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Folder Title:
Norfolk Navy Yard Speech Backup 1/31/89 [OA 8486]

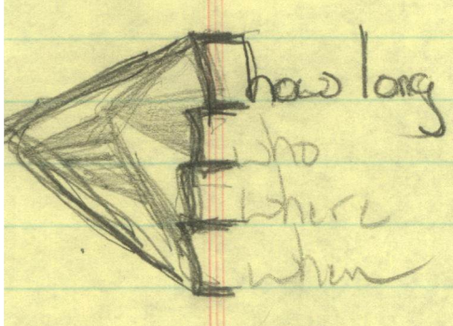
Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	18	6	3

Naval Base Speech 4/23/89

~~p. 3 task force~~

Advance - Judd Swift
military, defense or public service

murder in Norfolk, Tues.



copy of Thurs. speech

book of days

which Naval Yard
what do they do
refitting of ships
outstanding work
contemporary military heros

Nov. 82 } R.R. commissioned ships
Aug. '81 }

To Do

Look through American Legion for "Vignettes of Courage"

~~Nexis on escape from Communism~~

~~Medal of Honor book~~

~~Xerox public service statement & Thurs. speech~~

A unit

Nexis search hurricane Navy & heroism

A.R.

Norfolk history

Gray Terry

Ship

public affairs GM (313) Detroit SL-2054 5000 P.R. GM

People w/in 6 months Chinese working for GM

(202) 522-122 taken-in on ship & cared for, now CEO of Uptront Simone Buick

soldiers giving candy to children

Paula Dobriansky - Human Rights - State dep. asst. sec 647-1780 E. European

CHINFO

Lt. Comm Graham 697-5342 Portsmith, VA

~~AIF~~

Air Force guy adopted Nicaraguan children

Reader's Digest -- military humor

Dan's Info

Re: James
Adm. Stockdale - POW in Vietnam
leader of his group; studied philosophy & applied it; wrote a book; Medal of Honor Winner; man of great moral courage

Adm. Watkins & AIDs

John Reilly → 433-3643
Capt. Booth → 433-2379
Asst. Deputy Director
Chief Information → 697-7391

PAO (804) 444-2163
Lt. Comm. Mike Todd

Naval Historical Center
Building 57
Wash. Navy Yard
D.C. 20374

/

Naval Speech

Historical Office

Pershing's off. for 20 yrs. 1921 – 40's

FDR
TR
} asst. sect.

office next door

5524-21 Navy Distinguished Medal of Honor
3054-1 Congr. Medal

Dist. Flying Cross
Medal of Honor

"God give me love and care and strength
to help my ailing brother."

St. Dept. Chuck Steiner
~~Mike White~~ - Pub. Affairs St. Dept. Pub. Affairs
Vietnam
will call back Cuba Leon Weintraub 647-1442
S.V. desk 647-8670 W. Germany
Human Rights SV Leiha Lurner 6474424

~~Dec. 85 - P.R. visit to~~

People who swam across channel a few months ago

Commander Baker 697-2904 - Capt. Booth sorta
CHINTA

Warren Zimmerman

fax # 395-7015

Norfolk Shipyard - 1787
Monitor Merrimack

Questions for Naval Base

- What are the main functions of base?
- Are there any outstanding workers?
- Any heros in field?
- Special functions that need recognition?
- How large a base?
- How many people employed?
- Average age?
- Mainly male
- Type of officer on base privates or admirals?
- Anybody a military officer at inaugural?

7:25 a.m. → 1:05 p.m.
Barbie

January 26, 1989

MEMORANDUM

TO: Clark Judge

FROM: Stephanie Blessey

RE: Naval Yard Speech

The following is information gathered from the advance office:

Location:	U.S.S. America
Captain:	J.J. Coonan Jr.
Type of Audience:	crew of the ship and military personnel from Norfolk
Time Frame:	Advance office has allowed the President 30 minutes to remark.
Number Attending:	2,000 - 5,000
Backdrop:	Island of carrier, flight crews, and possibly 2 F-14s
Theme of Ship:	"Don't tread on me."
Trivia:	* Favorite saying on ship: "My ship, my country." * One of the "air wings" was involved in a strike against Qaddafi.
Possible Guests:	Senator Tower and the Secretary of the Navy (This is only a possibility.)

John Nettles, the White House Military Officer, is providing me with more information about the U.S.S. America Thursday morning.

Nicknames

Capt. J. J. Coonan - "Skipper"

Comm. of Carrier Air Wing 1: J. L. Johnson - "J. Bird" Johnson
"Cog" of the Airwing

Squadrons

VF33 - "Tarsiers" - nocturnal primate
VF102 - "The Diamond Backs"
VA85 - "The Black Falcons"
VFA82 - "The Marauders"
VFA86 - "The Side Winders"
VAW123 - "The Screw Tops"
VAQ137 - "The Rooks"
VS32 - "Norsemen"
HS11 - "The Dragon Slayers"

U.S.S. ~~America~~

5,000 ~~people - crew~~ of ship

Capt of Ship

J.J. Coonan Jr
Capt.
Commanding Officer
(804) 445-6577

~~standard background~~ of ship

John Nettles
John 2150

platform ~~in front of~~ island
~~seating for~~ 1500
rest ~~standing~~
~~might have~~ #143 as backdrop

1100 - 11:30

allowing 30 min. to remark
values, honor, public service
standing behind him flight crews
66

Theme of Ship: Come Tread on Me
always say: My Ship, My Country

will eat in non-commissioned officers mess

possibility: Sen. Tower & Sec. of Navy

one of the ~~air~~ wings was involved in Libyan strike
~~against~~ Qaddafi

Fact Check Navy Yard Speech 1/27/89
(comments due 1/30 9:30 A.M.)

Questions for WHMO

Asked John N. @ 3:25 Fri.

(p.1) "my ship, my country"

(p.1) name of the airwing designation that bombed Qadhafi (date: 3/24/86)

(p.1) ~~crew of airwing - correct terminology?~~

Drone { 80,800 tons full load
40,600 tons full load (1940-43)

1,046 ft. in length
899 ft in length

252 ft. in width
172 ft. in width

Almanac of Sea Power 1988 p. 140

Carrier Air Wing 1

Comm. J.J. Quinn x 2150
804 626-1406 (-10)
Spencer Geisinger (Omni Norfolk) lead advance

Spence, John, Mel or Day

- ~~service to our nation~~ -- senior appointees rank and file civil servants
- best for last -- anymore public service speeches
- In the months ahead I will be talking a great deal about service - anymore on public service

Wendy will call me

1/30/89 Called Student's off.
Fred says Judd is in control

Evelyn
Fred

Kim Gibson 3085
Susan Firtko
Canada
Japan
newspaper
FBI form
Mom's pictures
mail to Lucy
type memo

Linda Swift

Nito → intern

Ellen McCathran 7560
Library 7000

Col. Don Snyder
3975

5412
NSC Nelson Ledsky
Eur & Sovi

Sam Watson
Linda

5646 Barry Bowling Green

end of WWII to JFK
Vietnam 1st MoF

C464 - 535 WH

Bush 88 Quayle

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

CONTACT: Alixe Glen
(202) 842-1988

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Monday, August 22, 1988

EXCERPTS OF REMARKS BY
VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS 89TH ANNUAL CONVENTION
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
MONDAY, AUGUST 22, 1988

Thank you, Commander Stock.

President Katkus and members of the Ladies Auxiliary, fellow members of the VFW, it's a pleasure to be with you here in Chicago.

I suppose it's fitting that I should speak to you this morning in "the city with the big shoulders," because I have come to talk about American strength, American security, America's commitment to her veterans and fundamental, solid American values.

As you know, I have just come from another convention --- our Party's national convention in New Orleans. It was an exciting week -- full of hoopla to be sure, but also devoted to some very serious business.

I left that convention for this heartland of our country, the Midwest, energized and ready to go to every corner of America -- because there is one thing I must tell you about this election: I mean to run hard -- fight hard -- I mean to win.

The choice before you is serious business -- because my opponent and I have very different philosophies when it comes to leading this country.

Fifty years ago, appeasement tempted Nazi aggression -- and the world was plunged into war.

Since then, American Presidents -- Democratic and Republican alike -- have been united on one point.

Franklin D. Roosevelt said: "We have learned the old, old lesson that the probability of an attack is mightily decreased by the assurance of an ever ready defense."

John F. Kennedy said: "Only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain-beyond-doubt that they will never be employed."

And the other night, on a podium in the New Orleans Superdome, I explained that the Administration in which I have proudly served had acted on the ancient knowledge that strength and clarity lead to peace -- weakness and ambivalence lead to war. Weakness tempts aggressors. Strength stops them. It is that simple.

Today, the world is changing fast. We stand on the edge not only of a new decade, but of a new century.

Let's take stock of our changing world as we enter this new era.

The spirit of democracy is sweeping the Pacific rim. New democracies assert themselves throughout Latin America. The Soviets are withdrawing from Afghanistan. The Vietnamese are withdrawing from Cambodia. Iran and Iraq are silencing the guns of war. And the Cubans may even be ready to withdraw from Angola.

