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July 28, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR ROGER PORTER

FROM: LARRY LINDSEY

SUBJECT: A Common Destiny: Blacks and American Society

This comprehensive review of the status of America's black population was compiled by the National Research Council. While generally quite balanced, a closer look at the data indicates that things are better, particularly economically, than the study suggests.

1. The study concludes that although substantial progress has been made, blacks still lag behind whites by most economic and social criteria.

In 1984, black real per capita income was one third higher than in 1968 and about 6 times its 1939 level, but that income was only 57 percent of white income, the same fraction as in 1971.

In 1939, 93 percent of blacks were in poverty. By 1974 that figure had fallen to 30 percent, about where it is today. But, the poverty rate for blacks is still 3 times that for whites.

Black infant mortality rates have declined from 45 per thousand in 1960 to 18 per thousand in 1985, but still remain twice as high as white infant mortality rates.

In 1940 young blacks had completed 7 years of schooling, on average. By 1980, young blacks had completed 12.6 years of schooling. But, blacks still lag behind whites, who average 13 years of schooling, on average.

2. The study concludes that most of the economic gains for blacks occurred during the 1940s through the 1960s, and that the economic status of blacks has stagnated since the early 1970s. While the report is correct that black incomes in the late 1980s are similar to those in the early 1970s, the facts show that this is because of a decline in the 1970s followed by a rise in the 1980s.

The following table presents data on black and white income for 1973, 1981, and 1987. Each year was a business cycle peak, except 1987 which is the last year for which data are available.

Real Income in 1987 Dollars

	<u>1973</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1987</u>
All Black Families	\$18,590	\$16,578	\$18,098
Black Males			
Full Time Workers	\$20,340	\$18,724	\$19,385
All persons	\$13,076	\$10,623	\$11,101
Black Females			
Full Time Workers	\$14,309	\$14,293	\$16,211
All persons	\$ 6,516	\$ 6,127	\$ 6,796

Blacks, like most Americans made up the ground lost during the 1970s in the past 8 years. The most striking gains have been made by black females who worked full time. Their real earnings rose to 13.4 percent between 1981 and 1987 compared with 12.3 percent for white females and just 5.5 percent for white males.

3. The study concludes that black participation in all aspects of American life has increased dramatically and that white attitudes toward racial equality have improved. However, the study notes that significant barriers still exist for blacks particularly in housing and education, and that bigoted attitudes persist.

★★★ One particular bright spot for increased blacks has been the U.S. Army. Between 1972 and 1986, the share of the army officer corps who were black nearly tripled -- from 3.9 percent to 10.4 percent. The proportion of black generals rose 10 fold to 7 percent. At the same time the percentage of recruits who were black increased only slightly -- from 18 percent to 23 percent. ★★★

The proportion of black children attending schools which were 90 percent or more black dropped significantly, particularly in the South during the late 1960s and early 1970s. However, two thirds of black children attended schools which were more than 50 percent black even in 1980. The proportion of blacks children in the Northeast attending nearly all black schools actually rose between the late 1960s and the early 1980s.

There was little progress made in residential desegregation between 1960 and 1980, although formal discrimination became illegal. In 1980, the typical black urban dweller lived in a neighborhood which was 68 percent black. The typical white urban dweller lived in a neighborhood which was 89 percent white. On a scale of 0 to 100, where 0 is perfectly integrated and 100 is perfectly segregated, American cities only moved from a score of 80 to a score of 77 between 1960 and 1980.

Polling data suggests that whites are significantly less racist today as a matter of principle, but are not more inclined to favor federal programs that favor blacks. Roughly 90 percent of whites favor equal access to schools, jobs, and transportation for blacks, up from only 45 percent in the 1940s. However, large majorities oppose federal intervention to force desegregation in the job market, schooling, or increased spending on blacks.

While 86 percent of whites would not move if a black family moved next door, only 46 percent would stay put if blacks moved into their neighborhood in large numbers. 95 percent of whites said they would not mind if "a few" blacks attended their children's schools, but only 40 percent would have their children attend schools where a majority of the students were black.

4. Black voter participation and the number of black elected officials has increased dramatically. The report concludes that this increased political involvement, including the civil rights protests in the 1950s and 1960s were crucial to the improvement of blacks' status.

Black voter turnout is nearly as high as white voter turnout. The number of black elected officials rose from just 33 in 1941, to 3500 in 1975 and more than 6000 in 1985. The number of black judges has increased from 10 in 1941 to nearly 600 in 1980 and 841 in 1986.

5. Blacks have shown increased achievement in education and generally have shown a continued improvement in their position relative to whites.

Black school enrollment has increased both in absolute terms and relative to whites. While both blacks and whites have increased their schooling, the gap between the races in years of school attended dropped from nearly 4 years in 1940 to less than one half of a year in 1980.

Today, some 75 percent of black children graduate from high school. The report notes that reported dropout rates of 50 percent or more do not give the whole picture due to regional differences and the return to school of many blacks who dropped out when they were younger.

There is some evidence that blacks have become less likely to enter college. The report suggests that a change in financial aid policies from grants to loans is the cause. Blacks perceive the total amount of indebtedness involved in education as a larger fraction of their family incomes than do whites. The study also cites increased desire for military service among blacks as a possible explanation for declining college attendance.

The study cites the need for effective schools, not just years of schooling. Minimum competency standards for teachers and the creation of a stable school environment that reinforces success and involves parents are all cited as being important.

6. The quality of blacks' health has improved substantially over the past 40 years. Even though blacks still lag whites in some basic health standards, the gap seems to be narrowing.

Black life expectancy has increased faster than white life expectancy. This has been particularly true for black females whose life expectancy is now more than for white males.] *

Although black nutrition has improved, the study notes that malnutrition among black children persists and continues to cause mental retardation among a significant number of such children. Anemia, lead poisoning, and child abuse are also serious health problems among black children.

Among black adolescents the two most common health problems are teenage pregnancy and drug use. Although birth rates have been declining among black women, black teenage birth rates still are 2 to 3 times that for white teenagers. Surveys indicate that drug use among white teenagers is higher than among black teenagers. But, the report argues that these surveys may be flawed as they focus on teenagers who remain in school.

Elderly blacks tend to have significantly poorer health than their white counterparts due to the accumulation of a lifetime of substandard health care and nutrition. Below average access to health insurance and to regular medical attention continue and will be reflected in black health for years to come.

7. Blacks are disproportionately involved in crime, both as the victim and as the offender.

Although 46 percent of the total prison population is black, the report finds no systematic evidence of discrimination in the administration of the criminal justice system. Instead, the report notes that blacks will continue to have higher rates of criminal behavior as long as socioeconomic disparities remain.

Blacks are twice as likely to be the victims of robbery, vehicle theft and aggravated assault as whites. They are between six and seven times as likely to be the victim of a homicide, which is the leading cause of death among young black males.] safety as a civ right

There has been a substantial increase in black involvement in the criminal justice process. For example, in 1894, 8 percent of all police officers were black, up from just 1 percent in 1970.

8. Blacks are tending to marry later and have fewer children, but a greater proportion of births are occurring to unwed mothers and a higher percentage of black children are living in poverty.

Although blacks have traditionally married younger than whites, that trend is now reversed. But increased divorced rates have lowered the average number of years a black woman will spend with a husband to 16, compared to 34 for white women.

The report estimates that 86 percent of black children will spend some time in a single parent household, compared with 42 percent of white children. More than half of all black children are born to unmarried women, four times the white rate.

The black family is tremendously resilient. Studies show that between 1880 and 1925 the typical black family was headed by two persons. This is in spite of the adverse effects of slavery.

3 January 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR MARK LANGE

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN
SUBJECT: STATE OF THE UNION MATERIAL

EMPOWERMENT

NOTES:

I. "THE NEW INDEPENDENCE"

We must sell empowerment by appealing to the most basic of American values.

"Reliance on government is dependence--and what the people of our ghettos need is not greater dependence, but full independence."

--Robert F. Kennedy, 1966

A. Bush: "We know what works--freedom works." I've seen this line again and again. People like it, they remember it. Perhaps it should be restated.

1. Note: while advising Beth and me on our Massachusetts fundraiser, Ron Kaufman insisted that the people of that state wanted both change and order: a change from liberal policies that had obviously failed, yet order as an alternative to liberal chaos. The same might apply in selling empowerment.

The empowerment agenda is to dispersed to either portend the hatchet-fall of change, or summarize order unambiguously. One of the key principles that can be distilled from it, however, is choice/freedom.

2. Empowerment as "Freedom" and "Independence" is consistent with traditional conservative agenda: Weyrich talks about how this agenda has habitually been couched in negative terms--anti-communism, anti-big government, anti-egalitarianism. The common thread running through these "anti's," however, is this: pro-freedom, pro-individual freedom.

3. Applying free-marketplace ideas to social problems: Empowerment as the linkage of Jeffersonian democracy and Adam Smith's economic system. Again, we know what works--freedom works--in the marketplace as in society.

4. In simplifying the concept of empowerment we might stress the link between effort and reward. When the bureaucratic welfare state severs that link, it denies the most fundamental aspect of human nature.

- B. Americans believe in hard work: "A hand up, not a hand-out." (I will track down this source). Posit: the Work Ethic vs. The Entitlement Ethic.

Hand in hand with the work ethic is the belief in The American Dream, and faith that the ordinary American can achieve that dream.

Pink: "..idealism about human potential.."
"..pragmatism about human nature.."

1. The ladder and the safety net: The safety net imagery is fine as long as it is, as Pink describes it, a "safety net that catches people when they fall, not that traps them forever in poverty.."

But how about that ladder--fit is with a hand-up, suggests showing people the way, and lets us talk about those "bottom rungs" and how central they are to our vision of opportunity. It has to do with hope.

2. Hope vs. despair: The American Dream vs. "the deep and dreamless sleep" (O Little Town of Bethlehem).

C. THE NEW INDEPENDENCE IN THE CURRENT CULTURAL CONTEXT

Flip on any talk show and be assured that 80% of the topics will be some variation on the theme of "Dependency." You're either co-dependent, alcohol-dependent, food-addicted, sex-addicted, love-addicted, ad nauseum..and if you're not dependent, you're in denial. By describing the Old Paradigm system which fosters **dependence**, you've caught the public's attention--and you have their empathy. Watch them nod, here come the kleenex.

1. From passive recipients of bureaucracies, to active self-confident members of the economy and their communities. Turning victims of poverty into creators of their own destiny.

2. Kemp: the "pride and dignity of ownership."

Miscellaneous: also in tune with the popular culture, labeling the entrenched bureaucracies "The Untouchables."

D. SHIP METAPHOR

When we think of immigrants coming to America, and the poor living in America, we can recognize that they are both "huddled masses yearning to breathe free..the homeless, tempest-tossed.." (Emma Lazarus, The New Colossus: Inscription for the Statue of Liberty, New York Harbor). The immigrants, however, had hope, a vision of the Statue of Liberty who promises: "I lift my lamp beside the golden door."

Empowerment gives the individual both hope and vision, empowering him to be, like Conrad's Secret Sharer: "a free man, a proud swimmer striking out for a new destiny."

A ship is a vision of decisive forward motion. Hope fuels that motion, and without hope people become a ship adrift in a sea of despair. Empowerment lets people plot their own course, choose their own destiny.

Mario Cuomo once made the charge that Republicans believe that the wagon (America) won't make it to the frontier unless some our weak, our old and our young are left behind. This is the kind of remark that shuts us out of the Democrats' corner on the compassion market. How about turning this around and re-outfitting it for the ship metaphor: "We all want the same destination for that ship we call America, and we all refuse to leave anyone behind. The simple truth is with some policies, the safety net becomes a trap, in which some Americans must be constantly towed behind, drowning in perpetual poverty." (wasted human potential=dolphins caught in fishing nets)

Feulner: "The conservative agenda can never be brought to full flower simply by rearranging the deck chairs on the Titanic called the federal bureaucracy." While the poor are drowning in its wake.

The poor languishing, locked in steerage. Some think the solution is to slip more money under the door. I think we should hand them the keys.

D. Possible segue out of battle in the Gulf to domestic battle against poverty, despair, crime, and drugs.

II. THE BUREAUCRATIC WELFARE STATE CRUMBLES ABROAD, BUT HOLDS FAST AT HOME.

Pink: "The recent events in Eastern Europe are sending America a message that it should already know."

Pink paraphrased: 'Where leaders are slow to learn, their citizens are quick to teach them.'

- A. The Great Irony: As the rest of the world is turning to freedom, liberating human potential, some here at home are still clutching to the old order, empowering bureaucracy and not the individual.
- B. In segue out of foreign affairs, and in principle: Empowerment, and what it means for America is essential if America is to continue its global leadership.
- C. *!*** Kemp talks about the similarities between Eastern European and Third World economies on one hand, and inner city poverty on the other. He goes on to delineate the two economies operating in the United States -----> By making this analogy, and describing the two American economies, we discredit Old Paradigm policies without even touching the "D" word or the "L" word. Americans know the enormous distinction between the energy of capitalist economies and the stasis of centralized/bureaucratized economies. They recognize that socialism has been decisively discredited. Making this analogy takes the first step towards both exposing the Welfare State for what it is while marking it "to be thrown out."

III. RECAPTURING THE COMPASSION MARKET: "PEOPLE DON'T CARE THAT YOU KNOW UNTIL THEY KNOW THAT YOU CARE" (KEMP)

- A. Kemp points out that Bob Kuttner of the New Republic wrote that polls continue to show that the voters trust Republicans more than Democrats to conduct foreign policy, manage the economy, hold down inflation, and resist higher taxes. Democrats still win out on the question of who cares more about the common American. Kuttner concludes that if the Republicans can ever capture this issue as well, the Democrats might as well go out of business.
- B. Acknowledge that, as Americans, we all can recognize the problems in society, and we all want to see things get better. Then set out our distinctive vision of how that is to be accomplished.

Pink: "I'm here as a representative of the Bush White House and as a Republican to tell you that we have just as much desire to end homelessness, improve education, lift up the underclass and realize the goals of most liberals. However,...I am also here to tell you that if we want to improve the lives of people, then we are going to have to go about solving them in a different way."

- C. One way of showing that we care is to point out that the Old Order, or the Old Dependency patronized the poor by treating them as if they were fundamentally different whereas The New

Independence recognizes in them the same dreams and aspirations of all Americans.

"And to those Americans who need help, those struggling to make ends meet--we're not going to tell them they need one more bureaucracy to show them how to run their lives. Those Americans share the same dreams and human potential of all Americans. But what they need is a hand-up, not just another handout."

EXCERPTS:

- 1) "A Conservative Vision for America's Future: Putting Faith on Agenda" --Paul Weyrich

"While the American people may no longer worship false idols, they have yet to be evangelized to the true faith. This is especially evident in the domain of policy, where liberalism remains competitive, perhaps even dominant. This remains so for three reasons. First liberals possess a coherent agenda, a vision which is a fertile source of policy initiatives. Second, liberalism is an elite movement and elites are able more easily to translate their ideas into policy. And third, the liberal movement rests on a network of discrete, readily mobilized constituencies which form strong grass roots coalitions."

"The liberals, even though they are temporarily discredited, are still putting forward new ideas (federal day care, homosexual rights, disarmament and the peace dividend) and conservatives have to do more than just say no to the ~~conservative~~ agenda.."
liberal

COMMUNICATION OF AGENDA MUST DELINIATE DIFFERENCES: "A new conservative agenda must be a catalyst both for good policy and for the rebuilding of a conservative movement. It is not sufficient..for conservatives to put forward good policy ideas. It is also necessary that those ideas create constructive polarization--that they highlight the difference between the conservative and liberal world view, build conservative constituencies and divide liberal ones and communicate a clear alternative vision to the public."

"A new conservative agenda must speak to the concerns Americans feel. And these are not the same concerns to which we have responded for two decades..In terms of the traditional indicators--the economic statistics, the world situation--the American people should be content and at ease. They should see the future as a 'golden age.' But they do not...ordinary Americans feel insecure about their present and their future. They worry that their children might be entrapped by drugs or that the schools will fail to

give them a decent education. They worry about crime and the emergence of an apparently permanent underclass. They worry that their children will be unable to live the American dream--own their homes or support their families adequately. They worry about declining economic productivity, and that tomorrow will be worse, not better than today."

"The unifying theme in these concerns is a sense of cultural breakdown, a loss of the moral standards and ideals of excellence that make society function..To be effective in this way, our agenda must root itself in the ideals and beliefs which Americans actually hold. America is strong and good because of the virtues which its people have historically lived and which they continue to live today."

"More and more, decision-making authority must be located at the lowest possible administrative level. Conservatives must try to focus policy on the neighborhood."

"We have traditionally championed the free market as both a force for prosperity and a moral imperative among free men..But we should also recognize that while a free market is preferable to other forms of economic organization, its benefits are not equally felt. Poverty, especially among working people, is the Achilles heel of the free market."

"Our goal must be to empower those who are in need to escape the culture of dependence and to become self-sufficient. The test of every benefit must be: does it offer the poor a real chance to escape welfare?"

"Among the new underclass, functional culture has collapsed. Traditional prohibitions against instant sensual gratification and crime have broken down. Traditional institutions--the family, the neighborhood, the church, the school--have lost their hold. Traditional culture has yielded to a culture of dependence. If we hope to combat the consolidation of the underclass, then our policies must foster a culture of responsibility, work and self-respect. To do this, we should link government assistance to behavior that fosters self-sufficiency."

FAMILY
"Martin Luther King was right when he described the family as the 'main educational agency of mankind.' The ability of parents to select the educational environment for their children is both a right and the cornerstone of educational excellence."

"No one is free if he lives in fear of crime..When Americans are denied this right, the sense of community and trust deteriorate; the culture suffers..We must ensure that Americans are secure in their person and property...We must ensure that justice--to the accused, to the victim, and to society--is served."

"The drug trade contributes to our rising crime rate. Half of all arrestees test positive for drug use..Drug use in the workplace leads to accidents and injuries (1987 Baltimore Amtrak disaster) and costs American business tens of billions of dollars annually due to lost productivity, increased absenteeism, workplace accidents, medical costs and theft...Moreover, drug abuse leads to dependence and undermines the cultural values of self-respect, personal responsibility and self-reliance."

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"..our new conservative agenda can and must affirm the cultural values that make America work. It must speak to the concerns that Americans feel. It must rely on traditional virtues to solve our new problems...Most of all, by affirming traditional values and the common sense of mainstream Americans, our agenda will effectively polarize the political debate and expose the left-wing agenda as the product of a fringe element hostile to our culture and our civilization."

- 2) "The Beginning of The New Paradigm Society" (Pink's New Paradigm Manifesto)

CATCH THE GLOBAL WAVE: "The old order is crumbling; centralized bureaucratic structures, both public and private, are breaking up. Old political, economic, and social assumptions are giving way to the new desire--the new demand--for freedom and fulfillment that is sweeping the planet."

"The New Paradigm puts its faith in people: in their ability to learn and create and produce and adapt, provided they are given the freedom and the incentive to do so."

"Thus, guided by firm principles: devotion to individual freedom and human rights; a commitment to problem solving while retaining openness and decentralization--and rejection of crippling sentimental reliance on rigid statim (sic?) and failed techniques--we proclaim The New Paradigm Society."

"Our institutions are failing all of us as they fail the less fortunate. Centralized bureaucracies have proven themselves unable to translate our wealth and compassion into opportunity and a better life for every American."

"We believe that a rising tide lifts all boats." (Ship metaphor)

"..the 1990's will be different from the 1980's. Indeed, this year's events (1989 I assume) around the globe underscore that the 1990's will be radically different from the 1980's."

