Shakespeare said, "either good or bad but thinking makes it so." "Thinking" is the work that is the most important function of psychic energy—to man at least. Science's definition of energy, it will be remembered, is the ability or power to work. Many philosophers have pronounced mind the noblest work of Nature.

After all this lip-service, it seems then rather ridiculous to say that a great process like Evolution, springing out of the essence of the Universe, stops its action after it had evolved the tiny intellect of Earthman. If all intellects reached the same level, say to that of Einstein, it might be argued that this was the limit. But when so many lesser grades are apparent it would seem more likely that certainly the lower and most likely the upper ones were still in process.

He who argues that death is the end must deny that intellect is an energy, even though it conforms to his own definition of energy as well as that of science; for science says energy is indestructible; and science has never found any other form to which the psychic energy of the intellect could transform at death.

By its own principles then, science must be driven to say that the intellect passes on to another realm at death. Why some material scientists resist so strenuously this thought is a mystery, especially since man has believed since pre-history that his soul—which is surely some portion of his intellect—is indestructible (even in the fires of hell).

What more practical principle for leaders of society to use to keep order among their followers! It was made to order for their use by half a million years of man's experience. Possibly the prophets went a little too far with the idea of hell-fire, and their ideas of heaven were too simple. But considering all the immediate temptations of digressive by-paths it worked pretty well until scientific



technology presented society with so many interesting novelties that men were distracted from the real path of progress into the many side-shows of modern times. Such a jumble of side-shows has sprung up that the real path of evolution is obstructed and man is in danger of being lost.

But these leaders also had to contend with natural security. A leader who could not provide ample sustenance for his followers soon lost his job. His task was complicated—he had to keep internal order and peace while warring with the tribe in the next valley. Nevertheless he succeeded after a fashion until now when his weapons of war have become so terrible that their use will destroy both tribes. This presents a pretty puzzle for leaders. It seems they have blundered into a cul-de-sac.

But worse was to come. Not only under these conditions are they at a loss to know how to continue the fight with the tribe in the next valley, but science has now reached a point from which the end of scarcity can be seen, which eliminates the reason for fighting. What's the need, then, of tribes fighting? What's the need then of leaders—maybe the leader now fears.

With such an impasse it behooves a leader to do some tall thinking. Maybe he'll have to start away back at the beginning on a new tack. This is what the Cooperators say. The Cooperators is the name of a new organization instigated by me which hopes to achieve its goals by changing human nature; a change in human nature such as would be effected by a new view of man's relation to the Universe in which he finds himself—starting perhaps with a new concept of the Universe itself and Universe Society. So far, however, most of our leaders seem to be intent on preserving the old pictures in all their ancient harmful details.

Perhaps we do not need to make a complete change. Suppose we retained the ancient idea of heaven with suitable modifications required by several thousand years further experience with this Universe, with the aid of modern scientific tools. Suppose we merely changed our ideas of deadly competition—of dog eat dog, of devil take the hindmost—and spent the effort we have been wasting in war and useless gadgets to hasten instead the day when scarcity will actually be no more. The leaders would then be kept busy hastening the day. You shudder perhaps to think of all the details of our economic systems that would be entailed. But save your shudders rather for the chaos that is steadily building up unless some real remedy is commenced. The Cooperators believe that these numerous details will be gradually worked out if the main root cause of our troubles is eradicated, once the necessity for competition is ended by cheap energy as previously mentioned.

What is meant by changing our ideas of heaven? The slaves of Rome were attracted by a prospect of loafing all day in a beautiful community. But this prospect hardly attracts the modern. Besides such a heaven was constructed by the then scanty population of the Earth or even of a small fraction thereof. But today we cannot possibly conceive of the Earth as the only intellectual community in this vast Universe, whose boundaries are being shoved out by every increase in telescope power.

Since the soul or intellect is a structure of energy let us construct our new heaven out of energy; just as our material bodies exist in a realm of matter, so our energetic intellects continue on in a realm of medium of energy. The associative and change properties of energy that we have seen provides for continued evolution which in turn insures a most interesting time for all concerned. Doubtless the instinct of curiosity which children display before they are too thoroughly materially educated will therein have full play.

If we then imagine a Leader of such a heavenly society—composed of intellects gathered from all the many habitations of the Universe supportive of life—we must think of this Leader as active and inspiring—certainly not content to sit passive on a throne receiving the adulation and praise of a select congregation—but ever planning new possibilities for a society that contains all grades from his own down to the newest member—maybe Earthman. There is no stopping the combination Energy plus Evolution.