And we have a new relationship with the Soviet Union. One that demands continued caution and realism; but one that has allowed us to sign a treaty which -- for the first time in history -- eliminates an entire class of nuclear weapons.

Peace is breaking out all over -- and it is no accident.

It happened because we as a country recognized and pursued the truth for which the VFW has stood since its inception. Peace through strength works. So let me say this morning: I will not allow this country to be made weak again.

As veterans, you know better than anyone else the terrible cost of war.

I, too, almost lost my life in one.

I hate war. I love peace. We have peace -- and I am not going to let anyone take it away from us.

I think it is fair to ask this morning whether my opponent understands this fundamental truth: that strength deters aggression. That the way to peace is through strength.

For many years, he supported the nuclear freeze. And what would that freeze have done?

- It would have locked in Soviet superiority in a range of strategic areas;

- It would have prevented us from deploying the Pershing Missiles in Europe. How else would we have convinced the Soviets that we were serious about having them remove their 1,000 SS-20 warheads at a time when we had none.

- Ultimately, for precisely that reason, the freeze would have failed to bring the Soviets back to the negotiating table to sign the INF Treaty.

In the microwave oven of the campaign, my opponent's position on the freeze has started to melt -- in belated recognition of the fact that our policies are working.

After this convenient switch of policies, my opponent would have you believe that he's closer to Ronald Reagan on defense policy than I am.

Jeane Kirkpatrick tells about the "blame America first" crowd. Governor Tom Kean tells about the crowd that sent America around the world in the 1970's with a "kick me" sign on its back.

Well, I do not need lessons from that crowd. I've never apologized for the United States of America -- never have, never will. And I don't believe in making unilateral concessions to the Soviet Union or anyone else.

Only a willingness to keep our arms up to date makes the Soviet Union respect America's deterrent. Only the constant modernization of our forces, complete with the testing of new systems, gives the Soviets the incentive to negotiate real arms control agreements.

I plan, to negotiate strategic arms reductions with the Soviets. And I plan to put priority on eliminating Soviet superiority in conventinal forces. But I will not do what my opponent has suggested -- get rid of the MX, the Midgetman, the B-1 bomber and two carrier battle groups. I will not make such unilateral cuts in our defense.

I believe that we as a nation should be proud, that we must be realistic and strong, that we have a special responsibility in this world to lead, to remain engaged, and to defend and advance the cause of freedom around the world.

Pride. Realism. Strength. Engagement. These are the principles which have made us the strongest, freest nation on earth. And they are the pillars on which we should depend in the next century. And to these, I would add: honor for those who have served.

Our veterans have made a special sacrifice to this country -- and we should honor that sacrifice by meeting our duty to them.

I'll be a President who favors veterans -- after all, I'm one of you.

I know how we can start. For about 25 years, bills have been introduced in Congress to make the Veterans Administration a full Cabinet department. I support having the VA at my Cabinet table.

I will make sure that veterans preference in Federal hiring is not diluted -- if anything, it should be strengthened.

I will do everything I can to resolve the fates of our prisoners of war and soldiers missing in action. None of us can forget -- none of us can totally be at peace until all our POWs and MIAs are accounted for.

And I would pay attention to something else: America's veterans are getting older -- over six million are over age 65. In this Administration, we've opened 10 geriatric care centers in VA hospitals around the country. But we can do more. I would work to build a health care policy for older veterans that could serve as a model for all Americans.

Vietnam Veterans deserve our help as well -- they will not be forgotten. They'll get the services and treatment they need and deserve.

Keeping the faith with veterans is not just a matter of trust -- it's a pillar of a sound national security policy, and I'm going to do it.

What of the other pillars?

Let's start with pride. I've seen a lot in my life since I first stepped into a plane to defend my country. I've worked in China, at the U.N., met dozens of world leaders, and I ran the intelligence community of this country as Director of Central Intelligence. But nothing prepared me -- nothing -- for the shock that we felt in 1981 when we got a good look at our military.

Aircraft that couldn't fly because of lack of spare parts. Ships that couldn't sail for lack of crews and ammunition. A one and one half ocean Navy for a three ocean commitment. An Army unable to recruit the people it needed. More than half our divisions rated not ready. A military headed for high tech in its weapons and low tech in its skills.

It was pathetic!

We don't ever want to see that again. And if I'm elected President, we won't.

Look at what we have already done. Our military people had to know that our government was four-square behind them. Respect for the uniform. Respect and honor for the young men and women who defend our values. And ultimately, of course, that meant respect for the United States of America.

We've been working toward a 600-ship Navy with 15 aircraft carriers ready to go. We're giving soldiers the beans and the bullets to do the job. Trained pilots in capable planes. The Marines, proud and ready. The highest level of skills we've ever had in the military. The right people with the right stuff.

You know, George C. Marshall was once asked what America's fighting secret was. And his answer was simple: "The best damn kids in the world."

Well, every single member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff has told me that we have never had finer young men and women in the services than we do today. I'm proud of them, and I'm happy to say that once again America is, too.

The second point I mentioned was realism. A word about the Soviet Union, in this regard. I've spent some time with Mr. Gorbachev. Andrei Gromyko was right. He's got a nice smile. He's also got teeth of iron. And one major reason why he favors agreements now -- is because we're strong.

The improvements made to our nuclear deterrent over the last eight years have helped turn the arms control process in a constructive direction. But we're not out of the woods yet. The Soviets are now deploying two new ICBM's, the SS-24 and SS-25. So even with perestroika, Soviet military modernization, including their own research into strategic defense, has not slackened. Soviet military spending continues to rise.

So what's the answer? Do the practical thing. Reduce offensive weapons through arms control in a way that stabilizes the balance. But keep the balance, keep deterrence working to prevent war by modernizing our weapons. And invest in the Strategic Defense Initiative.

In the event of a crisis, we certainly would want the best information possible. A President would need the most up to date communications system in the world -- so that he would have the ability to send and receive secret messages as rapidly as possible in the event of an attack.

Our nation has designed such a communications system -- which spans the continent, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It's called the Ground Wave Emergency Network -- or GWEN for short. My friend James Schlesinger, a former Secretary of Defense, reported that of the 56 planned GWEN sites around the country, 52 have been completed. Only one Governor refused to

have a site anywhere in his state -- the Governor of Massachusetts. Only one!

Building America's strength costs money, and many people rightly ask if we can afford it. Perhaps a little historical comparison is in order here.

President Kennedy's name has been invoked for all sorts of things lately. But here's a figure that surprised me and I'm sure it will surprise you. In 1960, when Kennedy became President, 45 percent of the federal budget went for defense.

Well, guess what the figures are now, even after what I'm proud to call the Reagan-Bush defense build-up. Defense outlays account for 27% of the federal budget. That's right. The defense budget takes less -- far less -- of a percentage of our budget than it did in John Kennedy's times.

The trick now is to keep our defense budget on an even keel, not to run it down so low that suddenly we've got to invest not only for the future but also to make up for the failures of the past.

The real issue now is not huge increases in defense which we don't need or huge cuts which we can't afford. The issue is ensuring that we get the best bang for our buck.

A word in that regard about the Pentagon. There is no more need to tolerate waste in defense resources than there is to tolerate fraud. Like espionage, fraud and waste weaken us secretly.

It's time to ferret out all corruption at the Pentagon.

Congress can help, too, by cutting down on its micro-management, and -- as an example -- having the courage to close unneeded bases.

I've reviewed the report of the Commission headed by David Packard, and I endorse most of its findings.

Specifically, we should:

- Get Congress to change our complex procurement laws to combine all of them into one single government-wide procurement statute. The more complicated our system, the more spread out it is in different laws, the more wide open it is to fraud, abuse, and just plain old waste.

- Move to a multi-year budgeting process. If ever there was an argument for planning ahead; it is in national defense. America's security shouldn't have to get on the Congressional budget roller coaster every year. The ride should be smooth and steady. I will work with Congress to make this change.

- And we must cut the bureaucracy, and I don't mean cutting the guys who repair the ships and fix the planes. I mean eliminating unnecessary layers of senior and middle management that just make for more paperwork and not more security.

Finally, I mentioned engagement.

We do have a special mission in the world; we are the flagship of freedom.

Ever since we helped rebuild Europe and Japan after the war, we have had a partnership with our allies. Today, they are stronger -- and better able to help in meeting new challenges. They should do more, and they will do more, if I am elected.

We led the fight in combatting terrorism by striking against Qadhafi in Libya. Not everybody liked it but today we have stronger cooperation in meeting the terrorist threat. My opponent refused to support this action, but let me say this: if terrorists murder innocent Americans, and we have the evidence as we did in the case of Libya, I will strike again.

We showed leadership in protecting the flow of oil to the free world through the Persian Gulf. But now some, including my opponent, were quick to criticize our efforts but the parties are talking peace. And just imagine the cost to the economic growth of the free world if that oil supply had been shut down. The verdict is clear: with Iran-Iraq talking peace our policy was right in the Gulf, and our hand-wringing critics were wrong.

And thank God we didn't listen to my opponent who wanted us to finesse our responsibility to lead by turning the United Nations to put together some international fleet.