Pink quotes Mitchell E. Daniels, Jr., Pres of the Hudson Institute as saying recently: "...Americans will be less and less prone to be herded into unions, political parties or other group identities for the convenience of experimenting paternalists. They will make their own decisions with declining guidance from government at any level. Government that sees these citizens not as objects of therapy but as persons of innate dignity, will be relevant government. Government that measures its success by the scarcity, not the annual increase, of its dependent clients, can still be active government. Government that constantly searches for ways to attract, liberate and incentivize human talent will be successful government."

"We believe in freedom: social, intellectual, and economic. We believe that the benefits of freedom are tangible and indivisible."

"We believe that the creativity and energy that comes from freedom is the prime mover of human progress. We believe that innovation is better than reaction."

"We believe that decentralization is better than centralization. Decentralization, as we have learned, is a better strategy for dealing with a complex world."

"Modern technology disperses power."

"In this decade, Presidents Reagan and Bush have accelerated the collapse of totalitarianism. Now we have a chance to consolidate this great victory for all time. Our vision is not of an America as the policeman of the world, but of an America as a model...for people yearning to breathe free."

"The 1980's have been, in the words of the journalist Paul Gigot, the "Freedom Decade," in which the limits of the state were recognized...Meanwhile, here at home, an infinitely more benign structure, the Welfare State, reached its limits (even if this has not yet been as widely recognized)."

That surefire anti-intellectual approach: "Men and women of ideas, particularly in the academy, discuss the important questions more and more only among themselves."

"..the old paradigm grinds to a halt, shot through with the rust and corrosion of cynicism and opportunism."

"..we believe that economic growth and human fulfillment not only should, but must go hand in hand with social justice and a decent standard of living for all."

"If America is to be competitive, then every American--male or female, black or white, young or old, handicapped or disadvantaged--must have the opportunity to play a part."

"..the times and the challenge require bold action."

"Chronic social problems are proof that the old approaches, based on the old system, are producing new failures."

"What might be called the more-money solution has not, so far, worked...Neither has the more-bureaucracy solution."

"..the New Paradigm is characterized by increased choice; empowerment of the poor, the left out, and the written off; and increased personal responsibility."

"..centralized bureaucracies are collapsing of their own dead weight--in the Soviet bloc, in the Third World, and in the wretched islands of socialism and paternalism in America--most dramatically, the inner cities."

"poverty pimps"

"..but of enthusiasm for real solutions that work, as opposed to band-aids that fail to heal and in many cases make the would worse, in spite of billions and billions of dollars spent on treatment."

"..Americans and people everywhere cherish the right to choose."

"...the only power that people have is the power of an alternative--in other words, choice."

"The New Paradigm says this about poverty and welfare: we have learned in the past few decades of the great dangers of dependency. The solution that Mickey Kaus and others have suggested is a combination of self-help and compassion. For the truly needy, those that absolutely cannot help themselves, the New Paradigm Society pledges care and dignity. For everyone else, we are committed to replacing the current entitlement ethic with a new work ethic."

"Greater flexibility and greater choice are based on a greater faith in the ability of the individual to know his or her situation best....This optimism about human potential is another tenet of the New Paradigm."

"..the free market system offers the best long range prospects for almost all, but our mission is uplift, not thrift."

- 3) "The New Paradigm: Human Aspirations," Pink's speech to the Reason Foundation."

"The country is cynical about its capital. But that cynicism is not directed toward President Bush. The public's skepticism focuses on the centralized bureaucracies--the IRS, the Postal Service, the Pentagon, HUD, and of course, Congress. Voters distrust those institutions that lack accountability to the people they serve. The electorate distinguishes between those parts of the government that function and those that don't. Think of a machine that works and a squeaky wheel that needs grease. One hums quietly, the other fails noisily."

"There is a new energy, a force that has cracked the Berlin Wall, dismantled the Soviet Empire, freed Nelson Mandela, and democratized Nicaragua. This new vitality has redefined how the world works. It is bringing a new peaceful integration of the international economy, with the prospect of a better life for all humanity."

"The electricity of freedom and market forces around the world has jolted the status quo here at home."

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"...most people agree on the goals this country should achieve; whether we are Democrats or Republicans, black or white, male or female, all of us want an educated young generation, a roof over every head, racial and sexual equality, and a clean environment."

Pink quotes Gingrich: "If any private enterprise in America treated you the way you routinely get treated by government, you would put them out of business."

"The New Paradigm has five characteristics: First, governments are now subject to market forces in a way they haven't been before....A self-monitoring and self-correcting system leaves little room for the foolish social and economic experiments of the 60s and 70s. If you don't deal with reality, other people will!"

"Second, the New Paradigm is characterized by increasing individual choice....Up to now, bureaucrats have been the ones to decide what makes a good public school. President Bush believes that parents should have a say."

"Third, the New Paradigm is characterized by policies that empower people to make choices for themselves....Empowerment is the flip side of choice.."

"Fourth, the New Paradigm is characterized by decentralization...As Bob Samuelson recently wrote in Newsweek, Americans are not so much stingy as skeptical. This skepticism--this immunity to bureaucratic baloney is a healthy thing. It is the result of bitter experience, a cumulative learning process."

"Fifth, the New Paradigm implies an emphasis on what works."

"Representative (Polly) Williams has made us realize that the challenge we face is not Left vs. Right, but Up vs. Down."

"...think back to the challenge that Henry V had to overcome on St. Crispin's Day. Planning a victory against a foe that outnumbered him five to one, he said, 'All things are ready, if our minds be so.'"

- 4) Gingrich reading Pink's speech before the World Future Society into the Congressional Record:

"The Great Society, to pick one obvious example, has been continuing, if well-intentioned failure because it too was based on the false assumption that experts, wise bureaucrats in league with university professors and politicians, could somehow administer prosperity and equality from an office building somewhere."

"...we must come to see our own institutional rigidities, in a way analogous to the way the Eastern Europeans have come to see theirs."

"The guiding principle is accountability and feedback."

"...if you believe that we ought to judge our schools by how well they perform, not by how much money we spend on them--if you believe that those schools will improve if parents have a greater say in choosing the schools their children will attend--if you believe that the best child care is the one that responsible parents decide is best for themselves--if you believe in giving the poor a stake in their own futures, say through tenant management and ownership of public housing--if you believe, for that matter, that we should measure the success of our welfare programs by how many needy people pull themselves out of poverty--then perhaps, you too see the outlines of the New Paradigm as it emerges from the dawn."

"If we raise our taxes, the fact is we drive businesses and investors out of the country. We lead them to build their next factory in Mexico or Canada, Japan or Germany."

- 5) "Conservative in a New Age," Edwin J. Feulner, Jr.

"Let the record show that 1989 was the most significant year in the most important decade since World War II...let the record also show that the victory belongs to American conservatives."

"In dealing with Moscow, the 1980s also reversed a decade and a half of skittish self-doubt. We rebuilt our military arsenal, dared the Kremlin to keep technological pace, and kept our promise to our allies--doggedly ignoring massive protests--to deploy medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe. We allowed talks with the Soviets to collapse, and refused to make new concessions simply to keep them at the bargaining table. We even dared brand the Soviet Union 'the Evil Empire,' established the National Endowment for Democracy to wage a global battle for public opinion, and dared challenge 'containment,' the very centerpiece of our own foreign policy, with a new vision: rolling back the Soviet Empire. The Reagan Doctrine."

****"More than anything else, all of these momentous changes mean one thing for conservatives: We have to recognize that the world is dramatically different than the one we inherited from the Carter-era doomsayers a decade ago. And we have to act accordingly. This does not mean compromising in any way the principles in which conservatives believe--limited government, individual liberty, free enterprise, and peace through strength...But we have to recognize that we have a chance like none other since the New Deal to reshape the political landscape."

"..because of our success in rolling back communism, there is no longer much consensus on what constitutes a 'conservative foreign policy,' and in the public's mind foreign policy has receded in importance."

"The conservative agenda can never be brought to full flower simply be rearranging the deck chairs on the Titanic called the federal bureaucracy. For the conservative revolution to take root firmly, we must empower Americans to run their own lives...As President Bush has said, the best anti-poverty program is a job--a real job in the private sector, with a real future."

"It's not enough anymore simply to discredit liberalism; in the new age, conservatives must show we can succeed where liberalism has failed."

"We intend to see that the 1990s are remembered as the decade of freedom--and of unprecedented opportunity for each and every American."

6) Beth's memo on "empowerment" meeting with Rep. Steve Bartlett (R-Dallas).

A. Remarks by Bartlett

B. Republican Research Committee's release: House Republicans target "Empowerment."

C. Task Force on Empowerment release: legislative measures to be studied, initiated.

D. Task Force on Empowerment release: QUOTES

- E. Task Force on Empowerment release: excerpts from Dept. of Education Regional Strategy Meeting on Choice
- F. "The New Civil-Rights Era Begins With a Veto," L. Gordon Crovitz, Wall Street Journal
- G. "'Empowerment' is road to independence for Americans," Rep. Steve Bartlett, The Dallas Morning News.

- A. Bartlett says that if empowerment is seen only as an agenda for poor people, it will be seen as an "irrelevant little trick."

Bartlett suggests that for speeches, we combine traces of Goldwater '64 with Jesse Jackson's Operation Push. ^R

Big selling point: use phrase "for all income levels" (Bartlett says that then everyone will hear what they want to hear in that--the poor will hear "poor;" the elderly, "elderly;" the middle class, "middle class;" etc.).

- D. "The prudent, penniless beginner in the world labors for wages awhile, saves a surplus with which to buy tools or land for himself; then labors on his own account another while, and at length hires another new beginner to help him. This is the just and generous and prosperous system which opens the way to all, gives hope to all, and consequent energy, and progress, and improvement of condition to all."
--Abraham Lincoln, Message to Congress, Dec. 1861

"Our American answer to poverty is not to make the poor more secure in their poverty, but to reach down and help them lift themselves out of the rut of poverty and move with the large majority along the road of hope and prosperity."
--Lyndon B. Johnson, August 1964

"The bigger a government grows, the smaller the people grow."
--Sam Ervin

"Let us have the courage to speak the truth: Policies that increase dependency and break up families are not progressive, they're reactionary, even though they are invariably promoted, passed and carried out in the name of fairness, generosity, and compassion."
--Reagan, August 1983

"Parents are knowledgeable and they won't make empty choices."
--Parents, East Harlem School District, Oct. '89

"Mr. Chairman, we don't want more public housing. We want our own homes."

self-suffic

--South Bronx low-income housing resident, 1985 housing hearing.

- F. WHAT WORKS: "We decided to take risks and started the schools of choice program...We phased out programs that didn't work, phased in programs that did work."

--School Administrator

"Parents must actively participate in education decision-making; you can't leave it all up to the school to know your child's needs and interests."

--Parent

"Choice means freedom--freedom for parents to select the child's school; freedom for students to learn in a supportive environment; and freedom for teachers to meet the needs of their students.."

--Teacher/Parent

EVEN AS THE OLD SYSTEM DRAINS FUTURE HUMAN POTENTIAL, IT DRAINS CURRENT ECONOMIC POTENTIAL: "What is more expensive--educating our children successfully now, or welfare, drugs and jail later?"

--Community activist

"We can't continue to graduate kids who have to punch a picture of a hamburger because they can't read the word 'hamburger.'"

--Parent

- G. (Wall street Journal article):

"There's a growing consensus that whether it's public schools or vagrancy laws the most important word for civil rights is not 'quotas' but 'empowerment.'"

"Put it this way: Any vague bill is a quota bill."

CR
"Economist Thomas Sowell recently found disparities in occupations at all times in all countries. Yet if this (Congressional Civil-Rights) bill becomes law, Korean groceries and black rap groups might have to swap employees."

"Whatever happened to domestic tranquility as a civil right?"

- H. "'The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present.' With these words, Abraham Lincoln led the nation into the revolutionary decade of the 1860s."

THE PROMISE OF THE 1960s HAS BEEN FAILED BY INCOMPETENT BUREAUCRACY AND LACK OF FAITH IN HUMAN POTENTIAL:

"The federal government will spend \$1.2 trillion this year, 10 times that spent in 1965. Even adjusting for inflation, we'll spend well over double the 1965 budget. Yet today one child in five lives in poverty, the same as in 1965. Housing for low-income people remains unsafe and segregated. Our educational system produces poorer student performance than it did 25 years ago. Too many stay on welfare because it doesn't pay to go to work. Many older Americans are forced to retire before they want to."

7) Latest "Empowerment" memo from Roger Porter (11/16/90)

FAM
"...I believe that power must always be kept close to the individual--close to the hands that raise the family and run the home..."

--Vice President Bush's Acceptance Speech, 8/16/88

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the people."

--U.S. Constitution, Amendment X

(Porter):

"Conservative policy-makers do not ignore human nature: they build with it, not against it."

"Certainly, the changes sweeping Europe, Central America and Asia all have a common thread: the yearning or will, to be free."

"All three--opportunity, liberty and responsibility--are preconditions of self-governance. And self-governance is the key to freedom."

"The liberal objective is to 'do what's best' for people--and liberals think they know what is best...The President is not out to shape society from on high, but to empower people to change their own lives."

"It has been costly not only in terms of wasted tax dollars but in the wasted lives of the very people who were supposed to benefit from the deals and great societies of the past."

VOLUNTEERISM
George Bush: "Volunteering is an act. It's an act of heroism on a grand scale."

--4/10/89

"George Bush designed his child care policy so that government empowers parents instead of trying to replace them."

--Invest in Our Children Fact Sheet, Oct '88

"The results of giving tenants control have been remarkable:

- *More people pay their rent;
- *Maintenance improves;
- *Operating costs decline;
- *Crime rates plummet;
- *Employment goes up;
- *Education receives a new boost--more kids stay in school and go to college where none had ever gone before."

--George Bush on the Homeless, Housing and Fair Housing Fact Sheet, Sept. 22, '88.

"Clint Bolick of the Landmark Legal Foundation relates a conversation he had with a public housing resident--and former Black Panther--in St. Louis about our tenant power initiative. She said 'the Democrats always say they want to help us. But when we ask for the keys to the place, they won't give them to us. They offer us more money instead. You Republicans, you give us the keys. I'm starting to like Republicans.'"

"Perhaps the real benefit is the renewal of opportunity--of the American dream--where before there was only dependence and despair."

EMPOWERMENT: "...draws on strong currents of American culture. In a battle of values pitting the individual against the bureaucratic state, we know which value the American people will support."

"We should not shrink from making bold proposals. Success is not defined by what we convince a liberal Congress, hostile to our philosophy, to enact. Success will be defined by the way this country is governed 10 years from now."

- 8) "'Empowerment' Becomes Part of Bushspeak as '92 Election Nears," Burt Solomon, National Journal

"Empowerment is expected to be a theme, if not the centerpiece, in next year's State of the Union message."

"Heritage Foundation domestic policy director Stuart Butler, one of the concept's intellectual authors, describes it as 'trusting ordinary people' rather than a paternalistic welfare state to make economic decisions."

"These ambiguities may prove useful to advocates of empowerment in the forthcoming debate. Most of its adherents are conservatives. But people of varying political hues see in empowerment--as they see in Bush--whatever they want."

9) MK's Empowerment memo of Empowerment breakfast with Kemp:

Kemp thinks that if we can list six or eight programs in a speech it will 'knock the socks off the liberals and their zero-sum mentality' as well as re-unify the Republicans under the pro-growth banner. Kemp thinks that the party is now split--not between the Bush and Reagan wings--but between the growth wing and the austerity wing.

Examples: "If you vote for George Bush in 1992, we will give you the opportunity to own you own unit (of public housing)."

"In the Bush Administration, we want one million new homeowners from the ranks of low-income Americans."

"We want to double the number of black, hispanic and asian owned business."

CAPITAL GAINS TAX CUT: We must encourage as many Americans as we can to get involved in the economy. Unfortunately, the capital gains tax is a transaction tax on all those trying to get through the gate. We must lower the hoop--and in the process we will most likely expand the tax base. We must destroy the myth that capital gains tax cut=revenue losses.

ANECDOTE ON OVERREGULATION: Capital and labor based incentives. Kemp points to the case of Grace Capateo (?) cited in W.S. Journal, who saved her pennies and nickels to send her daughter to college. She save \$3,000, then was taken to court for violating AFDC rules (\$1000 asset limit) and fined \$15,000. However, she didn't have \$15,000 so they just took her \$3000. Kemp mentioned this in a speech and a GOP businessman in the audience offered to pay for the child's education..

Poor people aren't stupid, Kemp says, and if it's a better deal to stay a single welfare mother than it is to get married, get a job, or save money, then that's what you do.

10) Memo from Kemp: An Action Plan for Economic Empowerment of People (this is the nitty gritty of empowerment policies and proposals, I'll excerpt some, but for details look to document--#11 in Empowerment file)

"People with access to property, jobs and quality education have a stake in their community, more pride, and greater incentive for productive social behavior. More importantly, poor people with new and abundant economic opportunity have hope for the future--the single greatest weapon against poverty and despair."

"The Task Force believes that progress in ending poverty begins by rejecting the notion that wealth is static, that

fairness means redistributionism, and that poverty is perpetual."

WHAT WE ARE DOING NOW:

1. Evaluations of Existing Demonstration Projects
2. Recent Administration Accomplishments: The Administration has already accomplished a great deal in its first two years. For instance, the Congress enacted the President's child care proposal and HOPE proposal, and expanded Head Start. The President has promoted the idea that a successful life must include voluntary service to others. And the President's advocacy of educational choice has helped to spark a grassroots movement across the country. The recent budget agreement also included several initiatives to empower people, such as the Earned Income Tax Credit expansion (\$12 billion over five year), the Child Health Tax Credit (\$5 billion over five years), and funding for child care vouchers. All of these accomplishments are part of the Administration's effort to protect and enhance individual power.
3. Distributional Analysis and Services Integration

OPTIONS READY FOR POSSIBLE INCLUSION IN THE FY92 BUDGET AND FOR USE IN THE STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS:

HOUSING: Fund HOPE: The President signed HOPE (Homeownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere) legislation last month (Nov '90)..HOPE is a model empowerment initiative.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING: Promote Educational Choice:

- Chapter 1 scholarships
- Experimental metropolitan choice area
- Decentralization demonstration grants

Reintroduce Education Flexibility Legislation

Job Training in Public Housing

THE ECONOMY AND JOBS:

--Racial and sexual discrimination is an insidious barrier to opportunity. The Bush Administration will continue in its commitment to tear down these barriers wherever they exist.

Restore a Lower Tax Rate for Capital Gains

Create Enterprise Zones

Repeal the Social Security Earnings Test

Repeal Davis-Bacon

Target SBA Loans

- *Cottage Capitalism Initiative
- *Upward Bound for Disadvantaged Young People

Revamp the Public Employment Service

FAMILY:

Restore the Value of the Personal Exemption

EMPOWERING WELFARE RECIPIENTS:

Test Approaches to Make Welfare Transitional

The 11 million Americans--an all time high--who receive AFDC divide roughly into two groups. One will be on welfare for two years or less. The other group, half of the recipients at any time, is in the midst of a very

long period of receiving welfare--lasting eight years or longer. This latter group becomes dependent on public programs.

The welfare system must be transformed from one fostering dependence to a system providing transitional help that inevitably leads to work. The welfare system must be given a mission: to return people to independence.

Establish Social Policy Enterprise Zones

- 11) "Bush's 'new paradigm' stresses local power," Wash Times:

"Our principles--conservative principles--were always right. And now the whole world can see that what's right also is what works,' Mr. Bush said."

"Mr. Bush said his objective is to return power to cities and states, saying he 'rejects the view that progress is measured in money spent and bureaucracies built.'"