Such a concept of the Leader of the Universe of course, requires that He be a product of the earliest stages of universal evolution. Let us imagine the very first habitable planet evolved out of energy infinitely long ago. It may have been somewhat like Earth. After the First Evolution, the Second began and finally developed intellectual creatures thereon who, in turn, commenced to graduate into the Third Evolution—in the realm of Energy. This, then, is the start of our modern concept of heaven and its Leader. The first intellects therein have had an infinite time to develop.

Think of the progress man's intellect has made in the last millennium. Then think of what he may make in ten millenniums, or a million years—if he isn't foolish enough to destroy himself meanwhile. Now think of a million million and then some—that's infinity. These first intellects will have made some progress—sufficient so that the poor weak minds like the newcomer Earthman can surely conceive of them as all-wise, all-powerful—with all the attributes of Deity that theologians have prescribed. I speak of "them" as plural. I believe the intellects of this first planet may very likely have developed together, have cooperated to share in the governing responsibilities of the Universe. It would also be characteristic of societal organization to conceive of assistants to the Chief, responsible for various "districts"—not of space but of degrees of development perhaps. Such assistants may come from other later planets than the first—maybe even some from Earth.

Such a concept is more in accord with man's instinctual experience of a society. It answers the age-old questions—where did God come from? Who created God? etc. It answers the question why did God make evil? which has so much troubled theologians. Evolution produces both good and bad, strong and weak. "Nature" and evolution operate to eliminate the weak or the bad, but not immediately. It takes time—so evil is always present with us. A Chief of the Universe might use some of his time in the destruction of evil. Moreover every citizen of the Universe can help. This kind of organization of Universe Society is quite in conformity with man's ideas of how societies are formed and doubtless of other societies in other planets, all of which may have derived from the same sort of evolutionary procedure—a product of the primary associative principle of primeval Energy. Man's "unconscious" contains much that his conscious is still hardly aware of.

A leadership thus formed by the great process of Evolution seems to me much easier to comprehend, and withal to be much more likely to be an empathetic sympathetic leader, understanding man's trials and tribulations, his idiosyncracies and mistakes, his damfoolishness. I would much rather come before 'Him' for judgment than an all-powerful being who had never risen from the ranks, who had never had the experience that living beings have had in their rise from bacteria and protozoans. The latter is the Creator that most religions have asked humans to accept and worship. A Leader by evolution, however, will still be evolving; worship and praise will mean little to him; a myriad experiments under way to find further possibilities of using energy for the in-

terest and the benefit of Universe Society will keep him and his assistants too busy to listen to 'hosannas'. There have been a number of changes in the course of the evolution of living beings where some biologists have called for interposition of some outside force for an explanation, e.g., in the development of the all-important organ, the eye. Such interposition may well be imagined with a Leader who is continually at work. Evolution may now be proceeding faster than it did before He was evolved.

Of course there is still the great mystery of what did primeval energy spring from. Before this can be solved we must know what Energy consists of. The unexplained concept of a Creator also needed Energy, so at least the evolutionary concept has reduced two mysteries to one.

A God by evolution could well be imagined as advising his followers in like manner to the ideas of humanism and existentialism—to the effect as I understand either of these, man in general is responsible for his own progress, his fate, his karma. This applies to his advance in both Second and Third Evolutions, the latter of which, however, I believe the aforementioned philosophies do not recognize. The Cooperators, on the contrary, view the Third as far more important, although perhaps still introductory to further even more interesting phases.

This, then, is the broad concept of Universe Society, its organization and its Leader that Evolution offers and that The Cooperators believe would induce a change in human nature which would enable Earthman to solve the problems now facing him. With such a comprehension of the possibilities of his existence many of his present aims and ambitions would appear silly. No longer would he waste effort and tire himself by vain struggles for property or power. He might even no longer countenance his own lack of ambition and especially the neglect of his political and industrial leaders to study and develop a Third Evolution. He certainly would refuse to waste his efforts and resources by killing off his fellows. He might even adopt the Constitution of The Cooperators: Do to others as you would have them to do you.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows to:

Mr. McEWEN (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), on account of surgery.

Mr. PETTIS (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for the week of February 23, on account of illness.

#### ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Mr. FRIEDEL, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled bills of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.R. 12535. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Army to release certain restrictions on a tract of land heretofore conveyed to the State of Texas in order that such land may be used for the city of El Paso North-South Freeway.

H.R. 14464. An act to amend the act of August 12, 1968, to insure that certain facilities constructed under authority of Federal law are designed and constructed to be accessible to the physically handicapped.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly

(at 1 o'clock and 2 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, February 24, 1970, at 12 o'clock noon.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1668. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting the annual report of the operations of the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation, pursuant to the provisions of the Federal Crop Insurance Act; to the Committee on Agriculture.