Yesterday was a sad anniversary. On that day in August of 1939, Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union agreed to a non-aggression pact that helped set the stage for the War in which many of you fought. In no time, they were greedily dividing up Poland. And not long after, they started fighting each other.

Stalin and Hitler. What a fitting reminder that the world is a dangerous place.

In this kind of a world, full of both danger and hope, full of new technologies and old desires, full of unlimited promise but potentially devastating crisis, the question I put before you is who should lead this great country -- this last best hope of man on earth.

Because what it all comes down to, when you strip away all the political rhetoric and all the campaigning, when you reduce

all the fancy names for new weapons and complex international situations to the cold hard truth of decisions -- is the man at the desk.

Who do you want at that desk? A man who has stood at the side of our President for the last eight years, who has been in battle, seen tragedy and victory, who has read the urgent cables, faced the tough choices, and seen the tears in the eye of a dead soldier's mother.

The man at the desk. I think America wants tough, tested, and experienced leadership in the man who sits at that desk as we begin the 1990s. My friends, I am that man.

Thank you very much.

# # # #



HUMOR IN UNIFORM®

THE HARD-BITTEN COMMANDER of my infantry company in Vietnam was frustrated in his efforts to make a soldier out of one particular PFC. The young man lagged behind on patrols, feigned illness and managed to spend most of his time at headquarters.

One day, though, he changed his ways, and we asked the commander why. "Threats and punishment didn't work," he admitted, "so I had to use the ultimate weapon. I wrote his mother." —Contributed by Thomas A. Stave

I HAD SPENT several weeks in Navy basic training as a female recruit and I had developed a hearty appetite. When I noticed my uniforms beginning to fit snugly, I announced to everyone that it was fruit juice and salad for me from then on.

My resolve lasted until mess the next evening. As I was about to sink my fork into a plateful of breaded pork chops and mashed potatoes, a recruit sitting next to me grabbed my hand. "The CO told us he wanted us 'ship-shape,'" she said, "not 'ship-shaped.'"

—Contributed by Betsy Lank

DAD has never forgotten the glory days of being a Marine captain. While driving past an ROTC drill at a university not long ago, he couldn't resist temptation. In his best captain's voice, he yelled, "Battalion dismissed!" To his surprise, everyone scattered.

—Contributed by Loren Spiotta-DiMare

WHEN MY HUSBAND, DENNIS, was seven years old, his father, a crewman on a submarine, took him to see a war movie. The picture had a tragic ending with everyone lost at sea, and afterward Dennis soberly informed his father that he would never join the Navy because, if you did, you died.

"Nonsense," replied his father. "I've been in the Navy nine years, and I'm not dead."

Dennis looked up at him and said, "You're not out yet either!"

—Contributed by Jane Headington

AS THE WIFE of a lance corporal in the Marines, I have found the base commissary to have very long lines. After an interminable wait, a friend of mine had almost made it to the checkout counter. From nowhere, a woman with a cartload of groceries pushed her way forward exclaiming, "I have to go next! I'm invited to a party at the general's house tonight."

Annoyance showed on many faces, until someone farther down the line spoke up. "You can go to the *end* of the line," she said. "I'm the one giving the party." —Contributed by Mary Morris

Do you have a story for "Humor in Uniform"? See inside front cover for payment information.

ILLUSTRATION: WALTER EINSEL

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Telephone (____) _____
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RD1017

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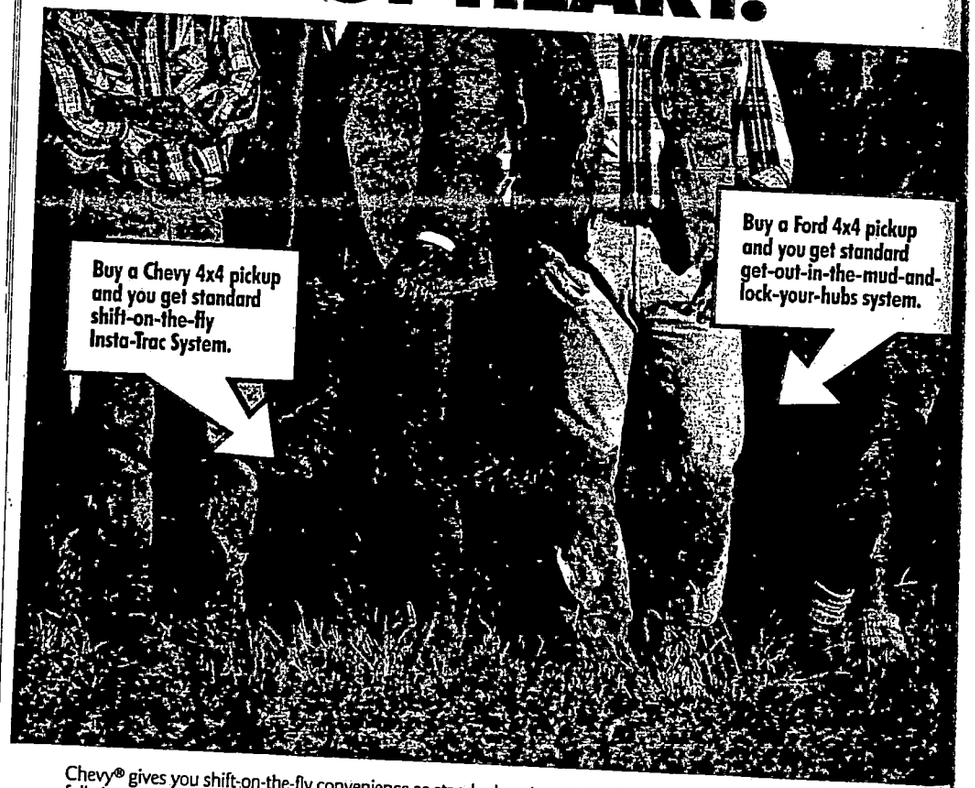
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RD-1017

WHY AMERICA'S HAVING A CHANGE OF HEART.



Chevy® gives you shift-on-the-fly convenience as standard equipment. Ford charges you extra for it on both their full-size and Ranger 4x4 pickups. Which means, with Chevy, you can take that extra money and tap into our Preferred Equipment Groups that can save you up to $1,800* on advanced full-size Chevy 4x4s. $1,900* on Chevy S-10® And end up with even more 4x4 truck for your money. Plus save a bundle in cleaning bills in the bargain.

*Based on Manufacturer's Suggested Retail Prices of option packages versus options purchased separately. Comparisons based on data available at time of publishing. ©1988 General Motors Corporation. All Rights Reserved. Let's get it together...buckle up.

THE *Heartbeat* OF AMERICA TODAY'S CHEVY TRUCK™

GEN. LOUIS H. WILSON, then commandant of the Marine Corps, had decided that anyone overweight had to get in shape. He was giving a speech one day stressing the importance of a balanced diet and physical fitness. During the question-and-answer period, a paunchy gunnery sergeant rose and asked, "Sir, if there is a difference of opinion between a troop commander and a medical officer as to whether a Marine is overweight, who has final authority?"

The general looked down at him and said, "I do. You are. Sit down."

—Contributed by Col. Arthur D. Friedman (Ret.)

I WAS A CAPTAIN in the Air Force, and my wife was a sergeant. One evening at the officers club, we sat down to dinner and noticed a new couple at our table. The woman wasted no time introducing herself as a captain's wife, emphasizing her husband's status. She explained at length how miserable their last base had been because they "had to live next door to those *enlisted* people!"

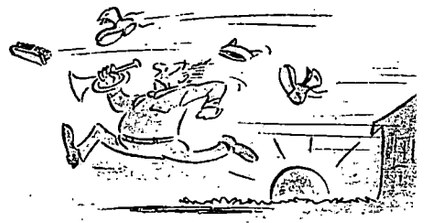
"You think that was bad," I retorted. "I have to *sleep* with one."

—Contributed by M. F. M.

IN ARMY ROTC at the University of Nevada at Reno, our platoon had a gung-ho leader. Each day he would make us run longer distances than the previous time and would welcome our return by bellowing at our timid squad leader, "Well, corporal, how far did you go today?"

After ten days of this routine, the corporal had a ready answer. "I'm not sure, sir," he said, "but we ran so far we could hear the Mormon Tabernacle Choir in Salt Lake City."

—Contributed by Frank G. Taylor



HUMOR IN UNIFORM®

AN AIR NATIONAL GUARD CAPTAIN was being interviewed by a group of high-ranking officers for a full-time position at an Air Guard base. He successfully answered all technical questions. However, the board also wanted to know about his off-duty interests, to see whether he would fit in with the rest of the officer corps. To this end, one colonel asked, "And do you golf?"

The captain cinched the job with his answer: "No, sir, but I caddie!"

—Contributed by Lt. Col. Kent A. Vasby (Ret.)

ONE COLD, WINDY February morning during my Army basic training at Fort Bliss, Texas, our company was assembled outside. There, at parade rest, we were forced to listen to an endless procession of individuals extolling the benefits of Army life.

The last person to speak droned on about the insurance program. When the ordeal was nearly over, he asked if there were any questions. From the rear of the formation, a shivering voice inquired, "Will the insurance cover frostbite?"