- 12) "The Right Discovers The Poor," Broder

"One of the main imperatives for conservatives,' (Feulner) told me, 'is to recapture the rhetoric of compassion.'"

- 13) "An Infusion of Vision," Newsweek

"..the animating idea (of empowerment) is an intriguing one: to bring marketplace solutions to the intractable problems of the poor."

"(the advocates of empowerment) see government as a necessary engine of change--not by more taxing and spending,, but by liberation marketplace forces and encouraging enterprise and self-reliance."

"Forcing the poor, especially mothers of young children, to work seems draconian and heartless to traditional liberals who have dubbed workfare proposals 'slave-fare.'"

"Politicians have little incentive to vote for antipoverty programs, especially ones opposed by powerful interest groups. Still, some of the new ideas, like school choice, do directly affect the middle class, who are increasingly worried about the state of American education."

- 14) Pink's memo for Engeleiter: The Small Business Administration and the Empowerment of the Poor:

"The flip-side of individual empowerment is a dispersal of bureaucratic control over individuals. Decision-making power is pushed downward and outward from the centralized authority. This decentralization is happening worldwide."

Bureaucracies are being broken up. Old political alliances, as well as cleavages, are dissolving. These phenomena go a long way toward explaining why President Bush is so extraordinarily popular, because the Bush Agenda is part of the cutting edge of this decentralizing impulse."

****"The Bush Agenda resonates with the public because they see the reflection of its underlying principles everywhere around the world."

- 15) "NEO-NEO-ISM: Reflections on Hubble-ism, Rationalism, and the Pursuit of Excellence (After the Fiscal Follies)," Richard Darman:

THE BUDGET AGREEMENT:

"But let me not a few of the poor orphan's virtues:

*It is the largest deficit reduction program ever enacted--with more than seven times the permanent level of savings as achieved in the largest previous reconciliation bill.

*It represents the first comprehensive reform and restructuring of middle-class "entitlements"--farm, housing, student loan, veterans, postal, and Medicare programs--the largest portion of the budget, previously thought to be untouchable.

*It establishes five-year caps on discretionary spending--limiting non-defense spending to growth at the inflation rate, reducing defense expenditures on an orderly basis, and shrinking total discretionary outlays from 10.7% of GNP in fiscal year '91 to about 7% in 1995.

*It establishes the toughest enforcement system ever--extending the Gramm-Rudman sequester process and strengthening it with spending caps, mini-sequesters, and pay-as-you-go requirements.

*It includes "credit reform"--for the first time requiring that subsidies and potential losses associated with credit programs be fully accounted for, up front, and made subject to the discretionary program caps--thus limiting the growth of one of the federal government's burgeoning areas of previously hidden liability.

*It raises revenue--only 28% of total savings--by rounding out tax reform: flattening the "bubble" at 31%; reducing taxes for workers with income under \$20,000; raising the alternative minimum tax; and shifting the overall tax burden toward disincentives for consumption of alcohol, tobacco, gasoline, and luxuries.

*And it is fair.

Perhaps most importantly, all of the program's five-year savings and reforms are now built into law--enacted on day one."

Darman quotes Tom Paine (disparagingly):

"We have it our power to begin the world over again."

- 16) "Choice in Education," Raspberry: some illustrative anecdotes if you're interested.
- 17) "New White House battleground: domestic policy," Boston Globe

"In his Jan. 29 speech, Bush is expected to set out a domestic agenda that features economic revitalization, a national energy strategy and improved health care. If the Persian Gulf crisis has been successfully resolved by that time, Bush may also announce a blitz of congressional initiatives to deal with economic and social needs, the officials said."

Barney Frank: "'It does not make sense intellectually to pay off poor people today to forsake future generations.'"

- 18) Furse's memo: some suggest empowerment language for the SOU:

"..today, we are in danger of seeing an hereditary class emerge in America: a hereditary class not of privilege but of poverty. In America's inner cities, we face the grim reality of long term, persistent dependency as one generation of poverty begets another."

"In fighting poverty, empowerment means fostering a new system that operates not merely as a safety net, but instead as a ladder out of poverty."

- 19) "Verbal Judo":

"Empathy absorbs or redirects tension. You have to be able to step outside yourself and see things from the other person's point of view."

"(some) PRINCIPLES OF VERBAL JUDO:

- *Redirect rather than resist
- *Flexibility is strength. Rigidity is weakness.
- *Respond to people, don't react."

"The Four Types of Appeal:

- *Ethical: The professional presence projected which is seen and felt by others. Necessary and powerful in establishing credibility.
- *Personal: Relating to or affecting a person. The second most powerful appeal. People act out of selfish interests, so show empathy.
- *Practical: The use of off-beat strategies (humor, for example) that will gain compliance from others,

providing such strategies do not compromise your safety and integrity or break the law.

*Rational: Appeals to reason and logic are the weakest because most people do not think rationally or logically in crisis situations. Only once people are calmed does this appeal have power."

"Paraphrasing:

*You take control of the encounter

*It creates empathy in the other person, who will believe you are trying to understand

*It often makes the other modify his/her statements and become more reasonable

*It generates a fair-play response. The other person is almost forced to respond to your effort to understand."

20) Kemp: "A Democratic Capitalist Manifesto and an Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Cities":

"Just imagine...since the dawn of history...all at once...in exactly the same year...within a few months of each other...from opposite sides of the Atlantic...two inspired men...one a professor of moral philosophy, the other the fiery architect and poet of American Independence...gave the world the twin pillars of free society--the moral and inalienable rights to political and economic freedom. Smith's The Wealth of Nations and Jefferson's Declaration of Independence were then and remain today the greatest charters of freedom ever written."

"From Yale Professor Paul Kennedy to French minister Jacques Attali, we hear of the 'decline of America.'...As a good and loyal socialist, Mr. Attali appears to have little understanding of Smith. He views political economy as essentially a zero-sum game, hence his emphasis on government welfare and redistribution of existing wealth, rather than the creation of new wealth by free people, free markets, free trade, and free democratic societies. Minister Attali's latest thesis merely transfers this zero-sum theory to politics. In his view, apparently there is only so much greatness to go around. Thus for Europe to gain, America must lose; and for America to prosper, Asia must suffer."

"Does he seriously believe America would be more important if it were the only wealthy nation in a world of mediocrity? Surely, America is better off as a prospering nation in a thriving international economy, just as a thriving global economy is a benefit to America."

"Since 1981, more than 21.5 million jobs have been created--more jobs than have been created in the last decade in all of Europe, Canada, and Japan combined. More than four

million new business enterprises, relatively low inflation, and higher standards of living for most of our people testify to the strength of the U.S. economy. And, according to the U.S. Treasury figures, federal income taxes paid by the top one percent of taxpayers has surged by over 80%."

"And the U.S. trade deficit, often cited as a sign of weakness, is in reality a symbol of capital flight from abroad seeking the thriving and profitable opportunities for new investment in the United States."

"President Gorbachev admitted that the cold war is over, but then suggested that it doesn't matter who won it. Well, with all due respect, it does matter--it matters a great deal who won and why. I hasten to add that our arms and missiles didn't win the cold war--it was the power of western ideas, the triumph of liberal democracy and free market economies over the stifling hand of communist and socialist economies and dictatorships...Isn't it incredible that in Moscow, more people are lining up at McDonalds than at Lenin's tomb! I was fascinated recently seeing on satellite TV, demonstrators carrying a banner in Red Square that read 'Workers of the world, we're sorry..We've seen the future, it doesn't work.'"

"I've been struck by how similar the problems of America's inner cities are to those of Eastern Europe and even Third World economies. Ironically, both are suffering from the same malady. The malady is socialism."

"Because, you see, in America we really have two economies. One economy--our mainstream economy--is democratic, capitalist, market-oriented, entrepreneurial, and incentivized for working families whether in labor or management. The mainstream economy rewards work, investment, savings, and productivity. Incentives abound for productive human, economic and social behavior."

"But there is another economy--a second economy--that is similar in respects to the Eastern Europe or Third World "socialist" economy...This economy has barriers to productive human and social activity and a virtual absence of economic rewards...In the U.S., government tax, regulatory, and entitlement programs, set-up out of a desire to help the poor, in reality have led to a counterproductive economy."

"I believe we're at a point in history when what we know about creating wealth and opportunity in America's inner cities can work not only in America, but in Eastern Europe; and not only in Europe, but in the Third World, and indeed, in the Soviet Union itself."

ENT
"..the key to wealth and prosperity is allowing people freedom--freedom to work, to save, freedom to own their own property and homes, to succeed, and yes, to fail, but try again. The ultimate cause of the wealth of nations, and indeed, the wealth of cities, is people."

"In what George Gilder, in his book, Microcosm, called the quantum age of the new technology, our greatest assets are not the wealth we see around us, but in the potential which is unseen in the economy of the human mind."

"As President Bush said in his inaugural address: 'We know what works--freedom works..We know how to secure a more just and prosperous life for man on earth: through free markets, free speech, free elections, and the exercise of free will unhampered by the state.' The most important lesson of history is that the right policies lead to the right results."

"..taxing solely to raise revenues for the legitimate needs of the state, not to punish wealth and success [or] promote egalitarian ends."

- 21) Kemp to Heritage Foundation: "An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of Poverty in America and How to Combat It":

"Marxist-Leninists used to talk about their 'permanent revolution,' but as it turns out the only permanent revolution the world has ever seen is the American Revolution."

"Helping those left behind and left out is not only a moral imperative for our nation, I am convinced it is also a winning--indeed decisive--political strategy for bringing impoverished communities and low-income people and minorities into the ranks of the Party of Lincoln. Whether it's called bleeding heart conservatism, capitalism with a social conscience, or populist conservatism--it's the right thing to do, the right time to do it, and we're the right people to help lead it."

Lincoln: "'When one starts poor, as most do in the race of life, free society is such that he knows he can better his condition: he knows that there is no fixed condition for his whole life.' A debate over how to increase the wealth and opportunities of the poor plays to the strengths of our Party's Lincoln wing--our most authentic roots."

"..most of all, if you really want to create poverty and dependency, weaken and in some cases destroy the link between effort and reward."

"The poor don't want paternalism, they want opportunity--they don't want the servitude of welfare, they want to get

jobs and private property. They don't want dependency, they want a new declaration of independence."

"Wealth is not what we've done, but what we have yet to do."

22) Kemp talks about HOPE at National Press Club:

"We believe in tearing down walls that come between people and their self-respect. We believe in tearing down walls that prevent people from exercising their potential, and most of all, we want to tear down the wall that separates those in poverty from those in prosperity."

"I believe that the ultimate scandal in America is the ideal that poor people should be treated as perpetually poor and that they should accept the conditions of poverty as a perpetual condition."

"I believe in this respect our new war on poverty shares the goals of the original war on poverty: a hand up, not a handout. We have learned something over the past 25 years. We know what works and we are beginning to know what doesn't work."

23) Kemp's Remarks at the 66th Annual Congress of Cities:

"..problems are opportunities disguised as insurmountable barriers."

"(John Gardner) says there are many contributing factors in the rise in civilization--accidents of resources, geographical considerations, military power. He says whatever other ingredients, civilizations rise to greatness when something happens to the human mind, to the spirit of men and women who love freedom and democracy."

Gardner: "'..there occurs at breathtaking moments in history an exhilarating burst of energy and motivation, of hope and zest and imagination, and a severing of the bonds that normally hold in check the full release of human possibilities. A door is opened and the caged eagle soars.'"

"(Gardner) says the most imaginative, the most progressive, the greatest leaders of all time are those who never cease to wonder how they can set free the potential, the possibility, of that caged eagle, the talent of a free people."

"In the eleventh or twelfth century the Talmudic philosopher, Maimonides, said, and I quote, 'the noblest charity is to prevent people from having to take charity.'"

"We measure the compassion of our society not by how many people need the assistance, but by how few people need the assistance."

"We are not targeting people; we are targeting opportunity."

"..cultivate a true renaissance, a rebirth of America's cities and towns."

"..you cannot create new employees without first creating new employers...Labor and capital are not enemies, they are allies in the war on poverty and we have got to stop dividing America...There should be no division between labor and capital. As Abraham Lincoln said, 'labor precedes capital,' and we need both labor and capital."

24) Gingrich's remarks at the Southern Republican Leadership Conference (3/30/90):

"..we have to be competitive and we have to be competitive on positive terms and positive ideas...It is hard, frankly, because the more the Democratic Party has ceased to be a majority, the more it has cheated in order to stay in power."

"I am going to suggest a very simple model. That there is a bureaucratic welfare state...It means that in your mind you have two standards of time. You have the time you use when you go into a private business, like your hardware store or a McDonald's or a Sears and you have the time you use when you walk into a government office. The first is in minutes, the second is in hours. There is a level of customer service you expect when you are paying for something in a private business and there is a level of customer service you expect when, as a taxpayer, you go to the government business. And they are different models. If any private business in America treated you the way you routinely get treated by government, you would put them out of business."

"And we have been asking groups, 'What is the most important basic American value?' Virtually, universally, it is three words: honest hard work. This is a country that isn't afraid to work."

"When we say to voters, 'Which of these three is most threatened? Entrepreneurial free enterprise, technological progress and innovation or basic American values?' They are virtually unanimous in saying the great struggle of the Nineties is a struggle over values."

"We must apply common sense focused on success and opportunities."

--Thomas Jefferson, To William Carmichael, August
22, 1790.

- 52) ENVIRO: "Where the air is full of sunlight and the flag is
full of stars."
--Henry Van Dyke, "America For Me."
- 53) ENVIRO: "..spacious skies...amber waves of grain...purple
mountain majesties...fruited plain....sea to shining sea..."
--Katharine Lee Bates, "America the Beautiful."

A BILL

To amend the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to strengthen protections against discrimination in employment, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Civil Rights Act of 1991".

SEC. 2. FINDINGS AND PURPOSES.

(a) FINDINGS.--Congress finds that additional protections and remedies under Federal law are needed to deter unlawful discrimination.

(b) PURPOSE.--The purpose of this Act is to strengthen existing protections and remedies available under Federal civil rights laws.

SEC. 3. DEFINITIONS.

Section 701 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (42 U.S.C. 2000e) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsections:

"(1) The term 'complaining party' means the Commission, the Attorney General, or a person who may bring an action or proceeding under this Title.

"(m) The term 'demonstrates' means meets the burdens of production and persuasion.

"(n) The term 'justified by business necessity' means that the challenged practice has a manifest relationship to the employment in question or that the respondent's legitimate employment goals are significantly served by, even if they do not require, the challenged practice.

"(o) The term 'respondent' means an employer, employment agency, labor organization, joint labor-management committee controlling apprenticeship or other training or retraining programs, including on-the-job training programs, or those Federal entities subject to the provisions of section 717 (or the heads thereof).

"(p) (1) The term 'harass' means, in cases involving discrimination because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, the subjection of an individual to conduct that creates a working environment that would be found intimidating, hostile or offensive by a reasonable person.

"(2) The term 'harass' also means, in cases involving discrimination because of sex, (i) making the submission to unwelcome sexual advances by an employer a term or condition of employment of the individual; or (ii) using the rejection of such advances as a basis for employment decisions adversely affecting the individual; or (iii) making unwelcome sexual advances that create a working environment

that would be found intimidating, hostile or offensive by a reasonable person."

SEC. 4. DISPARATE IMPACT CLAIMS.

Section 703 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (42 U.S.C. 2000e-2) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(k) PROOF OF UNLAWFUL EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES IN DISPARATE IMPACT CASES.--Under this Title, an unlawful employment practice based on disparate impact is established only when a complaining party demonstrates that a particular employment practice causes a disparate impact on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, and the respondent fails to demonstrate that such practice is justified by business necessity; provided, however, that an unlawful employment practice shall nonetheless be established if the complaining party demonstrates the availability of an alternative employment practice, comparable in cost and equally effective in predicting job performance or achieving the respondent's legitimate employment goals, that will reduce the disparate impact, and the respondent refuses to adopt such alternative."

SEC. 5. FINALITY OF JUDGMENTS OR ORDERS.

For purposes of determining whether a litigated or consent judgment or order resolving a claim of employment discrimination because of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, or disability shall bind only those individuals who were parties to

the judgment or order, the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure shall apply in the same manner as they apply with respect to other civil causes of action.

SEC. 6. PROHIBITION AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN THE
MAKING AND PERFORMANCE OF CONTRACTS.

Section 1977 of the Revised Statutes of the United States (42 U.S.C. 1981) is amended--

- (1) by inserting "(a)" before "All persons within"; and
- (2) by adding at the end the following new subsections:

"(b) For purposes of this section, the right to 'make and enforce contracts' shall include the making, performance, modification and termination of contracts, and the enjoyment of all benefits, privileges, terms and conditions of the contract.

"(c) The rights protected by this section are protected against impairment by non-governmental discrimination as well as against impairment under color of State law."

SEC. 7. EXPANSION OF RIGHT TO CHALLENGE DISCRIMINATORY SENIORITY
SYSTEMS.

Subsection 706(e) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (42 U.S.C. 2000e-5(e)) is amended by adding at the end the following sentence:

"For purposes of this section, an alleged unlawful employment practice occurs when a seniority system is adopted, when an individual becomes subject to a seniority system, or when a person aggrieved is injured by the

application of a seniority system, or provision thereof, that is alleged to have been adopted for an intentionally discriminatory purpose, in violation of this Title, whether or not that discriminatory purpose is apparent on the face of the seniority provision."

SEC. 8. PROVIDING FOR ADDITIONAL REMEDIES FOR HARASSMENT IN THE
WORKPLACE BECAUSE OF RACE, COLOR, RELIGION, SEX, OR
NATIONAL ORIGIN.

(a) Subsection 703(a) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (42 U.S.C. 2000e-2(a)) is amended by deleting the period at the end and inserting in lieu thereof "; or" and by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

"(3) to harass any employee or applicant for employment because of that individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; provided, however, that no such unlawful employment practice shall be found to have occurred if the complaining party failed to avail himself or herself of a procedure, of which the complaining party was or should have been aware, established by the employer for resolving complaints of harassment in an effective fashion within a period not exceeding 90 days."

(b) Section 706 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (42 U.S.C. 2000e-5) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsections:

"(1) EMERGENCY RELIEF IN HARASSMENT CASES.--An employee or other complaining party alleging a violation of section

703(a)(3) of this Title may petition the court for temporary or preliminary relief. If the complaining party establishes a substantial probability of success on the merits of such harassment claim, the continued submission to the harassment shall be deemed injury sufficiently irreparable to warrant the entry of temporary or preliminary relief. A court having jurisdiction over a request for temporary or preliminary relief pursuant to this paragraph shall assign the case for hearing at the earliest practicable date and cause such case to be expedited in every way practicable.

"(m) EQUITABLE MONETARY AWARDS IN HARASSMENT CASES.--

"(1) In ordering relief for a violation of section 703(a)(3) of this Title, the court may, in addition to ordering appropriate equitable relief under subsection (g) of this section, exercise its equitable discretion to require the employer to pay the complaining party an amount up to but not exceeding a total of \$150,000.00, if the court finds that an additional equitable remedy beyond those available under subsection (g) of this section is justified by the equities, is consistent with the purposes of this Title, and is in the public interest. In weighing the equities and fixing the amount of any award under this paragraph, the court shall give due consideration, along with any other relevant equitable factors, to (i) the nature of compliance programs, if any, established by the employer to ensure that unlawful harassment does not occur in the

workplace; (ii) the nature of procedures, if any, established by the employer for resolving complaints of harassment in an effective fashion; (iii) whether the employer took prompt and reasonable corrective action upon becoming aware of the conduct complained of; (iv) the employer's size and the effect of the award on its economic viability; (v) whether the harassment was willful or egregious; and (vi) the need, if any, to provide restitution for the complaining party.