1669. A letter from the Acting Assistant Secretary of Defense (Installations and Logistics), transmitting a report on procurement from small and other business firms for July-November 1969, pursuant to the provisions of section 10(d) of the Small Business Act, as amended; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

1670. A letter from the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, transmitting the semiannual report of property donated to public health and educational institutions and civil defense organizations for the period July 1, 1969-December 31, 1969, pursuant to the provisions of section 203(o) of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1671. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on the evaluation needed of cost-effectiveness of four more deep submergence rescue vehicles before purchase by the Navy; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1672. A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting the annual report on the anthracite mine water control and mine sealing and filling program, pursuant to the provisions of 30 U.S.C. 571-576 as amended by Public Law 87-818 (76 Stat. 934); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

1673. A letter from the Commissioner, District of Columbia, transmitting a report of the District of Columbia Council on the interstate highway system and his recommendations, pursuant to the provisions of section 23(c) of the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1968; to the Committee on Public Works.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

(Pursuant to the order of the House on February 19, 1970, the following reports were filed on February 20, 1970)

Mr. McMILLAN: Committee on the District of Columbia. H.R. 10937. A bill to authorize the construction, maintenance, and operation by the Armory Board of the District of Columbia of the Eisenhower National Memorial Arena in the District of Columbia; with amendments (Rept. No. 91-843). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. McMILLAN: Committee on the District of Columbia. H.R. 13307. A bill to amend chapter 3 of title 16 of the District of Columbia Code to authorize the Domestic Relations Branch of the District of Columbia Court of General Sessions to remove a child from a proposed adoptive home if a petition for adoption is revoked, withdrawn, or denied, and for other purposes; with amendments (Rept. No. 91-844). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. McMILLAN: Committee on the District

of Columbia. H.R. 14608. A bill to authorize the District of Columbia to compensate holders of class A retailer's licenses issued under the District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Act who return such licenses to the District of Columbia for cancellation; with amendments (Rept. No. 91-845). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. McMILLAN: Committee on the District of Columbia. H.R. 14982. A bill to provide for the immunity from taxation in the District of Columbia in the case of the International Telecommunications Satellite Consortium, and any successor organization thereto; with an amendment (Rept. No. 91-846). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. McMILLAN: Committee on the District of Columbia. H.R. 15381. A bill to amend the District of Columbia Income and Franchise Tax Act of 1947 with respect to the taxation of regulated investment companies (Rept. 91-847). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. McMILLAN: Committee on the District of Columbia. H.R. 8656. A bill to authorize the use of certain real property in the District of Columbia for chancery purposes; with an amendment (Rept. No. 91-848). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. McMILLAN: Committee on the District of Columbia. H.R. 15980. A bill to make certain revisions in the retirement benefits of District of Columbia public school teachers and other educational employees, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 91-849). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

[Submitted February 23, 1970]

Mr. McMILLAN: Committee on the District of Columbia. Investigation and study of the Department of Corrections (Rept. No. 91-850). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

#### PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BENNETT:

H.R. 16117. A bill to amend the Bail Reform Act of 1968 to authorize consideration of danger to the community in setting conditions of release, to provide for pretrial detention of dangerous persons, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DENNEY:

H.R. 16118. A bill to protect the public health and safety to provide new means for the control of depressant, stimulant, and hallucinogenic drugs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. GRAY:

H.R. 16119. A bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 to provide a 15 percent increase in annuities and to change the method of computing interest on investments of the railroad retirement accounts; to the Committee Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. GUDE (for himself, Mr. FRASER, Mr. CONABLE, Mr. KYROS, Mr. McCLORY, Mr. PETTIS, Mr. WHITE, Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois, Mr. BEALL of Maryland, Mr. BENNETT, Mr. BINGHAM, Mr. BROWN of California, Mr. COUGHLIN, Mr. EDWARDS of California, Mr. ESCH, Mr. FASCELL, Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, Mr. FRIEDEL, Mr. GIBBONS, Mr. HALPERN, Mr. HAMILTON, Mr. HASTINGS, Mr. HORTON, Mr. HOSMER, and Mr. JACOBS):

H.R. 16120. A bill to require disclosure of political campaign financing in the District

of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. GUDE (for himself, Mr. FRASER, Mr. LOWENSTEIN, Mr. LUJAN, Mr. MATSUNAGA, Mr. MAYNE, Mr. McCLOSKEY, Mr. MIKVA, Mr. NEDZI, Mr. OTTINGER, Mr. PODELL, Mr. REES, Mr. REID of New York, Mr. RIEGLE, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr. SCHEUER, Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin, Mr. THOMSON of Wisconsin, Mr. TUNNEY, Mr. UDALL, Mr. VANDER JAGT, Mr. WOLD, and Mr. ZWACH):