—Contributed by Michael Gorfain

Do you have a story for "Humor in Uniform"? See page 3 for information about payment.

ILLUSTRATION: HENRY SYVERSON

READERS DIGEST MAY 88

to the outrageous. But a prize should have gone to the sailor who, when asked why he had missed his train, stoutly protested, "I *did* catch the train, sir . . . but it got away," and produced the compartment-door handle as evidence. —Contributed by Tom Tierney

WHILE I WAS a Marine drill instructor at Parris Island, S.C., my wife and three-year-old daughter joined me for lunch after recruit graduation. As we entered the base restaurant, my daughter charged ahead of us and collided with a woman. In my



firmest drill-instructor voice, I asked my little girl, "What do you say when you run into someone?"

The woman looked at me in fright and said, "Excuse me, sir!"

—Contributed by Gunnery Sgt. Mark E. Harris

I WAS A MEMBER of the Fort Leavenworth sky-diving club and one windy day made a perfect three-point landing—on two toes and my head. Taken to the base hospital with a slight concussion, I was released the next morning.

A few days later, I received a call from a personnel officer who asked what in the world had happened. He had been reading the medical report, where, under the section marked "Reason for accident," the doctor had stated: "Fell out of airplane."

—Contributed by Maj. Larry D. Butler (Ret.), USAR

A FRIEND OF MINE joined the Navy and soon after had to attend a wedding. He asked an officer for a pass and was told he had to be back by 7 p.m. Sunday.

"You don't understand, sir," my friend said. "I'm *in* the wedding."

"No, *you* don't understand," the officer replied. "You're *in* the Navy."

—Contributed by Mindy Stone

MOST NEW MARINES at the San Diego recruit depot arrive by commercial plane at an adjacent commercial airfield. That plane ride is the last thing most of them remember about civilian life before the shock of boot camp sets in. After a hard day, one recruit, watching a plane depart, commented forlornly, "There it goes, back to the United States."

—Contributed by Cpl. John C. Reed (Ret.)

SOME YEARS AGO, my brother, David, decided to enlist in the U.S. Navy. He filled out the forms and took his physical. Next was a consultation with a Naval officer to determine the enlistee's mental state.

"Why do you want to join the Navy?" the officer asked.

"Because my father said it was a good idea," replied David.

"Oh," said the officer, "and what does your father do?"

"He's in the Army," was the reply.

—Contributed by Maj. Robert D. Hall, USAR

Do you have a story for "Humor in Uniform"? See page 2.

ILLUSTRATION: MIKE SMOLLIN



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HEADLINE: TO THOUSANDS OF CAMBODIANS, EPECIALLY THE CHILDREN, CAMPS ON THAI BORDER MAINTAIN THE DUST AND MISERY OF A CRUEL, VIOLENT FLIGHT FROM WAR; SITE 2

BYLINE: By KARI RENE HALL

BODY:

Ten years ago, Vietnamese troops pushed hundreds of thousands of Cambodians across the border into refugee camps in Thailand. They have languished there since, though some of the refugees reportedly have become pawns in a recent, potential new round of battles between Vietnam and Cambodia. Site 2 South, the largest refugee camp on the Thai-Cambodian border, apparently is unaffected by this new tumult. But there already is enough misery at Site 2, reports Los Angeles Times photographer Kari Rene Hall, who spent five weeks there this summer.

They are a generation born without a homeland into a war. Fugitives from a bitter, seemingly endless struggle in their own country, more than 300,000 displaced Cambodians languish in dusty, overcrowded camps on the Thai border like Site 2.

They are ineligible for resettlement in other countries and unable to return to the fields and villages they fled years ago to escape persecution, violence or death.

The world is accustomed to hardened faces of adult refugees on television screens and relief posters. But at Site 2, there is a twist: Nearly half of the 175,000 or so inhabitants are younger than 9 years old. For these children, the drudgery and debilitating loss of hope has become a daily reality, perhaps the only reality they will ever know.

Like their parents, they bear witness to violence on a daily basis -- theft, murder, assault and rape. And the problem is growing: The Thai border camps now have one of the highest birthrates in the world.

'No Innocence'

As a senior camp commander with the U. N. High Commissioner on Refugees concluded, "There is no innocence here."

Site 2 and other Cambodian refugee camps were created when the Communist Khmer Rouge rebels under Pol Pot swept into Phnom Penh in 1975, overthrew the American-backed government of Lon Nol and evacuated virtually all inhabitants of the cities to the countryside for a radical social restructuring.

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In the bloody purge that followed, the rebels carried out a genocide in which an estimated 1 million to 3 million of their countrymen died by execution or because of forced relocation, starvation, exhaustion or disease.

The new government brutally murdered all those suspected of disloyalty or of having been tainted by the influence of the modern world, including doctors, teachers, students and government workers; some people were singled out simply because they wore glasses. Religion and the vestiges of traditional Khmer culture were suppressed.

Thousands who could fled their country and sought refuge in Thailand. In December, 1978, the Vietnamese invaded Cambodia and toppled the Khmer Rouge regime, whose followers retreated to western Cambodia to conduct a guerrilla war against the Vietnamese.

Amid these upheavals, hundreds of thousands more escaped their homeland and fled to the border camps.

The largest of these camps, Site 2, is less than one mile from the Cambodian border inside three square miles ringed by barbed wire. This tightly controlled asylum is the second largest Cambodian community in the world outside of Phnom Penh.

On one level, life in the camp is a godsend compared with life under the Khmer Rouge. International relief agencies under the auspices of U. N. Border Relief Operation continue to supply emergency food rations and provide medical aid to the border encampments.

Discouraging New Arrivals

But Thailand has grown uneasy with the increasing numbers of Cambodian refugees, and the country's general policy of "humane deterrence" is intended to discourage new arrivals. Those entering Thai territory after 1980 are denied legal status as refugees and are officially classified by the United Nations as displaced persons, ineligible for third-country resettlement. The Thai government has resisted secondary education programs and refused to move the camps farther into Thailand, away from the threat of Vietnamese shelling.

Hopes for a political settlement of the Cambodian conflict have flickered during recent talks among the present Communist regime in Phnom Penh and a three-party guerrilla opposition that includes the Khmer Rouge, the Khmer People's National Liberation Front, and followers of former Cambodian ruler Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

The Vietnamese have promised to withdraw their troops by 1990, perhaps earlier if there is a political settlement.

If and when the conflict ends, the inhabitants of Site 2 can look forward to repatriation after years of exile. But it will not be easy. After nearly a decade away from their homeland, the survivors are ill-prepared to govern themselves, rebuild their cities or even replant crops.

Small for her age due to a one-dimensional diet, Chan Nak's body contorts to support her baby sister, Ly, on her hip. When Ly is lulled to sleep by the constant chatter of the nearby black market, Nak gently puts her in a hammock.

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Nak's mother, listless and often ill, rarely ventures from the hut. Blankly staring outside, she begins rocking the hammock while sitting on a bamboo platform that doubles as a bed and table. Nak, sitting below her on the dirt floor of the hut, pounds the dirt with an ax and chases off a chicken that wanders inside.

The young girl takes a can, dips it into the family water jar, and carefully pours it over her head for a shower. With only 18-20 liters of water allotted per person each day for cooking, cleaning and bathing, she must be careful not to waste a drop.

For all nine years of her life, Chan Nak has known no life outside the border camps. She was born as her mother, Ty, made the treacherous journey from her small farming village of Omha in Battambang province through mine fields and around booby-traps on her way to the border.

At the time, Nak's father, Chan Peov, was 16 and had already joined the KPNLF (Khmer People's National Liberation Front), anti- communist resistance fighters in the jungle.

Peov, his body covered from chin to foot with the sat tattoos (spiritual protection from bullets) of a seasoned soldier, has finally come in permanently from the battlefield to reunite with his family.

Surviving the Battle

He lost his right leg to a land mine in 1986 during a clash in which his battalion was outnumbered 2-to-1 and out-equipped (light arms versus AK-47s and artillery) against the Vietnamese. The injured Peov was carried to the border camp by his fellow soldiers.

Peov was one of 33 to survive that battle, but he is one of more than 3,000 handicapped (two-thirds are soldier amputees) at Site 2. In a special workshop, he joins his fellow soldiers as they learn to craft and repair their own prosthesis made of wood, leather and old rubber tires.

A technical school for the handicapped will allow Peov to learn typing and watch and radio repair. With only a first-grade education and no practical skills besides military combat, he is beginning to look to the future, no matter how grim.

Nak and Peov spend much of their time together. He gently picks lice from her hair as they visit a relative's hut to talk to soldiers recently returned from the front line.

Together they walk to get their weekly food rations: 3.5 kilograms of rice per adult, 1.5 kilograms per child, one tin of fish per person, five dried fish for three people, and three logs for two weeks.

Peov promptly sells his family's rations on the black market and cashes in on a neighborhood gambling game called khrorb kamkeung. If he is lucky, Peov wins enough to buy back some rice, perhaps some vegetables, and even a sweet for Nak. He says he worries that she "never has enough food for her body. She has so little food, she lost her appetite."

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How bad can conditions get at Site 2? A medical report from the American Refugee Committee hospital in the camp describes some of the desperation: "Early in April, two small children were fighting. Their parents, rather than take them home, began to fight among themselves.