"(2) All issues in cases arising under this Title, including cases arising under section 703(a)(3) of this Title, shall be heard and determined by a judge, as provided in subsection (f) of this section. If, however, the court holds that a monetary award pursuant to paragraph (1) of this subsection is sought by the complaining party and that such an award cannot constitutionally be granted unless a jury determines liability on one or more issues with respect to which such award is sought, a jury may be empaneled to hear and determine such liability issues and no others. In no case arising under this Title shall a jury consider, recommend, or determine the amount of any monetary award sought pursuant to paragraph (1) of this subsection."

(c) Subsection 706(e) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (42 U.S.C. 2000e-5(e)) (as amended by section 7 of this Act) is further amended by adding at the end the following sentence:

"For purposes of actions involving harassment under section 703(a)(3) of this Title, the period of limitations established under this subsection shall be tolled during the time (not exceeding 90 days) that an employee avails himself or herself of a procedure established by the employer for resolving complaints of harassment."

SEC. 9. ALLOWING THE AWARD OF EXPERT FEES.

Section 706(k) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (42 U.S.C. 2000e-5(k)) is amended by inserting "(including reasonable expert fees up to but not exceeding \$300 per day)" after "attorney's fee".

SEC. 10. PROVIDING FOR INTEREST, AND EXTENDING THE
 STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS, IN ACTIONS AGAINST THE
 FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

Section 717 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (42 U.S.C. 2000e-16) is amended--

(1) in subsection 717(c), by striking out "thirty days" and inserting in lieu thereof "ninety days"; and

(2) in subsection 717(d), by inserting before the period ", and the same interest to compensate for delay in payment shall be available as in cases involving non-public parties".

SEC. 11. PROVIDING CIVIL RIGHTS PROTECTIONS TO CONGRESSIONAL
 EMPLOYEES.

Section 717 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (42 U.S.C. 2000e-16) (as amended by section 10 of this Act) is further amended--

(1) in subsection 717(a), by striking "legislative and judicial branches" and inserting in lieu thereof "judicial branch".

(2) in subsection 717(a), by striking "in the Library of Congress" and inserting in lieu thereof:

"in the Congress of the United States, or its Houses, committees, offices or instrumentalities, or the offices of any of its Members".

(3) in subsection 717(b), by striking the last sentence and inserting in lieu thereof:

"With respect to the Congress of the United States, its Houses, committees, offices, and instrumentalities, and the offices of its Members, authorities granted in this subsection to the Commission shall be exercised in each House of Congress as determined by that House of Congress, and in offices and instrumentalities not within a House of Congress as determined by the Congress."

(4) in subsection 717(c), by inserting, after "Equal Employment Opportunity Commission" each time it appears, ", or a congressional entity exercising the authorities of the Commission pursuant to subsection (b) of this section,".

SEC. 12. ALTERNATIVE MEANS OF DISPUTE RESOLUTION.

Where knowingly and voluntarily agreed to by the parties, reasonable alternative means of dispute resolution, including binding arbitration, shall be encouraged in place of the judicial

resolution of disputes arising under this Act and the Acts amended by this Act.

SEC. 13. SEVERABILITY.

If any provision of this Act, or an amendment made by this Act, or the application of such provision or amendment to any person or circumstances is held to be invalid, the remainder of this Act and the amendments made by this Act, and the application of such provisions of this Act to other persons and circumstances, shall not be affected thereby.

SEC. 14. EFFECTIVE DATE.

This Act and the amendments made by this Act shall take effect upon enactment. The amendments made by this Act shall not apply to any claim arising before the effective date of this Act.

* * * * *

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE

The legislation may be cited as the "Civil Rights Act of 1991."

SECTION 2. FINDINGS AND PURPOSE

The Congress finds that this legislation is necessary to provide additional protections and remedies against unlawful discrimination in employment. The purpose of this Act is to strengthen existing protections and remedies in order to deter discrimination more effectively and provide meaningful relief for victims of discrimination.

SECTION 3. DEFINITIONS

Section 3 adds definitions to those already in Title VII.

The definition of "demonstrates" requires that a party bear the burden of production and persuasion when the statute requires that he or she "demonstrate" a fact.

The definition of the term "justified by business necessity" is meant to codify the meaning of business necessity as used in Griggs v. Duke Power Co., 401 U.S. 424, 432 (1971), and subsequent cases including New York City Transit Authority v. Beazer, 440 U.S. 568, 587 n. 31 (1979). Such a definition was reaffirmed by the Court in Wards Cove Packing Co., Inc. v. Atonio, 109 S. Ct. 2115, 2125-2126 (1989). Even the dissent in Wards Cove acknowledged that "Griggs made it clear that a neutral practice that operates to exclude minorities is nevertheless lawful if its serves a valid business purpose." See 109 S. Ct., at 2129 (Stevens, J., dissenting) (emphasis added).

The terms "complaining party" and "respondent" are defined to include those persons and entities listed in the Act. The definition of the term "harass" is explained in the analysis of Section 8 below.

SECTION 4. DISPARATE IMPACT CLAIMS

In Griggs v. Duke Power Co., 401 U.S. 424 (1971), the Supreme Court ruled that Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits hiring and promotion practices that unintentionally but disproportionately exclude persons of a particular race, color, religion, sex, or national origin unless these practices are justified by "business necessity." Law suits challenging such practices are called "disparate impact" cases, in contrast to "disparate treatment" cases brought to challenge intentional discrimination.

In a series of cases decided in subsequent years, the Supreme Court refined and clarified the doctrine of disparate impact. In 1988, the Court greatly expanded the scope of the doctrine's coverage by applying it to subjective hiring and promotion practices (the Court had previously applied it only in cases involving objective criteria such as diploma requirements and height-and-weight requirements). Justice O'Connor took this occasion to explain with great care both the reasons for the expansion and the need to be clear about the evidentiary standards that would operate to prevent the expansion of disparate impact doctrine from leading to quotas. In the course of her discussion, she pointed out:

"[T]he inevitable focus on statistics in disparate impact cases could put undue pressure on employers to adopt inappropriate prophylactic measures. . . . [E]xtending disparate impact analysis to subjective employment practices has the potential to create a Hobson's choice for employers and thus to lead in practice to perverse results. If quotas and preferential treatment become the only cost-effective means of avoiding expensive litigation and potentially catastrophic liability, such measures will be widely adopted. The prudent employer will be careful to ensure that its programs are discussed in euphemistic terms, but will be equally careful to ensure that the quotas are met." Watson v. Fort Worth Bank & Trust Co., 108 S. Ct. 2777, 2787-2788 (1988) (plurality opinion).

The following year, in Wards Cove Packing Co. v. Atonio, 109 S. Ct. 2115, 2126 (1989), the Court considered whether the plaintiff or the defendant had the burden of proof on the issue of business necessity. Resolving an ambiguity in the prior law, the Court placed the burden on the plaintiff.

Under this Act, a complaining party makes out a prima facie case of disparate impact when he or she identifies a particular employment practice and demonstrates that the practice has caused a disparate impact on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. The burden of proof then shifts to the respondent to demonstrate that the practice is justified by

business necessity. It is then open to the complaining party to rebut that defense by demonstrating the availability of an alternative employment practice, comparable in cost and equally effective in measuring job performance or achieving the respondent's legitimate employment goals, that will reduce the disparate impact, and that the respondent refuses to adopt such alternative.

The burden-of-proof issue that Wards Cove resolved in favor of defendants is resolved by this Act in favor of plaintiffs. Wards Cove is thereby overruled. On all other issues, this Act leaves existing law undisturbed.

As Justice O'Connor emphasized in her Watson opinion, the use of disparate impact analysis creates a very real risk that Title VII will lead to the use of quotas. Indeed, there is evidence that the adoption of disparate impact analysis by the courts has led to the use of quotas, although the extent of this phenomenon is for obvious reasons not measurable. See, e.g., Hearings on H.R. 1, "Civil Rights Act of 1991," before the Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives, 102d Cong., 1st Sess., February 7, 1991 (testimony of Assistant Attorney General John R. Dunne); Hearings on S. 2104, "Civil Rights Act of 1990," before the Committee on Labor and Human Resources, U.S. Senate, 101st Cong., 2d Sess., February 23, 1990 (testimony of Professor Charles Fried); Joint Hearings on H.R. 4000, "Civil Rights Act of 1990," before the Committee on Education and Labor and the Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives, 101st Cong., 2d Sess., March 20, 1990, vol. 2, pp. 516, 625, 633 (testimony of Glen D. Nager, Esq.); Fortune, March 13, 1989, at 87-88 (reporting a poll of 202 CEOs of Fortune 500 and Service 500 companies, in which 18% of the CEOs admitted that their companies have "specific quotas for hiring and promoting"). The use of quotas, however, represents a perversion of Title VII and of disparate impact law. As the Court noted in Griggs, 401 U.S., at 431: "Discriminatory preference for any group, minority or majority, is precisely and only what Congress has proscribed."

Because of the serious dangers inherent in the use of disparate impact analysis, any codification of a cause of action under the disparate impact theory must include evidentiary safeguards recognized in Justice O'Connor's Watson opinion and in Justice White's opinion for the Court in Wards Cove. The codification adopted in Sections 3 and 4 of this Act does so, and it is vital that courts and employers construe this Act in a manner that neither makes it possible to defend or justify the use of employment quotas nor encourages their use.

If an ability test, for example, has a disparate impact and the test is not justified by business necessity as defined in

Section 3 of this Act, the test should not be used. If business necessity can be shown, then the disparate impact need not be reduced or eliminated unless the complaining party demonstrates the availability of an alternative employment practice as required by Section 4 of this Act and the respondent refuses to adopt such alternative. In neither event is an employer required or permitted to adjust test scores, or to use different cut-offs for members of different groups, or otherwise to use the test scores in a discriminatory manner. Manipulating test results in such a fashion is not an alternative employment practice of the kind that an employer must adopt to avoid liability at the surrebuttal phase of a disparate impact case. On the contrary, such discrimination violates Title VII, whether practiced by an employer, an employment agency, or any other "respondent" as defined in Section 3 of this Act. Similarly, a discriminatory practice could not be defended under Title VII on the ground that the practice was necessary or useful in avoiding the possibility of liability under the disparate impact theory. Cf. Civil Rights Act of 1964, sec. 703(j), 42 U.S.C. 2000e-2(j).

It should be noted that in identifying the particular employment practice alleged to cause disparate impact, it is not intention of this Act to require the plaintiff to do the impossible in breaking down an employer's practices to the greatest conceivable degree. Courts will be permitted to hold, for example, that vesting complete hiring discretion in an individual guided only by unknown subjective standards constitutes a single particular employment practice susceptible to challenge.

This approach is consistent with Wards Cove, see 109 S. Ct., at 2125, and has been employed since Wards Cove in Sledge v. J.P. Stevens & Co., 52 EPD para. 39,537 (E.D.N.C. Nov. 30, 1989). The Sledge court alluded to the difficulty of "delving into the workings of an employment decisionmaker's mind" and noted that the defendant's personnel officers reported having no idea of the basis on which they made their employment decisions. The court held that "the identification by the plaintiffs of the uncontrolled, subjective discretion of defendant's employing officials as the source of the discrimination shown by plaintiff's statistics sufficed to satisfy the causation requirements of Wards Cove." This Act contemplates that the use of such uncontrolled and unexplained discretion is properly treated, as it was in the Sledge case, as one employment practice that need not be divided by the plaintiff into discrete sub-parts.

SECTION 5. FINALITY OF JUDGMENTS OR ORDERS

In Hansberry v. Lee, 311 U.S. 32, 40-41 (1940) (citations omitted), the Supreme Court held:

It is a principle of general application in Anglo-American jurisprudence that one is not bound by a judgment in personam in which he is not designated as a party or to which he has not been made a party by service of process. . . . A judgment rendered in such circumstances is not entitled to the full faith and credit which the Constitution and statutes of the United States . . . prescribe, . . . and judicial action enforcing it against the person or property of the absent party is not that due process which the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments require.

In Hansberry, Carl Hansberry and his family, who were black, were seeking to challenge a racial covenant prohibiting the sale of land to blacks. One of the owners who wanted the covenant enforced argued that the Hansberrys could not litigate the validity of the covenant because that question had previously been adjudicated, and the covenant sustained, in an earlier lawsuit, although the Hansberrys were not parties in that lawsuit. The Illinois court had ruled that the Hansberrys' challenge was barred, but the Supreme Court found that this ruling violated due process and allowed the challenge.

In Martin v. Wilks, 109 S. Ct. 2180 (1989), the Court confronted a similar argument. That case involved a claim by Robert Wilks and other white fire fighters that the City of Birmingham had discriminated against them by refusing to promote them because of their race. The City argued that their challenge was barred because the City's promotion process had been sanctioned in a consent decree entered in an earlier case between the City and a class of black plaintiffs, of which Wilks and the white fire fighters were aware, but in which they were not parties. The Court rejected this argument. Instead, it concluded that the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure required that persons seeking to bind outsiders to the results of litigation have a duty to join them as parties, see Fed. R. Civ. P. 19, unless the court certified a class of defendants adequately represented by a named defendant, see Fed. R. Civ. P. 23. The Court specifically rejected the defendants' argument that a different rule should obtain in civil rights litigation.

This Section codifies that holding. Had the rule advocated by the City of Birmingham in Wilks been adopted in Hansberry, one judicial decree in one case between one plaintiff and one defendant would have prevented an attack on the racial covenant by anyone who had ever heard of the original case. That is not how the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure operate. And there is no reason why a different rule should be devised to prevent civil rights plaintiffs, as opposed to persons bringing all other kinds of cases, from bringing suit.

SECTION 6. PROHIBITION AGAINST RACIAL
DISCRIMINATION IN THE MAKING AND
PERFORMANCE OF CONTRACTS

Under 42 U.S.C. 1981, persons of all races have the same right "to make and enforce contracts." In Patterson v. McLean Credit Union, 109 S. Ct. 2363 (1989), the Supreme Court held: "The most obvious feature of the provision is the restriction of its scope to forbidding discrimination in the 'mak[ing] and enforce[ment]' of contracts alone. Where an alleged act of discrimination does not involve the impairment of one of these specific rights, [sec.] 1981 provides no relief."

As written, therefore, section 1981 provides insufficient protection against racial discrimination in the context of contracts. In particular, it provides no relief for discrimination in the performance of contracts (as contrasted with the making and enforcement of contracts). Section 1981, as amended by this Act, will provide a remedy for individuals who are subjected to discriminatory performance of their employment contracts (through racial harassment, for example) or are dismissed or denied promotions because of race. In addition, the discriminatory infringement of contractual rights that do not involve employment will be made actionable under section 1981. This will, for example, create a remedy for a black child who is admitted to a private school as required pursuant to section 1981, but is then subjected to discriminatory treatment in the performance of the contract once he or she is attending the school.

In addition to overruling the Patterson decision, this Section of the Act codifies the holding of Runyon v. McCrary, 427 U.S. 160 (1976), under which section 1981 prohibits private, as well as governmental, discrimination.

SECTION 7. EXPANSION OF RIGHT TO CHALLENGE
DISCRIMINATORY SENIORITY SYSTEMS

Section 7 overrules the holding in Lorance v. AT&T Technologies, Inc., 109 S. Ct. 2261 (1989), in which female employees challenged a seniority system pursuant to Title VII, claiming that it was adopted with an intent to discriminate against women. Although the system was facially nondiscriminatory and treated all similarly situated employees alike, it produced demotions for the plaintiffs, who claimed that the employer had adopted the seniority system with the intention of altering their contractual rights. The Supreme Court held that the claim was barred by Title VII's requirement that a charge must be filed within 180 days (or 300 days if the matter can be referred to a state agency) after the alleged discrimination occurred.

The Court held that the time for plaintiffs to file their complaint began to run when the employer adopted the allegedly discriminatory seniority system, since it was the adoption of the system with a discriminatory purpose that allegedly violated their rights. According to the Court, that was the point at which plaintiffs suffered the diminution in employment status about which they complained.

The rule adopted by the Court is contrary to the position that had been taken by the Department of Justice and the EEOC. It shields existing seniority systems from legitimate discrimination claims. The discriminatory reasons for adoption of a seniority system may become apparent only when the system is finally applied to affect the employment status of the employees that it covers. At that time, the controversy between an employer and an employee can be focused more sharply.

In addition, a rule that limits challenges to the period immediately following adoption of a seniority system will promote unnecessary, as well as unfocused, litigation. Employees will be forced either to challenge the system before they have suffered harm or to remain forever silent. Given such a choice, employees who are unlikely ever to suffer harm from the seniority system may nonetheless feel that they must file a charge as a precautionary measure -- an especially difficult choice since they may be understandably reluctant to initiate a lawsuit against an employer if they do not have to.

Finally, the Lorance rule will prevent employees who are hired more than 180 (or 300) days after adoption of a seniority system from ever challenging the adverse consequences of that system, regardless of how severe they may be. Such a rule fails to protect sufficiently the important interest in eliminating employment discrimination that is embodied in Title VII.

Likewise, a rule that an employee may sue only within 180 (or 300) days after becoming subject to a seniority system would be unfair to both employers and employees. The rule fails to protect seniority systems from delayed challenge, since so long as employees are being hired someone will be able to sue. And, while this rule would give every employee a theoretical opportunity to challenge a discriminatory seniority system, it would do so, in most instances, before the challenge was sufficiently focused and before it was clear that a challenge was necessary. Finally, most employees would be reluctant to begin their jobs by suing their employers.

This change in the law, therefore, is warranted. Indeed, it is necessary to safeguard the same principles upheld by the Supreme Court in Martin v. Wilks, 109 S. Ct. 2180 (1989), which

guarantees civil rights complainants a fair opportunity to present their claims in court.

SECTION 8. PROVIDING FOR ADDITIONAL REMEDIES FOR HARASSMENT IN THE WORKPLACE BECAUSE OF RACE, COLOR, RELIGION, SEX, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN

This provision is designed to redress an anomaly in current law. Title VII prohibits discrimination in employment, but provides inadequate remedies for harassment in the workplace, including sexual harassment, which the Supreme Court has recognized as actionable under Title VII. See, e.g., Meritor Savings Bank, FSB v. Vinson, 477 U.S. 57 (1986). Such harassment frequently will not be so intolerable that an employee subjected to it immediately leaves. In such circumstances, the only remedy the victim of harassment can obtain under Title VII's remedial scheme as currently drafted is declaratory and injunctive relief against continuation of the harassment.

Such a rule is plainly inequitable. It effectively tells employers that the only consequence of creating an environment so hostile to an employee that he or she is forced to sue to obtain relief is a directive to refrain in the future. This defect must be corrected.

At the same time, Title VII's existing framework, with its emphasis on conciliation and mediation, has served the country well for more than a quarter of a century as a tool for combatting discrimination. It would be most unwise to jettison or rewrite this basic statute in favor of a tort-style approach including compensatory and punitive damages at a time when our tort system is widely recognized to be in crisis. President Bush has made it clear that our civil rights laws "should not be turned into some lawyer's bonanza, encouraging litigation at the expense of conciliation, mediation, or settlement."

Section 8 is designed to meet both of these concerns. It creates a new remedy for on-the-job harassment, allowing courts to make a monetary award in addition to granting declaratory and injunctive relief. The new remedy is available on the same terms for all forms of on-the-job harassment, whether based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

The new remedy created by this Section is capped at \$150,000. Courts are directed to make a monetary award when an additional equitable remedy is justified by the equities, is consistent with the purposes Title VII, and is in the public interest. In weighing the equities and determining the amount of any award, courts are instructed to consider the nature of compliance programs implemented by the employer; the nature of the employer's complaint procedures, if any, used to resolve

claims of harassment; whether the employer took prompt and effective remedial action upon learning of the harassment; the employer's size and the effect of the award on its economic viability (so that the maximum award would be available only against very large and financially secure employers); whether the harassment was willful or egregious; and the need, if any, to provide restitution for the complaining party.