H.R. 16121. A bill to require disclosure of political campaign financing in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. MARSH:

H.R. 16122. A bill to repeal chapter 44 of title 18, United States Code (relating to firearms), to reenact the Federal Firearms Act, and to restore chapter 53 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 as in effect before its amendment by the Gun Control Act of 1968; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PEPPER (for himself, Mrs. GRIFFITHS, Mr. NIX, and Mr. WALDIE):

H.R. 16123. A bill to protect the public health and safety to provide new means for the control of the depressant, stimulant, and hallucinogenic drugs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HOLIFIELD:

H.J. Res. 1093. Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim the period March 15 through March 22, 1970, as "International DeMolay Week"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. Con. Res. 512. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress with respect to the establishment of United Nations Day as a permanent international holiday; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. GIBBONS:

H. Res. 845. Resolution to amend the Rules of the House of Representatives to create a standing committee to be known as the Committee on the Environment; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mrs. GREEN of Oregon (for herself, Mr. ALEXANDER, Mr. ASPINALL, Mr. CASEY, Mr. DOWNING, Mr. DULSKI, Mr. FOUNTAIN, Mr. HALEY, Mrs. HANSEN of Washington, Mr. KEE, Mr. LENNON, Mr. MONAGAN, Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia, Mr. PICKLE, Mr. REES, Mr. ROBERTS, Mr. ROBINO, Mr. ROE, Mr. ROGERS of Florida, Mr. STAGGERS, Mrs. SULLIVAN, Mr. SYMINGTON, Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON, and Mr. ZABLOCKI):

H. Res. 846. Resolution for the appointment of a select committee to study the effects of Federal policies on the quality of education in the United States; to the Committee on Rules.

#### MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

306. By the SPEAKER: A memorial of the Legislature of the State of California, relative to State regulation of offshore oil and gas development operations; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

307. Also, a memorial of the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, relative to expanding the medicare program to include drug costs; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

308. Also, a memorial of the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, relative to providing payment of all medical expenses of members under the medicare program; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

## PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

399. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the board of supervisors, county of Los Angeles, Los Angeles, Calif., relative to the threat to individual freedom of thought and speech

which is posed by title II of the Internal Security Act of 1950; to the Committee on Internal Security.

400. Also, petition of Henry Stoner, York, Pa., relative to the use of legislative power; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

401. Also, petition of John Meredith Tayler, Chevy Chase, Md., relative to redress of grievances; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

402. By Mr. BRINKLEY: Petition of Mr. Dan Dixon, Mr. Richard Dennard, Mr. Frank Billings, Mr. E. W. Barber, Mr. Mike Turner, Mr. Don P. Asbell, Mr. C. B. Bailey, and Mr. Lamar E. Brooks, Gordon, Ga., et al., for legislation which will restore freedom of choice in the public school systems; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

## SENATE—Monday, February 23, 1970

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian and was called to order by the President pro tempore (Mr. RUSSELL).

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Washington's prayer for the Nation, which was written at Newburgh, June 8, 1783, and sent to the Governors of all the States:

Almighty God, we make our earnest prayer that Thou wilt keep the United States in Thy holy protection, that Thou wilt incline the hearts of the citizens to cultivate a spirit of subordination and obedience to government, and entertain a brotherly affection and love for one another and for their fellow citizens of the United States at large.

And finally that Thou wilt most graciously be pleased to dispose us all to do justice, to love mercy, and to demean ourselves with that charity, humility, and pacific temper of mind which were the characteristics of the Divine Author of our blessed religion, and without an humble imitation of whose example in these things, we can never hope to be a happy nation. Grant our supplication, we beseech Thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

## THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Friday, February 20, 1970, be dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

## WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. In accordance with the order of the Senate of January 24, 1901, and pursuant to its order of February 23, 1970, designating the distinguished Senator from North Dakota (Mr. BURDICK) to read Washington's Farewell Address, the Senator will now proceed to read it.

Mr. BURDICK advanced to the desk, and read the Farewell Address, as follows:

*To the people of the United States.*

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS: The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce

to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience, in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and, every day, the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circum-

stances have given peculiar value to my services they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is to terminate the career of my political life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging—in situations in which not unfrequently, want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism,—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans, by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete by so careful a preservation, and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to