"The father of one child hit the other father on the head with an ax several times. That man retaliated, stabbing the first man multiple times with a knife. The man who was stabbed then ran into the other man's house and axed his wife and children as they slept. Before he died of his stab wounds, he hit a 2 1/2-year-old child in the face several times with an ax.

The child was brought to our hospital with severe facial trauma. This type of incident is becoming more common and raises our concern . . . that the overall psychological well being of this population is deteriorating rapidly."

From behind the bamboo table at her Khmer People's Depression Relief Clinic, director Phaly Nuon quietly expounds the wisdom that comes to her from several generations of healers.

One wall has a huge chart of 126 types of bark, roots, branches and leaves for concocting medicines to treat rheumatism, post-natal complications and other illnesses. On the windowsill are jars of potions, some bright red, others orange, yellow and cinnamon. These alcohol-based elixirs are given to patients who suffer from a widespread ailment: weakness.

But there are other medical problems too. The camp handles more than 100 hospitalizations each month from rapes, domestic fights and beatings over the head with axes and firewood. Incidents of violence are up 100% over 1987.

Al Santoli, co-author of a book by the Lawyer's Committee for Human Rights (a public interest law center in Washington that works to promote international human rights and refugee law and legal procedures) reported in late October that "there have been 20 incidents in the camp of hand grenade explosions in the last few months. It used to be hitting with sticks, then axes were the weapons of choice, now they are using hand grenades. They sell in camp for 20 bacht (about 80 cents)."

Lawless Environment

At Site 2, daily frustration, hopelessness, despair and a lawless environment have triggered an escalation in domestic violence. Fights often start over something as small as stolen water or chickens, but tempers are quick to explode.

"If it (the camp) were a tea kettle, it would be whistling," observes Wayne Cartwright, a U. N. official.

"(The residents) have many problems because they are poor and are always fighting each other. They want to commit suicide because they despair. They have no hope to leave. Sometimes they miss their family (those killed by Pol Pot) and they do not want to live alone. I cannot take their pain away."

Medical care at Site 2 is often stretched to the breaking point. The population is almost entirely dependent on outside help, because only 48 of the 367 physicians who were practicing in Cambodia in 1971 survived Pol Pot's

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purges.

The camp's overcrowded quarters, limited water and poor diet have resulted in widespread cases of sepsis, diarrhea, pneumonia, tuberculosis, typhus and tropical diseases such as malaria and dengue fever.

With the growing number of trained medics, however, overall health care is improving. Working side-by-side with Western doctors and nurses, the Khmer medics are getting hands-on training and attending daily classes in practical medicine. They will be able to pass on these techniques to other rural practitioners, if they ever return to Cambodia.

"I am very sad today," Chhick Ieng Thai says in almost a whisper. "It's so hard. I live with all these people," he says with a sweeping gesture to include eight or 10 standing nearby. Sitting on his bamboo platform, he continues, "But I am alone. This is my place. . . . I have nothing. I am poor. I can buy no books to study. That would be something to look forward to." He fingered a well-worn English grammar book he had borrowed.

"They ask me where I go, why I ride my bike all day. Where do I go? I just ride around and around. I can't tell them I do not want to stop to think about my life. I have so much pain. I am alone without any parent or sibling to look after me. They were taken to be killed by Khmer Rouge soldiers without doing anything wrong. The problems that happen here remind me to think far away, but I can't tell it to any other. No one here to help me. I feel so alone."

The orphanages in the border camp are crowded with 7,000 unaccompanied minors. Many of the oldest were separated from their parents, brothers and sisters by Pol Pot's soldiers and put into mobile work units and never found their families again. Some, having survived wartime trauma, now realize that they are alone.

Bullet Wound

After seeing his mother, father and a brother killed, for example, 10-year-old Pov Rotana survived a bullet wound to the head. That attack five years ago left him and his 14-year-old brother alone on the border. They now share a hut at the Nong Chan orphanage with 42 other boys.

Two long platform beds stretch the entire length of the hut. Each boy has a spot on the raised platform. Within that 6x3-foot space, each has a bedroll, a few books and school papers, a small cardboard box for their personal belongings and a Boy Scout scarf.

One orphan told of fears that some night, after all the foreign volunteers have left for the day, a truck will pull up and take them back to fight in Cambodia.

Back in Cambodia, many of these children and young men would be especially vulnerable to forced draft into the Khmer People's National Liberation Front. The anti- communist front, with only a few thousand active resistance fighters, is greatly outnumbered by the Vietnamese forces and is constantly looking for new recruits.

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Despite the drudgery of life in the camps, education remains a priority.

Peov walks Nak to and from the small dirt-floored bamboo frame school she attends periodically. As she sits in the front row of bamboo desks with the other girls her age, she carefully forms the Khmer numerals on a chalkboard made from a cardboard box.

Meanwhile, her father and other parents peer curiously in through the lattice openings. Nak's rudimentary education has already surpassed that of her father, who has never learned to read or write.

For these beleaguered people, schooling is an attempt to hold onto a dying culture. The Pol Pot massacres wiped out virtually all of Cambodia's educated classes, and many fear for the future of the country if and when the refugees are allowed to return.

"I am worried for the children," sighs Phaly, the director of the relief clinic. "I think they have no hope. When they grow up, they want to continue to learn. But no good teacher to give them an education. If they do continue to go to school, no hope to do the job they study. No jobs to do.

"They receive everything from (the United Nations). They think rice comes from the back of trucks. They do not know rice is grown from the fields."

Learning Process

Beyond reading and writing, culture is an important part of the learning process.

Children press closer to the front of a makeshift stage to get a better look at brightly costumed Bassak performers, carrying on one of Cambodia's rich theatrical traditions. The actors perform with elaborate head-dresses and made-up faces as they swoon, dance and battle in dramas of love, jealousy and bravery.

Thousands crowd into a hot dusty field each Sunday to see the same plays they saw last week and the week before that. Vendors selling soft drinks and snacks do a rousing business. The crowd laughs in unison as youngsters learn folk tales passed down from their parents.

Elsewhere, Cambodian culture is kept alive through drawing classes for children.

Ten- to 12-year-olds at Dong Rec primary school keep small notebooks of drawings they make during class. Lonh Sokha, 10, carefully draws pink and red blossoms in a flower pot next to a bamboo house on stilts. She has never known her home in Cambodia, but knows "it was very beautiful."

Several others have drawn idyllic scenes of wide blue streams, lush green trees and a sun with long yellow and orange rays setting over the distant pristine mountains.

But Chheng Kodal, 12, draws medics rescuing fallen soldiers and taking them to a border hospital. Another child depicts armed soldiers with machine guns rounding up prisoners at gunpoint.

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Most draw the life they know best. Chea Som, 12, sketches himself alone in camp, surrounded by rows and rows of bamboo huts.

Once a father came to teacher Van Yarong and told a disturbing story. While looking through a magazine, his 7-year-old son pointed to a picture and exclaimed, "Chke (dog)!"

" 'It nearly broke my heart,' " Yarong says the father told him. "He did not know the water buffalo," a common sight in Cambodia.

But his son knew nothing of normal everyday life. He had grown up on the border.

GRAPHIC: Photo, Nine-year-olds, top, search for a stone to load in hand-made sling-shots to fire across barbed wire at unseen enemy; Srei Mom, a 36-year-old dancer with Cambodian Royal Ballet, tries to impart part of her culture's riches to camp children, above; Chon Samnang, a 14-year-old novice Buddhist monk, studies by light filtering into his cottage, left. ; Photo, Youngsters in refugee camp are among hundreds of thousands of Cambodians in Thailand. ; Photo, Chan Nak displays answer to math problem during class. Nak, 9, has known no life outside the refugee camp where she lives. ; Photo, Pov Rotana lives in a hut at the Nong Chan orphanage with his brother and 42 other boys. ; Photo, Young girl helps care for a younger brother at Site 2 South, the largest refugee camp on the Thai-Cambodian border KARI RENE HALL / Los Angeles Times

TYPE: Profile

SUBJECT: CAMBODIA -- BORDERS -- THAILAND; REFUGEES -- THAILAND; REFUGEES -- CAMBODIA; CHILDREN; CAMBODIA -- REVOLTS

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run marauders. Training, in camps spread along the rugged northern flanks of the Hindu Kush, includes the use of U.S.-supplied Stinger antiaircraft missiles as well as heavy artillery, rockets and a few highly treasured tanks. "But," Massoud concedes, "we have to prepare, and that will take time."

His forces should get some breathing space because of approaching winter and their recent battlefield successes. The Soviet-Afghan retreat from the valley was triggered when the rebels overran a government stronghold at Tambana last May. Then in August and September, Jamiat fighters expanded their control by sweeping through the northeastern cities of Khanabad, Taliqan, Keshem and most of Kunduz, the provincial capital. That leaves only one town, Faizabad, in government hands in the northeast.

During the current pause, the Panjshir is alive with conflicting evidence of a coming peace and continued war. Substantial numbers of refugees, some from as far away as Pakistan, are returning to their homes in villages along the valley. The Council of the North, a local body organized by Massoud, continues to set up schools and clinics and to broaden basic administration for the region.