This Section allows a court to make a monetary award "up to but not exceeding a total of \$150,000." This language is intended to make clear that where there are several related incidents that could arguably be subdivided into distinct unlawful employment practices, the award that can be obtained under this new provision for all of them combined is limited to \$150,000. Otherwise, plaintiffs and their lawyers will have incentives to spend resources on hair-splitting litigation over how many unlawful employment practices have occurred. \$150,000 is a large enough amount to be an adequate and effective remedy for the type of conduct sought to be prevented, and no good purpose would be served by encouraging lawyers to use their inventiveness to circumvent the limitation of \$150,000.

The substantive definition of harassment set out in Section 3 of this Act makes it an offense for an employer or its agents to harass any employee because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. The term "harass" encompasses "the subjection of an individual to conduct that creates a working environment that would be found intimidating, hostile or offensive by a reasonable person." The definition also explicitly defines sexual harassment to include certain conduct involving unwelcome sexual advances. The definition is intended to codify current law as stated by the Supreme Court. See Meritor Savings Bank, supra, 477 U.S., at 66 ("Since the Guidelines were issued, courts have uniformly held, and we agree, that a plaintiff may establish a violation of Title VII by proving that discrimination based on sex has created a hostile or abusive work environment.").

The new provisions of Title VII established in this Section are designed to deter and provide restitution for harassment, and to encourage employers to adopt meaningful complaint procedures to redress harassment and to encourage employees to use them. The employer will not be found liable if the complaining party failed to avail himself or herself of an effective complaint procedure. In determining the appropriate remedy, moreover, courts will consider whether an employer took prompt and effective remedial action. The effect of these requirements will be to encourage preventive measures and prompt remedial action by employers and to minimize litigation, thus maximizing the speed and efficacy of relief.

This provision of the Act protects employers from liability only when they have established a procedure "for resolving

complaints of harassment in an effective fashion within a period not exceeding 90 days." Procedures under which victims of harassment are required to seek relief from the same supervisor who has engaged in the harassing conduct, or under which victims would otherwise reasonably expect their complaints to result in retaliation against them rather than in a fair investigation and effective resolution of their complaint, will not insulate the employer from liability. The new provisions of Title VII allow an employee, moreover, to petition a court for emergency relief, and they provide that the continued suffering of harassment shall be assumed to be sufficient irreparable harm to warrant judicial relief, whether or not the employee has fully exhausted a complaint procedure, so long as the employee has initiated a complaint.

This Section includes a provision reaffirming that Congress intends all issues to be decided by judges, as has always been the case under Title VII. Such a provision is important in avoiding the creation of an inefficient tort-style litigation system that is foreign to the purposes of employment law. Because the courts have relatively limited experience with harassment cases, because particular cases will undoubtedly raise issues requiring clarification, and because employers therefore require the information contained in written judicial opinions to assist them in conforming their conduct with the law, it is particularly important to avoid a profusion of unexplained and inconsistent jury verdicts if possible.

Because the monetary relief authorized in these amendments to Title VII is characterized as equitable, the courts should find that bench trials are consistent with the Seventh Amendment. Because the question of constitutionality is not free from doubt, however, this Section also provides that should a court hold that a jury trial with respect to issues of liability is constitutionally required, it may empanel a jury to hear those issues and no others. This ensures that the additional relief this scheme makes available will not become a dead letter should the courts conclude that the Seventh Amendment requires a jury trial on liability. See Tull v. United States, 107 S. Ct. 1831 (1987).

SECTION 9. ALLOWING THE AWARD OF EXPERT FEES

Section 9 authorizes the recovery of expert witness fees (up to but not exceeding \$300 per day) by prevailing parties according to the same standards that govern awards of attorney fees under Title VII. Cf. Crawford Fitting Co. v. J.T. Gibbons, Inc., 482 U.S. 437 (1987). The provision is intended to allow recovery for work done in preparation for trial as well as after trial has begun, with the cap applying to each witness.

SECTION 10. PROVIDING FOR INTEREST AND EXTENDING THE
STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS, IN ACTIONS AGAINST
THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Section 10 extends the period for filing a complaint against the Federal government pursuant to Title VII from 30 days to 90 days. It also authorizes the payment of interest to compensate for delay in the payment of a judgment according to the same rules that govern such payments in actions against private parties.

SECTION 11. PROVIDING CIVIL RIGHTS PROTECTIONS TO
CONGRESSIONAL EMPLOYEES

Section 11 extends the protections of Title VII to congressional employees on the same basis that they extend to Executive branch employees. The Executive branch, like private employers and state and local governments, is forbidden by law to discriminate on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. The Congress, however, has exempted itself from the law. President Bush has stated that Congress "should live by the same requirements it prescribes for others" and that Congress "should join the Executive branch in setting an example for these private employers."

In addition to setting a helpful example, and providing congressional employees with the same rights enjoyed by other Americans, coverage under Title VII will provide the Congress with the valuable experience of living under the same rules that it imposes on other employers. This experience should prove useful in encouraging the Congress to give prompt and serious consideration to proposals for improving the law and in enabling the Congress to resist ill-considered proposals -- like the bill that President Bush vetoed on October 22, 1990 -- that would undermine the cause of civil rights and impose completely unjustified burdens on the employers of this nation.

It should be emphasized that this Section allows the Congress to create its own internal mechanisms for enforcing Title VII in the legislative branch. Like Executive branch employees, congressional employees would retain the right to judicial relief, but the Executive branch would have absolutely no role in enforcing Title VII against the Congress. For that reason, any objection to this Section on separation-of-powers grounds would not be well-founded.

SECTION 12. ALTERNATIVE MEANS OF DISPUTE RESOLUTION

This provision encourages the use of alternative means of dispute resolution, including binding arbitration, where the parties knowingly and voluntarily elect to use these methods.

In light of the litigation crisis facing this country and the increasing sophistication and reliability of alternatives to litigation, there is no reason to disfavor the use of such forums.

SECTION 13. SEVERABILITY

Section 13 states that if a provision of this Act is found invalid, that finding will not affect the remainder of the Act.

SECTION 14. EFFECTIVE DATE

Section 14 specifies that the Act and the amendments made by the Act take effect upon enactment, and will not apply to cases arising before the effective date of the Act.

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overlooked — the boot and the spade. Speed and length of marching has won many victories; the spade has saved many defeats and gained time for victory.

Field Marshal Earl Wavell, *The Good Soldier* (1945)

- 10 It never has made and never will make any sense trying to abolish any particular weapon of war. What we have to abolish is war.

Sir John Slessor, *Strategy for the West* (1954)

- 11 Everything that is shot or thrown at you, or dropped on you in war is unpleasant, but of all horrible devices, the most terrifying is the land mine.

Field Marshal Viscount Slim, *Unofficial History* (1959)

- 12 Today the expenditure of billions of dollars every year on weapons, acquired for the purpose of making sure we never need to use them, is essential to keeping the peace.

John F. Kennedy, speech at the American University, Washington, 1963

- 13 Grenades were one of the most fearfully respected and accident-prone tricky instruments an infantryman had to deal with. They were often as likely to hurt your own people or yourself as the enemy.

James Jones, *WWII* (1977)

- 14 Losing guns in battle has always been more bitterly regretted than the weapons' real military value might suggest, and artillerymen who might have run away to fight another day have often stood fast about their silent guns, selling their lives dearly with handspike and hammer.

Richard Holmes, *Firing Line* (1985)

337 WEST POINT

- 1 It but rarely happens that a graduate from West Point is not a gentleman in his deportment, as well as soldier in his education.

Colonel Archibald Henderson, letter to the Secretary of the United States Navy, 1823

- 2 The standards for the American Army will be those of West Point. The rigid attention, the upright bearing, attention to detail,

uncomplaining obedience to instruction, required of the cadet, will be required of every officer and soldier of our armies in France.

General John F. Pershing, General Order to the US forces in France, 1917

- 3 In my dreams I hear again the crash of guns the rattle of musketry, the strange, mournful mutter of the battlefield. But in the evening of my memory, always I come back to West Point.

General Douglas MacArthur, address at the US Military Academy, West Point, 1962

- 4 When the going gets tough, the tough get going.

Anon., cadet saying, West Point

- 5 Duty, honor, country.

Motto of the United States Military Academy, West Point

338 WOUNDS

- 1 A wound is nothing, be it ne'er so deep; Blood is the gold of war's rich livery. Christopher Marlowe, *Tamburlaine the Great* Part 2, II, ii

- 2 The history of a soldier's wound beguiles the pain of it.

Laurence Sterne, *Tristram Shandy* (1759-67)

- 3 The broken soldier, kindly bade me stay. Sat by his fire, and talk'd the night away; Wept o'er his wounds, or tales of sorrow done,

Shoulder'd his crutch, and show'd how fields were won.

Oliver Goldsmith, 'The Deserted Village' (1770)

- 4 Ben Battle was a soldier bold, And used to war's alarms; But a cannon-ball took of his legs, So he laid down his arms!

Thomas Hood, 'Faithless Nelly Gray'

- 5 (Of the Battle of Albuera) Every individual most nobly did his duty; and it was observed that our dead, particularly the 57th Regiment, were lying as they fought, in ranks, and every wound was in front.

Lt-Gen Viscount Beresford, despatch to Wellington, 1811

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A DICTIONARY OF
MILITARY
Quotations

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SIMON & SCHUSTER



New York London Toronto Sydney Tokyo Singapore



LEVEL 1 - 5 OF 20 STORIES

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JANUARY 18, 1990, THURSDAY

SECTION: FROM THE WHITE HOUSE

LENGTH: 1773 words

HEADLINE: CB
PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
ADDRESSES THE EXECUTIVE FORUM
CONSTITUTION HALL
WASHINGTON, DC

BODY:

... set down in our initial quarter, and now let's use the next quarter to make still greater progress. Woodrow Wilson could have been describing our administration when he said, "It's always a beginning, not a consummation." And that spirit lets me simply observe, "Just wait 'til the second guessers see our second year." You know -- (applause) -- remember the ...

LEVEL 1 - 10 OF 20 STORIES

The Associated Press

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July 4, 1987, Saturday, BC cycle

SECTION: Domestic News

LENGTH: 453 words

HEADLINE: Today in History

KEYWORD: History

BODY:

... 57. Tennis player Pam Shriver is 25.

Thought for Today: "The American Revolution was a beginning, not a consummation." _ Woodrow Wilson, 28th president of the United States (1856-1924).

destiny in their hands the moment the war tocsin sounds. The Long Gray Line has never failed us. Were you to do so, a million ghosts in olive drab, in brown khaki, in blue and gray, would rise from their white crosses thundering those magic words—Duty—Honor—Country.

This does not mean that you are war mongers. On the contrary, the soldier, above all other people, prays for peace, for he must suffer and bear the deepest wounds and scars of war. But always in our ears ring the ominous words of Plato, that wisest of all philosophers, "Only the dead have seen the end of war."

The shadows are lengthening for me. The twilight is here. My days of old have vanished tone and tint; they have gone glimmering through the dreams of things that were. Their memory is one of wondrous beauty, watered by tears, and coaxed and caressed by the smiles of yesterday. I listen vainly, but with thirsty ear, for the witching melody of faint bugles blowing reveille, of far drums beating the long roll. In my dreams I hear again the crash of guns, the rattle of musketry, the strange mournful mutter of the battlefield. But in the evening of my memory, always I come back to West Point. Always there echoes and re-echoes in my ears—Duty—Honor—Country.

Today marks my final roll call with you. But I want you to know that when I cross the river my last conscious thoughts will be of the Corps—and the Corps—and the Corps.

I bid you farewell.

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REMINISCENCES

GENERAL OF THE ARMY

Douglas MacArthur

McGRAW-HILL BOOK COMPANY

New York

Toronto

London



Douglas MacArthur, 1880-1964

27th
Edition

DORLAND'S
ILLUSTRATED

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R121
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WH

Medical Dictionary

1988

W.B. SAUNDERS COMPANY

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Philadelphia London Toronto

Montreal Sydney Tokyo

- Armophorina** (ar'mo-fo-ri'nah, ar'mof-o-ri'nah) [L. *arma armor* + Gr. *phoros* bearing] a suborder of small, polysaprobic, ciliate protozoa (order Heterotrichina, subclass Spirotricha), characterized by an adoral zone of membranelles encircling the body, spiraling posteriorly, accompanied by a ciliary stripe, and an antapically situated cytostome; a rigid pellice with one or two posterior spines; and the only other somatic ciliature occurring in a caudal tuft and several anterior cirri.
- armpit** (arm'pit) fossa axillaris.
- Arnaldus de Villanova** see *Arnold of Villanova*.
- Arndt's law, Arndt-Schulz law** [Rudolf Arndt, German psychiatrist, 1835-1900; Hugo Schulz, German pharmacologist, 1853-1932] see under *law*.
- Arneth count (classification, formula, index)** (ar-net') [Joseph Arneth, German physician, 1873-1955] see under *count*.
- Arnica** (ar'ně-kah) [L.] a genus of composite-flowered plants, known also as *leopard's bane*, *wolf's bane*, and *mountain tobacco*. The dried flowerheads of *A. montana* contain a volatile oil, arnicin, arnisterol, and anthoxanthine, tannin, and resin. Used topically as a tincture for contusions, sprains, and superficial wounds, and as a counterirritant.
- arnica** (ar'nī-kah) the dried flowerheads of *Arnica montana*. Called also *wolf's bane* and *leopard's bane*.
- Arnold (ar'nold) of Villanova, or Arnaldus de Villanova** (c. 1235 to c. 1312) a celebrated Catalan physician who wrote extensively on medicine, alchemy, and religion and who translated Avicenna's writings on the heart from Arabic into Latin.
- Arnold's bodies** [Julius Arnold, German pathologist, 1835-1915] see under *body*.
- Arnold's canal, etc.** [Philipp Friedrich Arnold, German anatomist, 1803-1890] see under *canal, fold, ligament, nerve, substance, and syndrome*.
- Arnold-Chiari deformity (malformation, syndrome)** [Julius Arnold; Hans Chiari, German pathologist, 1851-1916] see under *deformity*.
- arnotto** (ar-not'o) annotto.
- aroma** (ah-ro'mah) [Gr. *arōma* spice] fragrance or odor, especially that of a spice or medicine or of articles of food or drink.
- aromatase** (ah-ro'mah-tās) an enzyme complex that catalyzes the conversion of testosterone to estradiol.
- aromatic** (ar'o-mat'ik) [L. *aromaticus*; Gr. *arōmatikos*] 1. having a spicy odor. 2. in organic chemistry, denoting a compound containing a ring system stabilized by a closed circle of conjugated double bonds or nonbonding electron pairs, e.g., benzene, naphthalene.
- aromatization** (ah-ro'mah-tī-za'shun) chemical conversion to an aromatic form.
- aromine** (ah-ro'min) a fragrant alkaloid from urine containing benzene derivatives.
- arousal** (ah-row'sal) a state of responsiveness to sensory stimulation; called also *activation, vigilance, and wakefulness*.
- arprinocid** (ar-pri'no-sid) chemical name: 9-[(2-chloro-6-fluorophenyl)methyl]-9H-purin-6-amine; a coccidiostat, C₁₂H₉ClFN₅.
- arrachement** (ar'ash-mahwn') [Fr. "extraction"] extraction of a membranous cataract by pulling out the capsule through a corneal incision.
- arrack** (ar'rak) an alcoholic liquor distilled from fermented dates, rice, the sap of palms, mahua flowers, etc.
- arrangement** (ah-rānj'ment) the disposal or positioning of parts. **anterior tooth a.**, the arrangement of anterior teeth for esthetic or phonetic effects. **tooth a.**, 1. the positioning of teeth on a denture for specific purposes. 2. the setting of teeth on temporary bases.
- arrector** (ah-rek'tor), pl. *arrectores* [L.] raising, or that which raises. **a. pi'li**, pl. *arrectores pilo'rum* [L. "raisers of the hair"], minute smooth muscles of the skin, attached to the connective tissue sheath of the hair follicles, the contraction of which causes the hair to stand erect and produces the appearance called cutis anserina, or goose flesh.
- arrectores** (ar'rek-to'rez) [L.] plural of *arrector*.
- arrest** (ah-rest) stoppage; the act of stopping. **cardiac a.**, sudden cessation of cardiac function, with disappearance of arterial blood pressure, connoting either ventricular fibrillation or ventricular standstill. **deep transverse a.**, the condition during delivery in which the occiput of the fetus turns and stops in the transverse diameter of the pelvis. **developmental a.**, a temporary or permanent cessation of the process of development. **epiphyseal a.**, interruption of growth at the epiphysis of a bone by diaphyseal-epiphyseal fusion. **heart a.**, cardiac a. **maturation a.**, interruption of the process of development before it is complete; applied especially to failure of maturation of granulocytes, with myeloblasts and promyelocytes constituting the dominant bone marrow elements. **sinus a.**, a pause in cardiac rhythm due to a momentary failure of the sinus node to initiate an impulse; called also *sinus standstill*.
- arrested** (ah-rest'ed) detained; stopped. In obstetrics, the head of the child is said to be arrested when it is *detained*, but not *impacted*, in the pelvic cavity.
- arrhaphia** (ah-ra'fe-ah) [*a. neg.* + *-rhaphe*] status dysrhapheus.
- Arrhenius' equation, formula, theory (doctrine)** (ah-re'ne-us) [Svante August Arrhenius, Swedish chemist, 1859-1927] see under *equation, formula, and theory*.
- arrhenio-** [Gr. *arrhēn* male] a combining form meaning male.
- arrhenoblastoma** (ah-re'no-blas-to'mah) [*arrhenio-* + Gr. *blastos* germ + *-oma*] a neoplasm of the ovary, arising from the ovarian stroma, mimicking to a greater or lesser extent derivatives of the sex cord mesenchyme of the testis, and sometimes causing defeminization and virilization. Called also *andreioma, andreoblastoma, androma, arrhenoma, and Sertoli-Leydig cell tumor*.
- arrhenogenic** (ar'ē-no-jen'ik) [*arrhenio-* + Gr. *gennan* to produce] producing only male offspring.
- arrhenokaryon** (ar'ē-no-kar'e-on) an organism that is produced by androgenesis.
- arrhenoma** (ar'ē-no'mah) arrhenoblastoma.
- arrhenoplasm** (ah-re'no-plazm) [*arrhenio-* + *plasm*] the male element of idioplasm.
- arrhenotocia** (ar'ē-no-to'se-a) arrhenotoky.
- arrhenotoky** (ar'ē-not'o-ke) [*arrhenio-* + Gr. *tokos* birth] the production of males only by a virgin mother, as in the unfertilized queen bee.
- arrhigosis** (ah'rī-go'sis) arrhigosis.
- arrhinencephalia** (ah'rīn-en'se-fa'le-ah) arrhinencephalia.
- arrhinia** (ah-rīn'e-ah) arrhinia.
- arrhythmia** (ah-rith'me-ah) [*a. neg.* + Gr. *rhythmos* rhythm] any variation from the normal rhythm of the heart beat, including sinus arrhythmia, premature beat, heart block, atrial fibrillation, atrial flutter, pulsus alternans, and paroxysmal tachycardia. **continuous a.**, irregularity in the force, quality, and sequence of the pulse beat, continuing as a permanent phenomenon; called also *perpetual a.* **juvenile a.**, sinus arrhythmia occurring in children. **nodal a.**, nodal rhythm; see under *rhythm*. **perpetual a.**, continuous a. **phasic a.**, sinus a. **respiratory a.**, sinus a. **sinus a.**, the physiologic cyclic variation in heart rate related to vagal impulses to the sinoatrial node; it occurs commonly in children (juvenile a.) and in the aged, and requires no treatment. Called also *phasic a.* and *respiratory a.*
- arrhythmic** (ah-rith'mik) [*a. neg.* + Gr. *rhythmos* rhythm] characterized by absence of rhythm.
- arrhythmogenic** (ah-rith'mo-jen'ik) [*a. neg.* + Gr. *rhythmos* rhythm + *gennan* to produce] producing or promoting arrhythmia.
- arrhythmokinesis** (ah-rith'mo-kī-ne'sis) [*a. neg.* + Gr. *rhythmos* rhythm + *kinēsis* movement] defective ability to perform voluntary successive movement of a definite rhythm.
- arrowroot** (ar'o-root) a starch prepared from the rhizome of *Maranta arundinacea* L., Marantaceae, a plant native to northern South America and the West Indies and now extensively cultivated in almost all tropical countries. It is a prominent constituent of infant, geriatric, and convalescent diets.
- Arroyo's sign** (ar-ro'yōz) [Carlos F. Arroyo, American physician, 1892-1928] asthenocoria.

VOLUME 15

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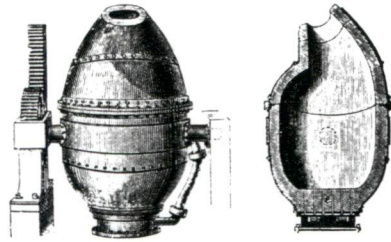
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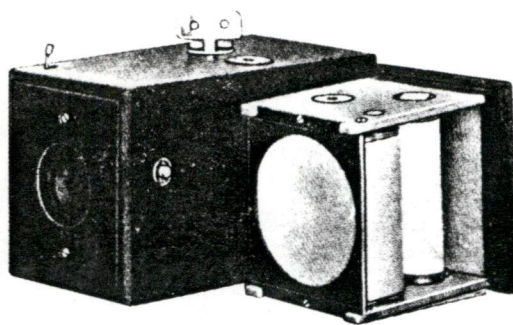


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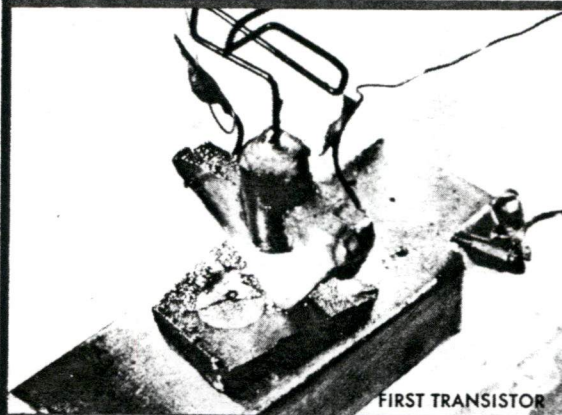
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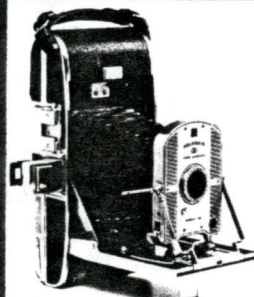
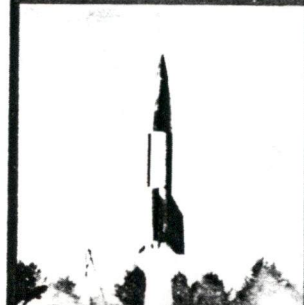
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ORVILLE WRIGHT IN AIRPLANE FLIGHT OVER BERLIN



FIRST TRANSISTOR



Date	Invention	Inventor	Nationality
1746	Lead-chamber sulfuric acid process	John Roebuck	British
1750	Cast steel	Benjamin Huntsman	British
1759	Achromatic telescope	John Dollond	British
1762	Furnace blower	John Smeaton	British
1769	Improved steam engine	James Watt	British
1770	Water-frame spinning machine	Richard Arkwright	British
c.1770	Spinning jenny	James Hargreaves	British
	Improved lathe	Jacques de Vaucanson	French
1774	Cylinder-boring machine	John Wilkinson	British
1778	Iron bridge, Coalbrookdale	Abraham Darby III	British
1779	Spinning mule	Samuel Crompton	British
1781	Sun-and-planet gear	James Watt	British
1784	Puddling of iron	Henry Cort	British
1785	Chlorine bleach	Claude Berthollet	French
1786	Threshing machine	Andrew Meikle	British
1786	Power loom	Edmund Cartwright	British
1787	Soda (sodium carbonate) synthesis	Nicolas Leblanc	French
c.1790	Wrought and cast iron in building	William Strutt	British
1793	Cotton gin	Eli Whitney	Amer.
1797	Screw-cutting lathe	Henry Maudslay	British
1797	Steam carriage	Oliver Evans	Amer.
1798	Optical glass	Pierre Guinand	Swiss
1800	Electric battery	Alessandro Volta	Italian
1800	High-pressure steam engine	Richard Trevithick	British
1800	Interchangeable parts manufactured for firearms	Eli Whitney	Amer.
c.1800	Gas light	Philippe Lebon	French
1801	Draw loom	William Murdock	British
1801	Modern suspension bridge	Joseph Jacquard	French
1802	Road locomotive	James Finley	Amer.
1805	Railroad locomotive	Richard Trevithick	British
1807	Steamboat	Robert Fulton	Amer.
1814	Cylinder printing press	Friedrich Koenig	German
1815	Miner's safety lamp	Humphry Davy	British
1820	Calculating machine	Charles Babbage	British
1825	(Stockton-Darlington railroad completed)	George Stephenson	British
1826	Reaping machine	Patrick Bell	British
1827	Water turbine	Benoit Fourneyron	French
1828	Furnace hot-blast	James Neilson	British
1829	Roving-frame spinning machine	Charles Danforth	Amer.
1831	Reaping machine	Cyrus McCormick	Amer.
1832	Dynamo	Hippolyte Pixii	French
1835	Revolver	Samuel Colt	Amer.
1836	Acid-absorption tower	William Gossage	British
1825-39	Electric telegraph	Paul Schilling	German
		William Cooke	British
		Charles Wheatstone	British
		Samuel Morse	Amer.
1839	Drop hammer	James Nasmyth	British
1839-40	Photography	Joseph Niepce	French
		Louis Daguerre	French
		William Talbot	British
1840	Electroplating	George and Henry Elkington	British
1841	Vulcanized rubber	Charles Goodyear	Amer.
1842	Superphosphate fertilizer	John Lawes	British
1845	Pneumatic tire	Robert Thomson	British
1846	Sewing machine	Elias Howe	Amer.
c.1850	Portland cement	Joseph Aspdin	British

VII. SOME MAJOR INVENTIONS OF THE LAST HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY

Date	Invention	Inventor	Nationality
1852	Gyroscope	Jean Foucault	French
1856	Steelmaking processes (low-cost and high-volume production)	Henry Bessemer	British
		William Kelly	Amer.
1856	Aniline dye	William Perkin	British
1859	Gas engine (internal combustion)	Étienne Lenoir	French
1862	Universal milling machine	Joseph Brown	Amer.
1866	Dynamite	Alfred Nobel	Swedish
1867	Typewriter	Christopher Sholes	Amer.
1876	Telephone	Alexander Bell	Amer.
1877	Phonograph	Thomas Edison	Amer.
1880	Filament lamp	Joseph Swan	British
		Thomas Edison	Amer.
c.1883	Electric streetcar	Werner von Siemens, others	German
1884	Rayon	Hilaire de Chardonnet	French
1884	Steam turbine	Charles Parsons	British

Invention	Inventor	Nationality
mer sulfuric	John Roebuck	British
ess	Benjamin Huntsman	British
telescope	John Dollond	British
wer	John Smeaton	British
eam engine	James Watt	British
e spinning	Richard Arkwright	British
ny	James Hargreaves	British
the	Jacques de Vaucanson	French
ing machine	John Wilkinson	British
Abraham		
dale	Darby III	British
e	Samuel Crompton	British
net gear	James Watt	British
iron	Henry Cort	British
ach	Claude Berthollet	French
chine	Andrew Meikle	British
	Edmund Cartwright	British
n carbonate)		
l cast iron in	Nicolas Leblanc	French
	William Strutt	British
	Eli Whitney	Amer.
lathe	Henry Maudslay	British
ge	Oliver Evans	Amer.
	Pierre Guinand	Swiss
ry	Alessandro Volta	Italian
steam	Richard Trevithick	British
le parts		
ed for	Eli Whitney	Amer.
	Philippe Lebon	French
	William Murdoch	British
nsion bridge	Joseph Jacquard	French
ve	James Finley	Amer.
notive	Richard Trevithick	British
	Richard Trevithick	British
	Robert Fulton	Amer.
ng press	Friedrich Koenig	German
lamp	Humphry Davy	British
chine	Charles Babbage	British
ngton	George Stephenson	British
pleted)		
ne	Patrick Bell	British
	Benoit Fourneyron	French
ast	James Neilson	British
pinning		
ne	Charles Danforth	Amer.
	Cyrus McCormick	Amer.
	Hippolyte Pixii	French
	Samuel Colt	Amer.
n tower	William Gossage	British
ph	Paul Schilling	German
	William Cooke	British
	Charles Wheatstone	British
	Samuel Morse	Amer.
	James Nasmyth	British
	Joseph Niepce	French
	Louis Daguerre	French
	William Talbot	British
	George and Henry Elkington	British
er	Charles Goodyear	Amer.
fertilizer	John Lawes	British
	Robert Thomson	British
	Elias Howe	Amer.
	Joseph Aspdin	British

MAJOR INVENTIONS OF THE 19TH CENTURY

Invention	Inventor	Nationality
in	Jean Foucault	French
cesses		
high-	Henry Bessemer	British
tion)	William Kelly	Amer.
rnal	William Perkin	British
machine	Étienne Lenoir	French
	Joseph Brown	Amer.
	Alfred Nobel	Swedish
	Christopher Sholes	Amer.
	Alexander Bell	Amer.
	Thomas Edison	Amer.
	Joseph Swan	British
	Thomas Edison	Amer.
	Werner von Siemens, others	German
	Hilaire de Chardonnet	French
	Charles Parsons	British

Date	Invention	Inventor	Nationality	Date	Invention	Inventor	Nationality
1885	Gasoline engine	Gottlieb Daimler	German	c.1935	Polyvinyl chloride	Many teams	German, Amer., British
1886	Linotype machine	Ottmar Mergenthaler	Amer.	1937-40	Turbojet engine	Frank Whittle others	British
1886	Electrolytic aluminum process	Charles Hall	Amer.	1938	Xerography	Chester Carlson	Amer.
1887	Electric motor (AC)	Paul Héroult	French	1942	Electronic computer	John Mauchly and J. Presper Eckert, University of Pennsylvania	Amer.
1887	Pneumatic tire (reinvented)	Nikola Tesla	Amer.				
1884-90	Automobile	John Dunlop	British				
		Gottlieb Daimler	German				
		Karl Benz	German				
1861-90	Reinforced concrete building	François Coignet	French	1944	Long-distance liquid-fuel rocket (V-2) perfected	Wernher von Braun, others	German
		Joseph Monnier	French				
		Thaddeus Hyatt	British	1948	Transistor	John Bardeen, William Shockley, Walter Brattain, Bell Telephone Laboratories	Amer.
1891	Glider	Otto Lillenthal	German				
1896	Radio	G. Marconi	Italian				
1896	Motion picture camera	Étienne Marey	French				
		Thomas Edison	Amer.				
		Auguste and Louis Lumière	French	1948	Polaroid Land camera	Edwin Land, others	Amer.
1897	Diesel engine	Rudolf Diesel	German	1948	Holography (first realized in 1963 by Emmett Leith and Juris Upatniks)	Dennis Gabor	Hung.

VIII. SOME MAJOR INVENTIONS OF THE 20TH CENTURY

Date	Invention	Inventor	Nationality	Date	Invention	Inventor	Nationality
1903	Airplane	Orville and Wilbur Wright	Amer.	1954	First nuclear-energy electric power plant		Russian
1906	Triode electron tube	Lee De Forest	Amer.	1955	First nuclear submarine trials (Nautilus)	Capt. Hyman Rickover, others	Amer.
1907	Helicopter	Louis and Jacques Breguet	French	1955	Linear induction motor realized	Eric Laithwaite	British
1907	Bakelite (plastic)	Leo Baekeland	Amer.	1956	Hovercraft	Christopher Cockerell	British
1926	Liquid-propelled rocket	Robert Goddard	Amer.	1957	VTOL	Bell Aircraft Corp.	Amer.
1927-40	Nylon	Wallace Carothers and Du Pont team	Amer.	1959	Rotary-piston gasoline engine tested successfully	Felix Wankel	German
1927-41	Electron microscope	Dennis Gabor	Hung.	1959	Float glass process	Pilkington & Co.	British
1931	Cyclotron	Ernst Ruska, others	German	1960	Laser first put in operation (Laser was first proposed by Charles Townes and Arthur Schawlow in 1958)	Theodore Maiman	Amer.
c.1935	Radar	Ernest Lawrence	Amer.	1960	Fiber optics	Armour Research	Amer.
c.1935	Television	Robert Watson-Watt, others	British				
		John Baird	British				
		Charles Jenkins	Amer.				
		Vladimir Zworykin	Amer.				
		Philo Farnsworth	Amer.				

Opportunities for Inventions. As technology and the industry exploiting it become more complex, the opportunity for invention continually increases, both because the means for practicing a new idea or method grow more numerous and because the actual number of subjects susceptible of improvement increases. When man in the shop and field and woman in the dairy and home worked with the simplest of equipment evolved to a perfection of form over countless centuries, there was little scope for invention and great conservatism to forbid it. Amid the countless machines, devices, and gadgets of the modern world, with all the resources of science and the command of new materials at hand, and with people in the Western world largely conditioned to expecting "progress" week by week, there is ample opportunity for minor inventions and great awareness of the need for a few great inventions.

Consider, for example, the enormous proliferation of the technology of modern office work and accounting. Little more than a century ago administration was done, in effect, by pen, ink, ruler, and paper. A modern organization em-

ployes several major inventions (computer, dictaphone, typewriter, adding machine, copier, and so on) and countless patented gadgets. No one would suppose that in this one field inventiveness has reached its limit; the rapid success of xerography over the last decade provides an example of the way in which a new technique, perfectly developed and skillfully exploited, can occupy a large market thanks to greater flexibility, speed, convenience, and so forth, though not performing any really novel function.

Offices, transport systems, factories, and even home kitchens are facets of the universal machine inhabited by modern Western man. It is with the detailed, step-by-step modification of this machine that the great majority of patents are concerned. Innovation in business is at a premium because it brings genuine improvements, and maintains the freshness of the product image and its appeal to customers.

To consider the automobile further: the old basic plan of a front-mounted gasoline engine driving the rear wheels through clutch and gearshift is still common. Some automobiles (in the United States more commonly than elsewhere) incorporate such major improvements as automatic transmission and power steering, but the main improvements since 1914, affecting virtually all cars, relate not to the basic engineering but to comfort, safety, reliability, and so on. Manufacturers may wonder whether some innovation such as electric drive or the Wankel rotary engine may transform the automobile. Such innovations are covered by many patents, but the transformation is not yet clearly in sight.

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Productive Capacity. In the advanced countries—the ones that passed through the Industrial Revolution—inventions that made power available were combined with other inventions that enormously improved productive capacity. As a result, great material wealth was acquired in the 19th century, measured in personal terms by names such as Morgan, Frick, Krupp, Rothschild, or Carnegie, as well as by the creation of cities and plants in the United States, Australia, South Africa, and elsewhere. In the 20th century, invention has continued in the same way—a single cotton spindle or steel furnace is vastly more productive now than a century ago.

Communication and Control. The complexes of invention that have most altered human life, however, are those relating to communication and control. The 19th century went far with the steamship, railroad, telegraph, and mass newspaper; for example, these inventions not only took people to the United States but also made the immigrants Americans. But the actual texture of life remained unaltered until the electric urban railroad and streetcar made possible the modern city with a multimillion population; whereupon the invention of the automobile made the city both impossible and still vaster. Nothing remotely comparable to the instant availability of transportation offered by the automobile has ever existed before; far more than Karl Marx, the automobile has destroyed the static conventions, the regular habits, and the security of the Victorian middle class.

While this was happening, society was more subtly penetrated by the electronic miracles of motion pictures, radio, and television, creating whole new worlds of imagination: the worlds of stardom, of violence in many forms, of visual actuality, and, for a few, of music and literature.

The growth of the electronics industry illustrates well the fact that inventors aim at certain clear perceptions while failing, often, to guess at ultimate cataclysms. Guglielmo Marconi, in 1896, first thought of radiotelegraphy as aiding distressed ships at sea and controlling naval operations, and then he perceived its usefulness for government and commercial business. World War I demonstrated the role of radio on the field of battle. Public broadcasting, when it came, seemed to some an advertising vehicle, to others a propaganda instrument, to Britain (briefly) a means of elevating the intellectual level of her people. There were many thousands of inventions devoted to radiotelegraphy and radio broadcasting, but the possibilities of vision in their use were hardly broached. When the first public television service began in Britain, shortly before World War II, the rivetting effects of this new medium were quite unsuspected; in fact, 20 years passed before it was clear that television went straight to the hearts of people in their homes.

Control of Production. Communication, in one sense, is a preliminary to the control of people; in the engineering sense, control means elimination of human direction. (Of course, human engineers still have to plan and instruct the control systems.) It may be said that there are three stages of production, each with its own range of inventive possibilities. In the first stage work is done by human hands, often holding tools; in the second stage work is done by a machine whose movements are directed by human hands; and in the third stage a control device directs the work done by the machine.

Though new forms of tools are continually evolved for special purposes, the basic hand-held types, such as saw, hammer, chisel, and file, were invented long ago. Even a simple lathe and the carpenter's plane were known in Roman times. Machines to replace hand-held tools appeared slowly; the critical moment probably was that at which the efficient screw-cutting lathe was invented about the end of the 18th century. By 1850 many handworking operations in metalcraft had been taken over by lathes, grinding machines, planers and shapers, milling machines, and so forth. However, the progress of the work done was under human control until, about 25 years later, automatic machine tools capable of effecting a repetitive sequence of operations were devised to make a bolt, for example, without human intervention. In such machines the program of operations was built into the machine itself; in modern control systems, a machine or an assembly of machines is controlled by the program administered by a separate electronic device of the computer family.

Invention and Industry. The inventions that in their time have revolutionized human life—command of fire, agriculture, mechanical power, mass communication, automated production—have thus not been single events but multiple ones. Each has been realized, through the continued development of ingenuity, in a variety of ways. In communication, for instance, the movement was from the printing press to the telegraph to television, with each earlier stage retaining its viability within a sphere defined by the success of the later invention that came to stand beside it. At the same time the older technique undergoes specialization and improvement; for example, the handpress gives way to steam power and the linotype, and the Morse key gives way to the telex printer.

From such examples a hierarchical order of inventions appears: the most general inventions make possible a wholly new type of human activity; inventions of the second type lead to the development of industries devoted to this activity; and inventions of the third type bring about modifications within an industry.