The *mujahedin* will need all their reserves next spring, when the end of winter will signal the final push on Kabul. Massoud told TIME he intends to cut off major highways into the capital, then take on outlying garrisons. At the same time, he plans to launch a campaign of disruption inside Kabul in an effort to spark a popular uprising as food grows scarce. "We have put considerable effort into organizing the resistance inside the cities," he explains, "and we now have an extensive underground network." In the meantime, Jamiat and other resistance groups are keeping up the pressure on Kabul through rocket attacks, including one last week that briefly shut down the capital's airport. That pressure is beginning to tell on Najibullah's Communist government; turmoil within the party last week led to the expulsion of two Politburo members.

Assuming that victory is within reach, Massoud has been devoting time to his second major concern, the maneuvering for advantage among the seven *mujahedin* parties. All members of the Peshawar alliance are fighting for a country under an Islamic dispensation, but the political shape of that concept is something on which they differ sharply.

One major disagreement is the possible return to Afghanistan by the former monarch, King Zahir Shah, to serve as an interim ruler. Jamiat leaders reject the suggestion outright because they regard the King as a feudal holdover as well as accountable for the steady growth of Soviet involvement in the country until his ouster in 1973. "Free elections will have

Prisoners and Converts

For Private Mohammad Beg, a Soviet soldier stationed in an isolated outpost north of Kabul, the odyssey to confinement and conversion began with a dispute with one of his superiors in 1987. After beating the officer unconscious, the 21-year-old Uzbek from Tashkent deserted, and before long, Afghan villagers handed him over to the *mujahedin*.

Sergeant Viktor Nazaro, 23, a Ukrainian from Uzhdano, was captured by the Afghan insurgents while serving with a reconnaissance unit in the northern town of Kunduz in 1984. Private Leonid Vilko, 24, a Moldavian stationed at Bagram air base north of Kabul, was taken prisoner the same year while trying to defect to the West.

Beg, Nazaro and Vilko are three of 312 soldiers Moscow says are missing in Afghanistan and who it believes are being held by the *mujahedin*. The Soviet Union's desire to secure the release of its fighting men, however, may founder on an issue that involves their hearts and minds—and even their souls—for many simply do not wish to be repatriated under any circumstances. Some of the prisoners of war are defectors who, whether out of fear or conviction, have no intention of ever returning to their homeland. Others are converts who have embraced Islam, the religion of their captors and, for many Asian Soviets, of their parents as well.

According to a number of Soviet POWs held in northeast Afghanistan, who spoke to TIME, conversions to Islam have seldom, if ever, been made at gunpoint. Nor do they seem to owe much to the spiritual appeal of the Muslim faith. In most cases, isolation, fear and the promise of being socially accepted by their captors have drawn the prisoners to Islam. Beg, Nazaro and other Soviet captives say they are free to make occasional accompanied visits to local bazaars and encouraged to join in volleyball games with off-duty guerrillas. "I became a Muslim once I learned the language," says Vilko, or "Azizullah" as he is known among the Afghans.

A few defectors, particularly central Asians with a genuine commitment to Islam and an antipathy toward European Russians, have reportedly actually taken up arms on the *mujahedin* side. Almost to a man, the POWs who talked to TIME denied any desire to return to their homeland after the war. "I'd like to stay in Afghanistan and find a job," said Beg, explaining that he feared imprisonment or even execution if he returned home to the Soviet Union. "I'm free here," he explained. "As a Muslim, I'm not oppressed."

The final status of the POWs is far from certain. They could become pawns in a postwar tussle between Moscow and the *mujahedin*, who are insisting that the Soviet Union pay war reparations to a future Afghan government. Negotiations over the POWs will be further complicated by the task of separating those who decide to return to the U.S.S.R. from those who do not. Until then, most of the POWs are doomed to remain strangers in a strange land, trusted by hardly anyone. "To all appearances, they are Muslims and pray with us," says Mohammad Payendah, an administrative officer in a guerrilla garrison. "But God alone knows what is in their hearts."



ANTHONY DAVIS

Captured: Nazaro, left, with fellow Soviet POW

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release January 19, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
DURING MEDAL OF FREEDOM LUNCHEON

The State Dining Room

1:22 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Thank you very much. When we finish this luncheon I hope you'll stick around a little while: We're having a tag sale upstairs and everything must go. (Laughter.) But, really, thank you all for coming to be with us here today.

Truly, one of the privileges of this office which I've found greatest joy in exercising has been the opportunity to present our nation's highest civilian honor, the Medal of Freedom. To stand, as I have had the honor of doing, with the recipients of this award has been to stand with the flesh and blood and spirit that is the greatness of America, men and women who have so greatly served our nation and helped keep her free.

The contribution of each recipient has been unique and noteworthy. And today is no exception as we honor two remarkable Americans, Mike Mansfield and George Shultz.

Mike Mansfield has dedicated the entirety of a very long and productive lifetime to public service. He served in both Houses of Congress, spanning seven presidents, and held the post of Senate Majority Leader longer than any other person. A former professor of Far Eastern history, he played an important part in shaping America's Asian policy, serving on both the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and then as our Ambassador to Japan. For a sizeable portion of America's history as a nation, Mike Mansfield has been in service to his country.

George Shultz -- my voice cracked just as I got to you. -- (laughter) -- George Shultz has been a Marine, an academic, and a businessman, and a public servant. He has held four Cabinet-level posts, distinguishing himself as a Secretary of Labor, Director of the Office of Management and Budget, Treasury Secretary, and finally as one of America's great Secretaries of State. Over the last 6-1/2 years, in managing our foreign policy, he has served wisely and met great challenges and great opportunities. George Shultz has helped to make the world a freer and more peaceful place.

And there's nothing so precious and irreplaceable as America's freedom. In a speech I gave 25 years ago, I told a story that I think bears repeating. Two friends of mine were talking to a refugee from Communist Cuba. He had escaped from Castro, and as he told the story of his horrible experiences, one of my friends turned to the other and said, "We don't know how lucky we are." And the Cuban stopped and said, "How lucky you are? I had someplace to escape to."

Well, no, America's freedom does not belong to just one nation. We are custodians of freedom for the world. In Philadelphia, two centuries ago, James Allen wrote in his diary that, "If we fail, liberty no longer continues an inhabitant of this globe." Well, we didn't fail. And, still, we must not fail. For freedom is not the property of one generation; it's the obligation of this and every generation. It's our duty to protect it, and expand it, and pass it undiminished to those still unborn.

MORE

Now, tomorrow is a special day for me. I'm going to receive my gold watch. And since this is the last speech that I will give as President, I think it's fitting to leave one final thought, an observation about a country which I love.

It was stated best in a letter I received not long ago. A man wrote me and said, "You can go to live in France, but you cannot become a Frenchman. You can go to live in Germany or Turkey or Japan, but you cannot become a German, a Turk, or a Japanese. But anyone, from any corner of the Earth, can come to live in America and become an American."

Yes, the torch of Lady Liberty symbolizes our freedom and represents our heritage, the compact with our parents, our grandparents, and our ancestors. It is that lady who gives us our great and special place in the world.

For it's the great life force of each generation of new Americans that guarantees that America's triumph shall continue unsurpassed into the next century and beyond. Other countries may seek to compete with us, but in one vital area -- as a beacon of freedom and opportunity that draws the people of the world -- no country on Earth comes close. This, I believe, is one of the most important sources of America's greatness. We lead the world because, unique among nations, we draw our people, our strength, from every country and every corner of the world.

And by doing so we continuously renew and enrich our nation. While other countries cling to the stale past, here in America we breathe life into dreams, we create the future and the world follows us into tomorrow. Thanks to each wave of new arrivals to this land of opportunity, we're a nation forever young, forever bursting with energy and new ideas, and always on the cutting edge, always leading the world to the next frontier. This quality is vital to our future as a nation. If we ever closed the door to new Americans, our leadership in the world would soon be lost.

A number of years ago, an American student traveling in Europe took an East German ship across the Baltic Sea. One of the ship's crew members from East Germany, a man in his 60s, struck up a conversation with the American student. After a while the student asked the man how he had learned such good English. And the man explained that he had once lived in America. He said that for over a year he had worked as a farmer in Oklahoma nad California, that he had planted tomatoes and picked ripe melons. It was, the man said, the happiest time of his life. Well, the student, who had seen the awful conditions behind the Iron Curtain, blurted out the question: Well, why did you ever leave? "I had to," he said, "the war ended." The man had been in America as a German prisoner of war.

Now, I don't tell this story to make the case for former POWs. Instead, I tell this story just to remind you of the magical, intoxicating power of America. May -- we may somemtimes forget it; others do not. Even a man from a country at war with the United States, while held here as a prisoner, could fall in love with us. Those who become American citizens, love this country even more. And that's why the Statue of Liberty lifts her lamp to welcome them to the golden door.

It is bold men and women, yearning for freedom and opportunity, who leave their homelands and come to a new country to start their lives over. They believe in the American dream. And over and over they make it come true for themselves, for their children, and for others.