This order of inventions is also shown in transportation. In a very broad sense the history of the technology of land transport began with the draft animal and the wheeled vehicle. The next great step, many thousands of years later, was the partial replacement of the horse by the steam locomotive, bringing the great railroad industry into existence. With increasing speed, other inventions brought further transport industries into existence—the automobile and road transport, the airplane and aviation. (Curiously enough, the invention of a practical airplane by the Wright brothers had little directly to do with the emergence of an aircraft industry; the Voisin brothers in France were the first to sum up the attempts of various experimenters and, in 1908, begin the commercial manufacture of airplanes.) The diverse forms of land and air transport have not completely replaced each other (though in the last 20 years the railroads have suffered severely from the motor vehicle and airplane competition), and sea transport still remains highly important. Meanwhile, each of these industries has undergone major internal changes: on the rails, steam has yielded to the electric and diesel locomotive; in the air, the jet engine has reduced the piston engine to insignificance.

OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Twenty-seventh Republican
National Convention

HELD IN

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

July 25, 26, 27, 28, 1960

RESULTING IN THE NOMINATION OF

RICHARD M. NIXON, of California, for President

AND THE NOMINATION OF

HENRY CABOT LODGE, of Massachusetts, for Vice President

REPORTED BY LLOYD L. HARKINS, OFFICIAL REPORTER

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ship, the force and vigor of purpose that can and will again carry the Republican Party to victory. (Cheers and Applause)

For almost eight years we've had a great President, who has led the United States and the free world, who symbolizes in his own person our deep spiritual beliefs, Dwight D. Eisenhower. (Cheers and Applause)

He and all of us recognize the gravity of the basic conflict which exists in the world today, and I don't speak of military conflict or of economic conflict or political conflict. I speak of the conflict between those in the world who believe in the freedom of the individual everywhere, freedom to develop himself or herself to the maximum—spiritually, intellectually, intuitively and materially—and those on the other hand who believe in the individual as merely a cog in a machine to be so disciplined and so dominated that he ultimately loses all capacity for independent thought and even of spiritual realization.

And in this conflict, this basic conflict, ladies and gentlemen, we in this country, you in this room, have become the symbol of hope for those who believe in the freedom of the individual, in the dignity of worth of man, in the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God. (Applause)

What a wonderful thing, what a tremendous sense of hope it would be for those behind the Iron Curtain who have the hope of freedom in their hearts, but don't dare express it on their lips, if they could sit in this great hall here this evening, silently, and watch the processes of democracy at work. What confidence and courage they could gain from this for the future.

And it is up to us, ladies and gentlemen, we in this country, to hold high the torch of freedom, not only at home, but so that it can be seen throughout the world on both sides of the Iron Curtain. (Applause)

The people of America are going to make a choice between the two great political parties, their platforms and their candidates, as to who will succeed our beloved President in leading the forces of freedom in this basic conflict in the world.

The post-war era is ending. We're entering a new decade of danger. As we do so, we recall that it was the Republican Party that led the way a hundred years ago to save a divided Nation. The Republican Party must continue to lead the way now to save a divided world. (Applause)

It's a testing time for democracy. In such a time we here can all be proud of the declaration of principles which we have adopted, a declaration of principles and objectives and the practical means of translating them into reality. This declaration faces up to the hard realities and responsibilities as well as the opportunities confronting Americans and all free men everywhere. It is based on the fundamental faith of the Republican Party in the dignity and worth and equality of all American citizens. (Applause) It is based on the fundamental faith of the Republican Party in individual initiative and responsibility, on a concept of fiscal integrity, and on confidence in the inherent capacity of local government. (Applause)

We have chosen a man to lead our Party, to sustain these principles, to carry the tremendous burden and responsibility of the Presidency, and to embody the hopes and aspirations of all Americans and of all the free world. (Applause)

He is a man of experience; he is a man of courage; he's a man of vision and of judgment; he is a man on whose behalf all of us, united, from east and west, from north and south, will go to the American people with the greatest campaign of our history to assure victory in November. (Cheers and Applause)

He is the man who will succeed Dwight D. Eisenhower next January (Cheers and Applause)—Richard M. Nixon.

(With the introduction of the Vice President, the assembly arose and cheered and applauded, and there followed a demonstration lasting about ten minutes. Cries of "We want Nixon.")

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—The Delegates will take their places as quickly as they can, and if you'll just be quiet you're going to have Dick Nixon. (Loud cheers and applause.)

THE HONORABLE RICHARD M. NIXON
ACCEPTS THE NOMINATION
FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

VICE PRESIDENT NIXON.—Mr. Chairman, Delegates to this Convention, my fellow Americans: I have made many speeches in my life, and never have I found it more difficult to find the words adequate to express what I feel as I find them tonight.

To stand here before this great Convention, to hear your expressions of affection for me, for Pat, for our daughters, for my mother, for all of us who are representing our Party, is, of course, the greatest moment of my life. (Cheers and Applause)

I just want you to know that my only prayer as I stand here is that in months ahead I may be in some way worthy of the affection and the trust which you have presented to me on this occasion in everything that I say, everything that I do, everything that I think in this campaign and afterwards. (Cheers and Applause)

May I say also that I have been wanting to come to this Convention, but because of the protocol that makes it necessary for a candidate not to attend the Convention until the nominations are over I've had to look at it on television; but I want all of you to know that I have never been so proud of my Party as I have been in these last three days (loud cheers and applause) as I have compared this Convention, the conduct of our Delegates and our speakers, with what went on in my native State of California just two weeks ago (loud cheers and applause)—I congratulate Chairman Halleck and Chairman Morton and all of those who have helped to make this Convention one that will stand in the annals of our Party forever as one of the finest we have ever held.

Have you ever stopped to think of the memories you will take away from this Convention?

The things that run through my mind are these:

That first day with the magnificent speeches; Mr. Hoover with his great lesson for the American people (cheers and applause); Walter Judd with one of the most outstanding keynote addresses in either party in history (loud cheers and applause); and last night our beloved, fighting President making the greatest speech that I have ever heard him make (loud cheers and applause); your Platform and its magnificent presentation by Chuck Percy, the Chairman. (Cheers and Applause)

For these and for so many other things, I want to congratulate you tonight and to thank you from the bottom of my heart and on behalf of Americans—not just Republicans—Americans everywhere, for making us proud of our country and of our two-party system, for what you have done. (Cheers and Applause)

Tonight, too, I particularly want to thank this Convention for nominating as my running mate a world statesman of the first rank, my friend and colleague, Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts. (Loud cheers and applause.)

In refreshing contrast to what happened in Los Angeles, you nominated a man who shares my views on the great issues and who will work with me and not against me in carrying out our magnificent Platform. (Loud cheers and applause.)

And may I say that during this week we Republicans, who feel our convictions strongly about our Party and about our country, have had our differences, but, as the speech by Senator Goldwater indicated yesterday (cheers and applause), and the eloquent and gracious remarks of my friend, Nelson Rockefeller, indicated tonight (cheers and applause), we Republicans know that the differences that divide us are infinitesimal compared to the gulf between us and what the Democrats would put upon us from what they did in Los Angeles at their convention two weeks ago. (Cheers and Applause)

It was only eight years ago that I stood in this very place after you had nominated as our candidate for the President one of the great men of our century, and I say to you tonight that for generations to come America, regardless of party, will gratefully remember Dwight Eisenhower as the man who brought peace to America (cheers and applause), as the man under whose leadership America enjoyed the greatest progress and prosperity in history, but, above all, they will remember him as the man who restored honesty, integrity and dignity to the conduct of government in the highest office of this land. (Loud cheers and applause.)

And, my fellow Americans, I know now that you will understand what I next say, because the next President of the United States will have his great example to follow, because the next President will have new and challenging problems in the world of utmost gravity. This truly is a time for greatness in America's leadership.

I am sure you will understand why I do not say tonight that I alone am the man who can furnish that leadership. That question is not for me, but for you to decide (applause), and I only ask that the thousands in this hall and the millions listening in to me on television make that decision in the most thoughtful way that you possibly can, because what you decide this November will not only affect your lives and your future, it will affect the future of millions throughout the world. I urge you to study the records of the candidates, listen to my speeches and those of my opponent, and those of Mr. Lodge and those of his opponent, and then, after you have studied our records and listened to our speeches, decide—decide on the basis of what we say and what we believe—who is best qualified to lead America and the free world in this critical period.

To help you make this decision I would like to discuss tonight some of the great problems which will confront the next President of the United States and the policies that I believe should be adopted to meet them.

One hundred years ago, in this city, Abraham Lincoln was nominated for President of the United States. The problems which will confront our next President will be even greater than those that confronted him. The question then was freedom for the slaves and survival of the Nation. The question now is freedom for all mankind and the survival of civilization, and the choice you make—you—each of you listening to me makes—this November can affect the answer to that question.

What should your choice be and what is it?

Well, let's first examine what our opponents offered in Los Angeles two weeks ago. They claimed theirs was a new program, but you know what it was? It was simply the same old proposition that a political party should be all things to all men, and nothing more than that (cheers and applause), and they promised everything to everybody, with one exception: They didn't promise to pay the bill. (Loud cheers and applause.)

And I say tonight that, with their convention, their platform and their ticket, they composed a symphony of political cynicism which is out of harmony with our times today. (Cheers and Applause)

Now, we come to the key question: What should our answer be? Some might say do as they do—outpromise them because that's the only way to win. I want to tell you my answer.

I happen to believe that their program would be disastrous for America; it would wreck our economy; it would dash our people's hopes for a better life—and I serve notice here and now that whatever the political consequences we are not going to try to outpromise our opponents in this campaign. (Loud cheers and applause.)

We are not going to make promises we cannot and should not keep, and we are not going to try to buy the people's votes with their own money. (Loud cheers and applause.)

To those who say that this position will mean political defeat, my answer is this: We have more faith than that in the good sense of the American people, provided the people know the facts—and that's where we come in.

I pledge to you tonight that we will bring the facts home to the American people, and we will do it with a campaign such as this country has never seen before. (Loud and prolonged cheers and applause.)

I have been asked by the newsmen sitting on my right and on my left all week long: "When is this campaign going to begin, Mr. Vice President? On the day after Labor Day or one of the other traditional starting dates?"

This is my answer: This campaign begins tonight, here and now, and it goes on (loud and prolonged cheers and applause)—and this campaign will continue from now until November 8th without any letup. (Cheers and Applause)

I've also been asked by my friends in the press on either side here: "Mr. Vice President, where are you going to concentrate? What states are you going to visit?" This is my answer: In this campaign we are going to take no states for granted, and we aren't going to concede any states to the opposition. (Loud cheers and applause.)

I announce to you tonight, and I pledge to you, that I, personally, will carry this campaign into every one of the fifty states of this Nation between now and November the eighth. (Loud cheers and applause.)

And in this campaign I make a prediction. I say that just as in 1952 and in 1956 millions of Democrats will join us—not because they are deserting their party, but because their party deserted them at Los Angeles two weeks ago. (Loud and prolonged cheers and applause.)

Now, I have suggested to you what our friends of the opposition offered to the American people. What do we offer? First, we are proud to offer the best eight-year record of any administration in the history of this country (cheers and applause); but, my fellow Americans, that isn't all and that isn't enough because we happen to believe that a record is not something to stand on, but something to build on and, building on the great record of this Administration, we shall build a better America; we shall build an America in which we shall see the realization of the dreams, the dreams of millions of people not only in America, but throughout the world for a fuller, freer, richer life than men have ever known in the history of mankind.

Let me tell you something of the goals of this better America toward which we will strive. In this America our older citizens shall not only have adequate protection against the hazards of ill health, but a greater opportunity to lead a useful and productive life by participating to the extent they are able in the Nation's exciting work rather than sitting on the sidelines. (Cheers and Applause)

And in the better America, young Americans shall not only have the best basic education in America, but every boy and girl of ability, regardless of his financial circumstances, shall have the opportunity to develop his intellectual capabilities to the full. (Cheers and Applause)

Our wage earners shall enjoy increasingly higher wages in honest dollars, with better protection against the hazards of unemployment and old age.

And, for those millions of Americans who are still denied equality of rights and opportunities, I say there shall be the greatest progress in human rights since the days of Lincoln a hundred years ago. (Loud cheers and applause.)

And America's farmers—America's farmers to whose hard work and almost incredible efficiency we owe the fact that we are the best fed, best clothed people in the world—I say America's farmers must and will receive what they do not have today, and what they deserve—a fair share of America's ever-increasing prosperity. (Cheers and Applause)

To accomplish these things we will develop to the full the untapped natural resources, our water, our minerals, our power, with which we are so fortunate to be blessed in this rich land of ours. We shall provide for our scientists the support they need for the research that will open exciting new ways into the future, new highways in which we shall have progress which we cannot even dream of today.

Above all, in this decade of the sixties, this decade of decision and progress, we will witness the continual revitalization of America's moral and spiritual strength, with a renewed faith in the eternal ideals of freedom and justice under God which are our priceless heritage as a people. (Cheers and Applause)

Now I am sure that many of you in this hall and many of you on television might well ask, "But, Mr. Nixon, don't our opponents favor just such goals as these?" And my answer is; "yes, of course." All Americans, regardless of party, want a better life for our people.

What's the difference, then? I'll tell you what it is. The difference is in the way we propose to reach these goals, and the record shows that our way works and theirs doesn't, and we're going to prove it in this campaign. (Loud cheers and applause.) We produce on the promises that they make. We succeed where they fail. You know why? Because we put, as Governor Rockefeller said in his remarks, our primary reliance not upon government, but upon people for progress in America. That is why we will succeed. (Loud cheers and applause.)

We must never forget that the strength of America is not in its government, but in its people; and we say tonight that there is no limit to the goals America can reach, provided we stay true to the great American traditions.

A government has a role, and a very important one, but the role of government is not to take responsibility from people, but to put responsibility on them. It is not to dictate to people, but to encourage and stimulate the creative productivity of 180 million free Americans. That's the way to progress in America. (Loud cheers and applause.)

In other words, we have faith in the people and, because our programs for progress are based on that faith, we shall succeed where our opponents will fail in building the better America I've described.

But if these goals are to be reached, the next President of the United States must have the wisdom to choose between the things the government should and should not do. He must have the courage to stand against the pressures of the few for the good of the many, and he must have the vision to press forward on all fronts for the better life our people want.

Now, I have spoken to you of the responsibilities of our next President at home. Those which he will face abroad will be infinitely greater, but before I look to the future let me say a word about the past.

At Los Angeles two weeks ago, we heard the United States—our government—blamed for Mr. Khrushchev's sabotage of the Paris Conference. We heard the United States blamed for the actions of Communist-led mobs in Caracas and Tokyo. We heard that American education and American scientists are inferior. We heard that America, militarily and economically, is a second-rate country. We heard that American prestige is at an all-time low.

This is my answer: I say at a time the Communists are running us down abroad, it's time to speak up for America at home. (Loud cheers and applause.) And, my friends, let us recognize America has its weaknesses, and constructive criticism of those weaknesses is essential—essential so that we can correct our weaknesses in the best traditions of our democratic process. But let us also recognize this: While it is dangerous to see nothing wrong in America, it is just as wrong to refuse to recognize what is right about America. (Loud cheers and applause.)

Tonight I say to you no criticism—no criticism—should be allowed to obscure the truth, either at home or abroad, that today America is the strongest nation, militarily, economically and ideologically, in the world; and we have the will and the stamina and the resources to maintain that strength in the years ahead. (Loud cheers and applause.)

And now, if we may turn to the future, we must recognize that the foreign policy problems of the sixties will be different and they will be vastly more difficult than those of the fifties through which we have just passed.

We are in a race tonight, my fellow Americans, in a race for survival, in which our lives, our fortunes, our liberties are at stake. We are ahead now, but the only way to stay ahead in a race is to move ahead; and the next President will make decisions which will determine whether we win or whether we lose this race.

What must he do? These things, I believe: He must resolve, first and above all, that the United States must never settle for second best in anything. (Loud cheers and applause.) Let's look at the specifics.

Militarily, the security of the United States must be put before all other considerations. Why? Not only because this is necessary to deter aggression, but because we must make sure that we are never in a position at the conference table where Mr. Khrushchev or his successor is able to coerce an American President because of his strength and our weakness. (Cheers and Applause)

Diplomatically, let us look at what the problem is. Diplomatically, our next President must be firm—firm on principle—but he must never be belligerent. He must never engage in a war of words which might heat up the international climate to the igniting point of nuclear catastrophe. But, while he must never answer insults in kind, he must leave no doubt at any time that, whether it is in Berlin or in Cuba or anywhere else in the world, America will not tolerate being pushed around by anybody any place. (Loud and prolonged cheers and applause.)

Because we have already paid a terrible price in lives and resources to learn that appeasement leads not to peace, but to war, it will, indeed, take great leadership to steer us through the years, avoiding the extreme of belligerency on the one hand and appeasement on the other.

Now, Mr. Kennedy has suggested that what the world needs is young leadership; and, understandably, this has great appeal because it is true that youth does bring boldness and imagination and drive to leadership, and we need all those things. But I think most people will agree with me tonight when I say that President de Gaulle, Prime Minister Macmillan and Chancellor Adenauer are not young men—but we are indeed fortunate that we have their wisdom and their experience and their courage on our side in the struggle for freedom today in the world. (Loud cheers and applause.)

And I might suggest, as we consider the relative merits of youth and age, it is only fair to point out that it was not Mr. de Gaulle or Mr. Macmillan or Mr. Adenauer, but Mr. Kennedy who made the rash and impulsive suggestion that President Eisenhower could have apologized or sent regrets to Mr. Khrushchev for the U-2 flights—(cries of "No")—which the President had ordered to save our country from surprise attack.

But formidable as will be the diplomatic and military problems confronting the next President, far more difficult and critical will be the decisions he must make to meet and defeat the enemies of freedom in an entirely different kind of struggle.

Now I want to speak to you of another kind of aggression, aggression without war, where the aggressor comes not as a conqueror but as a champion of peace, of freedom, offering progress and plenty and hope to the unfortunates of the earth.

I say tonight that the major problem, the biggest problem, confronting the next President of the United States will be to inform the people of the character of this kind of aggression, to arouse the people to the mortal danger it presents and to inspire the people to meet that danger. He must develop a brand new strategy which will win the battle for freedom for all men, and win it without a war.

That is the great task of the next President of the United States (loud cheers and applause) and this will be a difficult task, difficult because at times our next President must tell the people not what they want to hear, but what they need to hear. Why, for example, it may be just as essential to the national interest to build a dam in India as in California.

We can't fail in this Nation. We can't fail to assist them in finding a way to progress with freedom so that they will not be faced with the terrible alternative of turning to communism with its promise of progress at the cost of freedom.

Let us make it clear to them that our aim in helping them is not merely to stop communism, but that, in the great American tradition of concern for those less fortunate than we are, we welcome the opportunity to work with people everywhere in helping them achieve their aspirations for a life of human dignity. And this means our primary aim must be not to help governments, but to help people, to help people attain the life they deserve. (Cheers and Applause)

In essence, what I am saying tonight is that our answer to the threat of the Communist revolution is renewed devotion to the great ideals of the American Revolution, ideals that caught the imagination of the world one hundred and eighty years ago and that still live in the minds and hearts of people everywhere.

I could tell you tonight that all you need to do to bring about all of these things that I have described is to elect the right man as President of this country and leave these tasks to him. But, my fellow Americans, America demands more than that of me and of you.