They give more than they receive; they labor and succeed. And often they are entrepreneurs. But their greatest contribution is more than economic. Because they understand in a special way how glorious it is to be an American, they renew our pride and gratitude

in the United States of America, the greatest, freest nation in the world, the last best hope of man on Earth.

The Medal of Freedom represents the reverence the American people have for liberty and it honors the men and women who through their lives do greatest honor to that freedom. The lives of the two men we honor here today tell a story about freedom and all its possibilities and responsibilities, and well, both those that inhere in each free man and woman, and those that fall upon a great and free nation.

Our honorees have dedicated their lives to preserving and protecting America's freedom. They have engaged themselves in the larger cause, that of humanity and of the world, to help extend freedom to people of other lands. There is no task more fitting for Americans than that.

So I will now read the citations for our two very distinguished award recipients and present to them their medals. Perhaps I should mention that our first recipient today -- the one who calls me "kid" -- (laughter) -- is the son of immigrants, from a country called Ireland.

And now, if Michael Mansfield and George Shultz would please come forward -- George, you're due here. During World War I, Mike Mansfield, not yet 15, enlisted in the United States Navy, crossing the Atlantic seven times before he was discharged. His service to country would span seven decades, and would help shape America's destiny as a Pacific power. Through 34 years in Congress -- including 16 as Senate Majority Leader -- and with more than a decade as U.S. Ambassador to Japan, Mike Mansfield has set his indelible mark upon American foreign policy and distinguished himself as a dedicated public servant and loyal American.

(The Medal is presented.) (Applause.)

AMBASSADOR MANSFIELD: Mr. President, First Lady, Mr. Secretary of State and Mrs. Shultz, Ambassador Matsunaga and Mrs. Matsunaga, my former colleagues from both the House and the Senate; our distinguished guests; ladies and gentlemen.

I can't begin to express in words, Mr. President, my deep appreciation for what you've said about me and the encouragement which you've given me in my post as your Ambassador, your personal representative, our country's Ambassador to Japan.

However, I think that much of the credit should go to Maureen, my wife, who, down through the years, has been such a wonderful helpmate; whose advice, counsel, and understanding I appreciated; who worked harder at any job I've had and received little credit in the process. So I want to say how much I owe to her, how much I'm indebted to her, how much I appreciate what the President has said -- who has laid out a sound policy for our future in the Pacific and East Asia. I appreciate the advice and counsel that George Shultz has given to me from time to time. And I appreciate the fact that, for the first time in memory, that we have both a President of the United States and a Secretary of State who are actively interested in the Pacific, in Japan, and in East Asia. I anticipate that the policies these men have laid down will be continued.

In conclusion, we may recall that Robert Sandburg, one of our poets, said on a certain occasion, there are things to do, miles to go, and promises to keep before we sleep. Well, Maureen and I have traveled many miles. We have had and still have things to do and we still have the promises we made over half a century ago when we were joined together. So to her I want to give special thanks for all that she has been able to do with me. And to the President and Nancy, my thanks, my appreciation for their thoughtfulness and consideration. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Unyieldingly dedicated to the protection of the American national interest, the advancement of freedom and human rights, the battle against tyranny, and reductions in nuclear arms, George P. Shultz has presided over the Department of State during one of the most critical periods in the history of this nation's foreign policy. For years of public service and his vital part in inaugurating a new era of hope in foreign policy, his countrymen honor him.

(The Medal is presented.) (Applause.)

SECRETARY SHULTZ: Mr. President, you know, Obie has been traveling a million miles around the world with me, so it's been a great partnership. But, Mr. President, I feel very special about receiving this award from you, and let me explain why. There's a phrase that's catching on -- "The Reagan Years" -- there's a ring to it. And, Mr. President, it is the ring of freedom.

You have advocated it, fought for it; you have known that the price of freedom is eternal vigilance; you have known this is a matter of principle on which you don't compromise; you have known that there are times when it requires action, sometimes, at least initially, not necessarily popular action, but you have to do it. You have also known and I've heard you say many times that the strength comes from "We the People;" that we get our legitimacy and you get your legitimacy as President from the people. And you've never been in any doubt, and none of us have, about who we came here to serve -- the American people.

And I see you there with your arm around Nancy. I had the privilege of going with Nancy a couple of months ago to the United Nations where she spoke about drugs. And she had the courage to say that one of the root causes of this worldwide problem is too -- is use of drugs in the United States. And we have to say no. So Nancy, too, has been a fighter for freedom -- freedom from drugs. And we love you for it and revere you for it, Nancy.

So all of these things make me especially proud to have served with you, to have been your Secretary of State, and to receive a medal from you called the Medal of Freedom has a significance for my life and Obie's life and my children that we will never forget. Thank you, Mr. President. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Well, ladies and gentlemen, I have been privileged to participate in this recognition of the service of these two gentlemen to this great country of ours. I'm glad that all of you could be here. And now, my clock tells me that, like the letter I got the first week I was here from the little 11-year-old girl who told me all the things I had to do and then said, "Now, get over to the Oval Office and go to work" -- I see I've still got a few more hours of work ahead of me and we're a little behind schedule. And so we'll bid you all farewell and thank you again for all being here and participating. (Applause.)

END 1:42 P.M. EST

that marriage was years away. My training days were drawing to a close at the Naval Air Station in Charlestown, Rhode Island. In the fall of 1943 I was assigned to VT-51, a torpedo squadron being readied for active duty in the Pacific.

Eight months after V-J Day, *Life* magazine ran a story, "Home to Chichi Jima," telling of the war-crimes trial of two Japanese officers charged with executing American fliers shot down over the Bonin Islands and "even more revolting, of practicing cannibalism on them."

I read the piece as a Yale freshman, not long out of the Navy. It brought back memories of the worst hours I spent during the war.

The date was September 2, 1944. It was the second day of concentrated air strikes on the Bonins by our squadron, VT-51, operating off the *San Jacinto,* one of eight fast carriers in Vice Admiral Marc Mitscher's Task Force 58. My aviator's log book for that day reads: *Crash Landing in Sea—Near Bonin Is.—Enemy action.*

Under the column for *Passengers* were the names *Delaney* and *Lt. (jg) White.* Jack Delaney was the young radioman/tail gunner on my Grumman Avenger torpedo bomber. William G. (Ted) White was the squadron's gunnery officer, filling in that day for Leo Nadeau, our regular turret gunner.

VT-51 had an air complement of twenty-six F6F Hellcats and nine TBM Avengers. The quick, mobile Hellcat fighter kept the skies clear of enemy aircraft. The Avenger had earned a reputation as the biggest, best single-engine bomber around, used for torpedo runs, glide bombing, antisub patrols, and providing air cover during amphibious landings. The TBM carried a three-man crew—aviator, turret gunner, and radioman/tail gunner, or "stinger," along with a 2,000-pound bomb payload.

The target for that day was a radio communications center on Chichi Jima, one of three islands in the Bonin chain. The others were Haha Jima and the best-remembered Pacific island of World War Two, Iwo Jima. The day before, Delaney, Nadeau, and I had

flown a mission targeting gun emplacements on Chichi. We knocked some out, but not enough. The Japanese who were dug in on the island still had a potent antiaircraft reserve.

Delaney, Nadeau, and I had been together since VT-51 was first attached to the *San Jacinto,* back in the States.

We'd flown missions over Wake Island, Palau, Guam, and Saipan, and survived a fair number of close calls, including a ditching operation when our plane sprang a leak while still carrying four depth charges intended for enemy subs. How do you put a TBM Avenger into the water with four 500-pound bombs in its belly? Very carefully, with adrenaline running, a prayer on your lips, and your fingers crossed.

In flight training at Corpus Christi and along the East Coast, we were taught to gauge wind velocity and the height of waves. Given winds at about fifteen knots and a fair chop on the sea, I trimmed the nose of the plane as high as possible without risking a stall. We landed tailfirst and were able to scramble onto the wing, inflate our safety raft, and start paddling, just as the plane went down.

We felt lucky. Within seconds we felt even luckier, when the plane's torpedoes detonated after their safety devices gave way to undersea pressure. Then, about thirty minutes later, came a happy ending: the destroyer U.S.S. *Bronson* sighted our raft and picked us up.

Like most TBM Avenger pilots, I liked the teamwork and camaraderie that went with being part of a three-man crew. I became attached to my plane, nicknaming it "Barbara."

The TBM Avenger wasn't fast—the unofficial Navy line described it as "low and slow." As Leo Nadeau once put it, the TBM "could fall faster than it could fly." Cruising speed was about 140 knots, brought down to less then 95 knots for a carrier landing. But it was sturdy and stable. Sturdy and stable enough to allow for pilot error on even a bad landing. From the start, back during flight

training, I liked the challenge the TBM offered, the sensation of diving, getting close down to the water, going full bore.

There's nothing quite like putting a plane down on a carrier. While it was intimidating at first, you quickly got used to it. The *San Jacinto* was a new-model light carrier, with a very narrow flight deck on a converted cruiser hull. It took total concentration to make the tight turn coming into the ship's stern, then follow through on your pattern, watching the signal officer as he waved his paddles to let you know whether you were too high or too low. Screw up the plane's "attitude" and you crashed into the sea or the deck—like the Hellcat pilot I once saw miss the arresting wires on a return flight from Guam.