When I visited the Soviet Union, in every factory there was a huge sign which read "Work for the victory of communism." What America needs today is not just a President, not just a few leaders, but millions of Americans working for the victory of freedom. (Cheers and Applause) Each American must make a personal and total commitment to the cause of freedom and all it stands for. It means wage earners and employers making an extra effort to increase the productivity of our factories. It means our students in school striving for excellence rather than adjusting to mediocrity. (Loud cheers and applause.) It means supporting and encouraging our scientists to explore the unknown, not just for what we can get, but for what we can learn, and it means, on the part of each American, assuming a personal responsibility to make this country which we love a proud example of freedom for all the world. Each of us, for example, doing our part in ending the prejudice which one hundred years after Lincoln, to our shame, still embarrasses us abroad and saps our strength at home. Each of us participating in this and other political campaigns not just by going to the polls and voting, but by working for the candidate of his choice. Also, it means, my fellow Americans, sacrifice—not the grim sacrifice of desperation, but the rewarding sacrifice of choice which lifts us out of the humdrum life in which we live and gives us the supreme satisfaction which comes from working together in a cause greater than ourselves, greater than our Nation, as great as the whole world, itself. (Cheers and Applause)

What I propose tonight is not new. It is as old as America, and as young as America, because America will never grow old. (Cheers and Applause)

You will remember—listen—Thomas Jefferson said: "We act not for ourselves alone, but for the whole human race."

Lincoln said: "In giving freedom to the slave we assure freedom to the free. We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope of earth."

And Teddy Roosevelt said Our first duty as citizens of the Nation is owed to the United States, but if we are true to our principles we must also think of serving the interests of mankind at large.

And Woodrow Wilson said: "A patriotic American is never so proud of the flag under which he lives as when it comes to mean to others, as well as to himself, a symbol of hope and liberty."

And we say—we say today—that a young America shall fulfill her destiny by helping to build a new world in which men can live together in peace and justice and freedom with each other. (Loud cheers and applause.) But there is a difference today, an exciting difference, and the difference is, because of the dramatic breakthroughs in science. For the first time in human history we have the resources, the resources to wage a winning war against poverty, misery and disease wherever it exists in the world.

And upon the next President of the United States will rest the responsibility to inspire and to lead the forces of freedom toward this goal.

I am sure now that you understand why I said at the beginning that it would be difficult for any man to say that he was qualified to provide this kind of leadership. I can only say to you tonight that I believe in the American dream because I have seen it come true in my own life. (Loud and prolonged cheers and applause.) I know something of the threat which confronts us, and I know something of the effort which will be needed to meet it.

I have seen hate for America not only in the Kremlin, but in the eyes of Communists in our own country and on the ugly face of a mob in Caracas.

I have heard doubts about America expressed not just by Communists, but by sincere students and labor leaders in other countries searching for the way to a better life and wondering if we had lost the way. And I have seen love for America in countries throughout the world, in a crowd in Jakarta, in Bogota, in the heart of Siberia, in Warsaw—250,000 people on the streets on a Sunday afternoon singing, crying, with tears running down their cheeks, and shouting, "Niech Zyje America!"—Long live the United States. (Loud cheers and applause.)

My fellow Americans, I know tonight that we must resist the hate; we must remove the doubts, but above all, we must be worthy of the love and the trust of millions on this earth for whom America is the hope of the world.

A hundred years ago Abraham Lincoln was asked during the dark days of the tragic War Between the States whether he thought God was on his side. His answer was, "My concern is not whether God is on our side, but whether we are on God's side."

(The assembly arose and cheered and applauded at length.)

My fellow Americans, may that ever be our prayer for our country, and in that spirit, with faith in America, with faith in her ideals and in her people, I accept your nomination for President of the United States.

(The assembly arose and cheered and applauded at length.)

VICE PRESIDENT NIXON.—I have an announcement to make that I think perhaps is the best indication of the fact that we're on the way to victory that I could think of. Five minutes before Ambassador Lodge was nominated he became a grandfather for the eighth time—a boy in Boston—eight pounds one ounce. (Cheers and Applause)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and gentlemen of the Convention, will the Delegates take their places as quickly as they can in order that we may conclude the session?

If, as you are returning to your places, you will all please rise, we will have the benediction. Then we will sing, with the "Voices of Nixon," "God Bless America," which will be followed by the sine die adjournment.

The benediction will be given by Reverend Edward G. Latch, Pastor of the Metropolitan Methodist Memorial Church, Washington, D. C.

He is Dick Nixon's minister and Dick's family's minister.

BENEDICTION

By

REVEREND EDWARD G. LATCH

Pastor, Metropolitan Methodist Memorial Church

Washington, D. C.

Let us pray.

Eternal God, our Father, who art the source of light and life, whose glory is in all the world, without whom no one is strong in spirit, no one is steadfast in purpose, no one is sound in mind, we come with hearts filled with gratitude because Thou hast been so wonderfully good to us. We are what we are and we have what we have not because we deserve it, not because we have earned it, but because Thy goodness has followed us all our days and through all our ways.

So, we come as we bring this great Convention to a close, acknowledging our dependence upon Thee and offering unto Thee once again the devotion of our hearts.

Bless Thou this Party and the ideals that we represent, and in particular and in a very real sense, our Father, we pray that Thou will bless Richard Nixon and his wife and his daughters and his mother. Do Thou bless Henry Cabot Lodge and his wife and his family. Gird these two men, we pray Thee, with wisdom and courage, with understanding and faith, with zeal and enthusiasm for the cause they represent. Strengthen Thou their hands, steady their spirits,

stimulate their minds and send them forth to hold high the banner of freedom in our land and in our world.

And we pray for our country. May she be Thy servant, for peace and for justice and for liberty among the nations of the world.

And, so, may the Lord bless you and keep you, the Lord make his face to shine upon you and be gracious unto you, the Lord lift up his countenance upon you and give you peace and victory, through our Lord, Jesus Christ. Amen.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN OF THE CONVENTION.—The Chair now recognizes the Delegate from Maine, the Honorable Fred C. Scribner, Jr.

MR. FRED C. SCRIBNER, JR. of Maine.—Mr. Chairman.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Mr. Scribner.

MR. SCRIBNER.—The work of this Convention has been concluded. I now move that the Convention adjourn, sine die.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.—Motion has been made that the Convention adjourn, sine die. All those in favor signify by saying aye; opposed no. The motion is carried, and the Convention stands adjourned, sine die.

(The Convention adjourned at 10:42 p.m.)

society, to lessen the disposition to war; but of its abolition I despair.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Writings*, vol. xviii, p. 298.

1 We must meet our duty and convince the world that we are just friends and brave enemies.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Writings*, vol. xix, p. 156. Referring to preparedness.

2 The first casualty when war comes is truth.

HIRAM JOHNSON, Speech in U.S. Senate.

3 Once upon a time even large-scale wars could be waged without risking the end of civilization. But what was once upon a time is no longer so, because general war is impossible.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON, Address in Washington, D.C., 24 Mar., 1964.

4 Make no mistake. There is no such thing as a conventional nuclear weapon.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON, Speech in Detroit, 7 Sept., 1964.

5 The world remembers—the world must never forget—that aggression unchallenged is aggression unleashed.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON, Speech in Syracuse, N.Y., 5 Aug., 1964.

6 Get the bombs on the targets.

GENERAL CURTIS E. LEMAY, his definition of his job as a ranking Air Force officer during World War II.

7 Military glory—that attractive rainbow that rises in showers of blood, that serpent's eye that charms to destroy.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, Speech against the war with Mexico, U.S. House of Representatives, 12 Jan., 1848.

8 It is more important to know that we are on God's side.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, Reply to a delegation of Southerners during the Civil War, after their spokesman had remarked, "We trust, sir, that God is on our side."

9 Ez fer war, I call it murder,—

There you hev it plain an' flat;
I don't want to go no furdur
Than my Testyment fer that;
God hez sed so plump an' fairly,

It's ez long ez it is broad,
An' you've gut to git up airly

Ef you want to take in God.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, *The Biglow Papers*, Ser. i, No. 1.

10 We kind o' thought Christ went agin war an' pillage.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, *The Biglow Papers*, Ser. i, No. 3.

11 Not but wut abstract war is horrid,

I sign to thet with all my heart,—
But civilysation *doos* git forrid

Sometimes upon a powder-cart.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, *The Biglow Papers*, Ser. i, No. 7.

12 War's very object is victory, not prolonged indecision. In war there is no substitute for victory.

GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR, Address to a joint session of Congress, 19 Apr., 1951, following his dismissal as commander of United Nations forces in Korea.

13 Nuclear war is not an acceptable instrument of national policy.

JOHN J. MCCLOY, Public Statement, as chairman of the General Advisory Committee on Disarmament, Jan., 1964.

14 Look at an infantryman's eyes and you can tell how much war he has seen.

BILL MAULDIN, *Up Front*.

15 I suppose one of the fringe benefits of getting through an old-fashioned war is the opportunity to read about it later and find out what really did happen.

BILL MAULDIN, *Book Week*; New York *Herald Tribune*, 12 Apr., 1964, p. 3.

16 War is the only sport that is genuinely amusing. And it is the only sport that has any intelligible use.

H. L. MENCKEN, *Prejudices*, ser. v, p. 28.

17 When the guns boom, the arts die and this law of life is far stronger than any law man may devise.

ARTHUR MILLER, Telegram to the White House, 25 Sept., 1965, rejecting an invitation to witness the signing of the Arts and Humanities Act of that year by President Lyndon B. Johnson. His refusal was in protest to U.S. military action in Vietnam at that time.

18 Invincible in peace and invisible in war.

E. F. NOYES, referring to James G. Blaine, Simon Cameron, and Roscoe Conkling, during Rutherford B. Hayes's campaign for the presidency. (NEVINS, *Grover Cleveland*, p. 176)

19 In planning any operation, it is vital to remember, and constantly repeat to oneself, two things: "In war nothing is impossible, provided you use audacity," and "Do not take counsel of your fears." If these two principles are adhered to, with American troops victory is certain.

GENERAL GEORGE S. PATTON, JR., *War As I Knew It*.

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RON, Address in the
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YNE, *Vicksburg*.

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MES, *The Sensible
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Letter to John Tay-

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Writings, vol. iv, p.
John, vi, 26.

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Writings, vol. ix, p.

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DODD, MEAD & COMPANY
NEW YORK

1967

ian legends about Pele, Kamapua, and Haloa are set in this sacred area, the training ground for newborn children of chiefs, who were raised here. The holy district was an area of sacrifice and protection, a common symbol of sovereignty and independence which was held in the highest esteem. Several fish ponds in the immediate surroundings are worth visiting: Milii Fish Pond, three of whose sluice gates are still used to net fish between the pond and Kaneohe Bay as they were in prehistoric times. And the Heeia Fish Pond, with an amazing 5000-foot wall, averaging twelve feet in thickness, was an important food-gathering source for the ancient Hawaiians, who built several watch houses along the wall of this 88-acre expanse of water. NR.

Laie

POLYNESIAN CULTURAL CENTER, off HI 83. On land they purchased in 1865, members of the Mormon Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints established this non-profit educational center in the 20th century. It contains, in a lush tropical setting, superb architectural recreations of each of the seven cultures which contributed to Hawaii's unique ethnic background: Tonga, Samoa, Tahiti, the Marquesas Islands, New Zealand Maori, and old Hawaii are recreated in "villages." Although the building styles are somewhat similar—thatch over wood is most common in a simplified A-frame style—each is subtly different. Accuracy is ensured through documents and drawings left behind by Captain James Cook's artist companion John Webber and a surgeon, both of whom recorded remarkably lucid and detailed observations for history. The process of thatch-making may be closely observed, with ti leaves, sugar-cane leaves, pandanus, pili grass, and banana fibers among the mediums used. Ancient songs and dances, Polynesian cuisine, and sporting events are also part of the center's program. Open from 10 to dusk for the general program; a special evening show, "Invitation to Paradise," begins each day at 7:30 p.m. Admission for the day-time

events is \$9 for adults, \$4.50 for children. Admission includes tours of all the villages, a "Music Polynesia" program at noon, and the "Pageant of the Long Canoes" at 3:30. The evening program costs \$8.50 adults, \$4.25 children. For reservations or information, 293-8561.

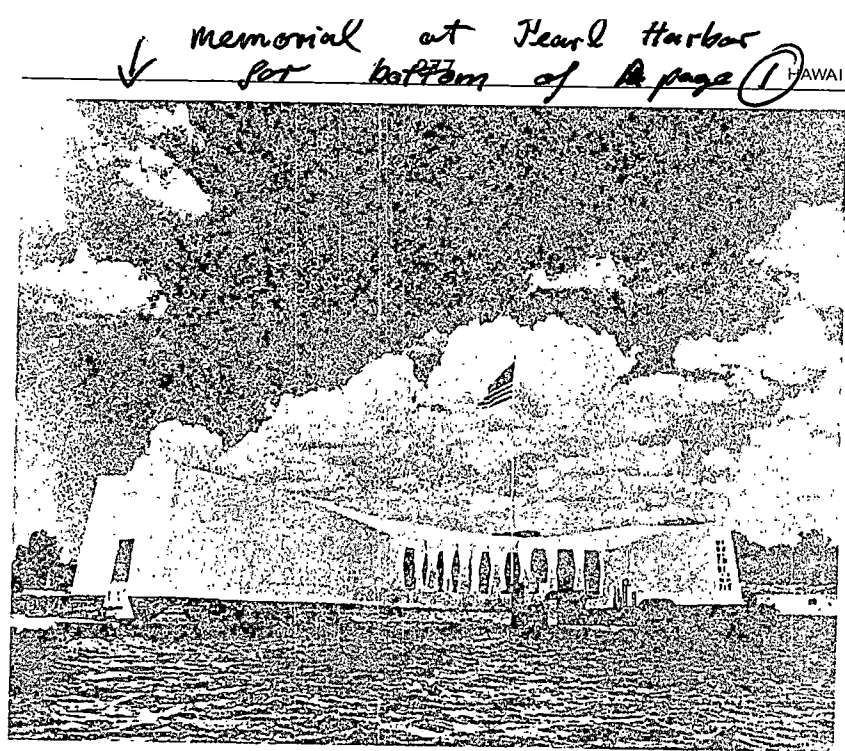
Pearl Harbor

PEARL HARBOR NAVAL BASE, 3 miles S of Pearl City, HI 73, 1911. Everyone knows what happened here on December 7, 1941, but seeing it is an unforgettable jolt into history. The U.S.S. *Arizona* is spanned by a memorial bridge dedicated to the slain servicemen—more than 1,100 of them, entombed within the ship as it sank after the Japanese attack. Pearl Harbor remains one of the world's finest harbors, protected from the ocean by coral reefs and headlands. An active base, it cannot be toured except for the *Arizona* memorial area, on a controlled cruise which takes advantage of Hawaii's splendid sun and sea winds. Its involvement with American naval history may be traced to 1887, when the U.S. government gained exclusive rights to establish a refueling and repair station for its navy at the harbor. It became Naval District headquarters in 1916, and soon afterwards became command center for the Pacific fleet. To visit the memorial area, you can take one of the National Park Service tours which leave regularly from 9-3 Tu-Su. Free. Children under six are not permitted.

The Pacific Submarine Museum on the base contains battle flags, missiles, and torpedoes from World War II, as well as a working snorkel trainer device and assorted submarine memorabilia. NR, NHL. Open W-Su 9:30-5. Free.

Wahiawa

KUKANILOKO BIRTHSTONES, off HI 80 NW of Wahiawa, 12th-18th century. When the wife of a high-ranking chief was about to give birth, she was brought to one of these natural boulders located in a spot suitable for the birth of royalty, or so the



U.S.S. Arizona Memorial

ancient Hawaiians believed. Many of the 1½ to 6½-foot stones have large surface depressions which served as "sitting spots" for the woman, and some even had natural

backrests of rock. The Hawaiians believed that birth in such exalted spots would further enhance the power and prestige of children of already high birth.

Island of Kauai

Kauai, the westernmost major island in the Hawaiian group, is appropriately called the "Garden Isle." A great deal of the land is maintained for agricultural purposes or is held in its natural state. When one speaks of a Pacific island paradise, it is Kauai that most often comes to the mind of the experienced traveler. It was here that the movie version of the musical *South Pacific* was filmed.

Kauai was the first of the islands to be discovered by Captain Cook, and there are historic reminders of his visit in the south-shore Waimea area. Most of what is left to be discovered of the past, however, is

either prehistoric or dates from the mid-19th century. The heiau or temple ruins complex at Waioli is particularly rich in Hawaiian lore. As to the history made by North American colonists and their immigrant laborers, this experience can be relived at such places as the Grove Farm Homestead.

Hanalei

WAIOLI MISSION DISTRICT, off HI 56, 19th-20th centuries. This complex of missionary buildings combines elements of Gothic, Colonial, and Hawaiian architec-

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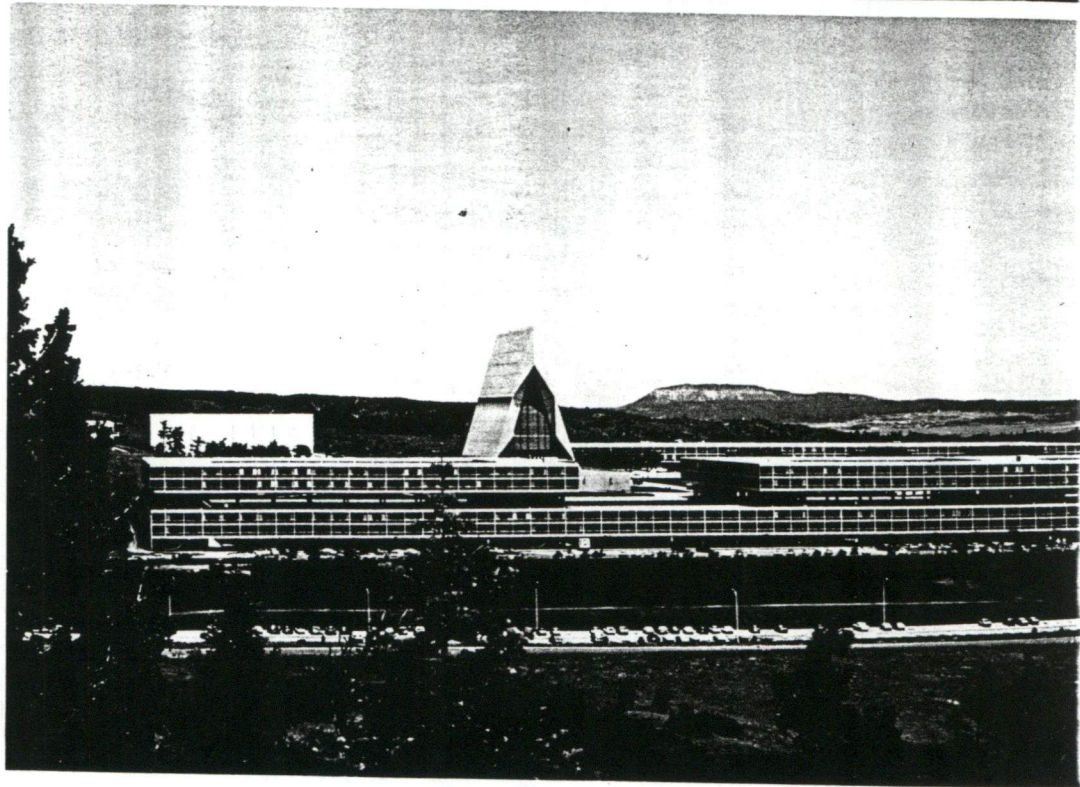
CALIFORNIA & THE WEST

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1982

This was a typical film shooting scene at the Alexander Film Company studios. After a minute or so, the director would signal the cut and another advertising short would be under production. The models would shed their jewels and fur coats and return to their more prosaic secretarial and stenographic jobs. Photo from authors' collection



On 22 June 1954 Secretary of the Air Force Harold E. Talbott announced the selection of the permanent site of the United States Air Force Academy, seven miles north of Colorado Springs. Seventeen

thousand five hundred acres of land were acquired and construction began. On 2 September 1958 the first classes started at the \$200 million campus. Photo from authors' collection



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By Rosemary Hetzler and John Hetzler