Our squadron was coming in after a strike, the Avengers first, then the fighter planes. I'd already landed and was standing on deck, watching as the pilot jammed his throttles forward trying to get airborne again, but lost air speed. His plane spun in, ending up by a gun mount. The gun crew was wiped out. Just a few yards away was a crewman's leg, severed and quivering. The shoe was still on. More than forty years later I can still see it.

Two other members of the squadron were alongside me when the accident happened. We were all familiar with combat risks and at one time or another had lost close friends: my first roommate, Jim Wykes, flew out on a routine antisub patrol one day and just disappeared. But none of us had ever seen death come that close, that suddenly. Four seamen who'd been with us seconds before were dead because of a random accident, for no logical reason.

Then, breaking the tension, the chief petty officer in charge of the deck crew moved in, shouting orders. "All right, you bastards," he yelled. "Let's get to work. We still have planes up there and they can't land in this goddamn mess." War, it seemed, has a perverse logic all its own.

A little after 6 A.M., the morning of September 2, I was in the ready room getting briefed for our second day of air strikes against Chichi Jima. Word came that Task Force 58 was heading south to

become Task Force 38, under Admiral "Bull" Halsey. The move was scheduled to take place immediately after the Chichi Jima raid. That meant if we were going to knock out the enemy airstrips and communications on the Bonins, today would be the day.

Nobody had to remind us that the going would be rough. The day before, we'd run into strong enemy antiaircraft fire and lost a plane. The Bonins were six hundred miles from Tokyo, a key supply and communications center, and the Japanese had dug in for a protracted fight. We were learning that the closer we got to the enemy's homeland, the fiercer the resistance.

Ted White knew this when he approached me to ask if he could fill in as turret gunner during the raid. Ted was a personal friend. Our families knew each other back home. As gunnery officer, he wanted to check the equipment out under actual combat conditions.

We were due to take off at 0715. "You'll have to hurry it," I told him, looking at my watch. "But if it's okay with the skipper, and Nadeau doesn't mind, it's okay with me."

The skipper in this case was Lieutenant Commander D. J. Melvin, who had headed VT-51 since it was formed. In his early thirties, Don Melvin was a seasoned flier who knew everything there was to know about naval aircraft—a cool, collected leader who inspired confidence in younger members of his squadron. Before the war was over, he'd earned the Navy Cross not once, but twice. That morning, September 2, he cleared Ted White for the Chichi Jima mission. Leo Nadeau also signed off on the request.

We took off on schedule, first the TBMs, then the fighters, some catapulted, others making a full-deck takeoff. After I was harnessed in, my plane was hooked onto the catapult. I ran it up full-throttle, gave the catapult officer my arm-across-the-chest signal, and was launched skyward.

The sky was clear, broken only by a few clouds, not enough to provide cover for an incoming flight. Though it was still early morning, the weather was like every other day in that part of the Pacific, warm and humid. It took us about an hour to reach the island; climbing along the way to our attack height of 12,000 feet.

Our squadron attack plan called for three groups of three torpedo bombers apiece, flying first in V formations, then shifting to echelons as we prepared to dive. We were joined by planes from other carriers as we closed in.

The flak was the heaviest I'd ever flown into. The Japanese were ready and waiting; their antiaircraft guns were set up to nail us as we pushed into our dives. By the time VT-51 was ready to go in, the sky was thick with angry black clouds of exploding antiaircraft fire.

Don Melvin led the way, scoring direct hits on a radio tower. I followed, going into a thirty-five-degree dive, an angle of attack that sounds shallow but in an Avenger felt as if you were headed straight down. The target map was strapped to my knee, and as I started into my dive, I'd already spotted the target area. Coming in, I was aware of black splotches of gunfire all around.

Suddenly there was a jolt, as if a massive fist had crunched into the belly of the plane. Smoke poured into the cockpit, and I could see flames rippling across the crease of the wing, edging toward the fuel tanks. I stayed with the dive, homed in on the target, unloaded our four 500-pound bombs, and pulled away, heading for the sea. Once over water, I leveled off and told Delaney and White to bail out, turning the plane starboard to take the slipstream off the door near Delaney's station.

Up to that point, except for the sting of dense smoke blurring my vision, I was in fair shape. But when I went to make my jump, trouble came in pairs.

According to the book, you dive onto the wing; then the wind pulls you away from the plane. But something went wrong. The wind was playing tricks, or more likely, I pulled the rip cord too soon. First my head, then my parachute canopy collided with the tail of the plane. It was a close one. A fraction of an inch closer, and I'd have been snagged on the tail assembly. As it was, the only damage that came out of the collision was a gashed forehead and a partially torn canopy.

I came down fast—because of the torn canopy, faster than I wanted. That was when all those tedious hours of emergency

training paid off. Rule No. 1 in bailing out at sea: Don't get tangled up in your parachute after landing. Still dazed, I instinctively started unbuckling on the way down and easily slipped out of my harness when I hit the water.

I looked around for Delaney and White, but the only thing in sight was my parachute drifting away. My seatback rubber raft was somewhere in the area, but if it hadn't been for Don Melvin swooping down, then up, to signal its location, I'd never have seen, much less swum to it. And while I didn't know it at the time, if it hadn't been for Doug West in his Avenger and a few of our Hellcat escorts, the raft wouldn't have done much good even when I reached it. A couple of Japanese boats had left the island, headed out to pick me up. Doug and the fighter planes drove them back while I swam toward the raft, hoping that it hadn't been damaged by the fall and would inflate. Good news, it did. I scrambled aboard. Bad news, the fall had broken the emergency container and I had no fresh water. Doug didn't know that, but coming in low he'd seen that my head was bleeding and dropped a medical kit. I retrieved it and hand-swabbed my forehead with Mercurochrome.

Then I checked out my regulation .38-caliber pistol to see if it was in working order. It was, for all the good it would do me; I would have traded it and fifty more like it for one small paddle. The wind was playing tricks again. Alone in my raft, my squadron headed back to the carrier, I was slowly drifting toward Chichi Jima.

Where were Delaney and White? There was no sign of other yellow rafts on the horizon. Just cloudless blue sky and choppy green water rolling toward the shoreline. I was hand-paddling furiously just to stay put.

My head still ached. My arm was burning from the sting of an angry Portuguese man-of-war. And to complicate matters, I'd

swallowed a few pints of brackish water along the way, which meant I'd occasionally have to stop paddling to lean over the side.

Still, I was alive and had a chance. The question was whether my crew members had survived. Neither had responded after the order to bail out. Struggling against the tide, I remembered something else: Task Force 58 was pulling out of the area to rendezvous with Halsey's fleet after the raid on Chichi Jima. Don Melvin had probably radioed my position to friendly ships in the area; but realistically, if nothing showed up that day, my luck might have run out.

A half hour passed. An hour. An hour and a half. There was no sign of activity from the island, no Japanese headed my way. But nothing else was headed my way either. As it turned out, when my prayers were answered, it didn't come in the form of a large ship's outline on the horizon, but what appeared to be a small black dot, only one hundred yards away. The dot grew larger. First a periscope, then the conning tower, then the hull of a submarine emerged from the depths.

Was it an enemy sub or one of ours? It didn't take long to find out. A large bearded figure was standing on the bridge of the conning tower, holding a black metal object in his hand. As the sub drew closer, the object took form as a small motion-picture camera.

My rescue ship was the U.S.S. *Finback.* The camera buff turned out to be Ensign Bill Edwards. He stood there, filming away, while the sub continued to surface and half a dozen seamen came scurrying out to the forward deck. "Welcome aboard!" said one, who hauled me out of my bobbing craft. "Let's get below. The skipper wants to get the hell out of here." On shaky legs I climbed down the conning tower into the hold of the *Finback.* The hatches slammed shut, the horns sounded, and the sub's skipper gave the order to "Take her down."

In the sub's cramped wardroom, I was given a second welcome aboard by three other Navy airmen, rescued by the *Finback* a short while before. Silently I thanked God for having saved my life and said a silent prayer for the safety of my fellow crew members. Later I learned that neither Jack Delaney nor Ted White had sur-

vived. One went down with the plane; the other was seen jumping, but his parachute failed to open.

As a member of VT-51, I thrived on the feeling of freedom that came with flying an airplane. I was part of a team, yet on my own. But living with the officers and crew of the *Finback,* I learned about a different kind of teamwork, as well as danger.

Whatever the aviators on board might have thought originally, the *Finback* wasn't a rescue vessel but a combat ship on patrol. Much as we wanted to get back to our squadrons, we'd have to bide our time until the sub put in at Midway at the end of its war patrol.

Among other things, biding time on a submarine meant looking at the war inside out, being on the receiving rather than the delivery end of an air bombing. People talk about the risk of combat flying, but in a plane you can fire back and maneuver; on a sub you breathe stale air and sweat in the belly of a metal tube under fire.

The *Finback* sank enough enemy tonnage on that patrol to earn its skipper, Commander R. R. Williams, the Silver Star. He and his crew deserved it. Running on the surface, we were attacked by a Japanese Nell bomber. Below the surface, we were depth-charged: the sub would shudder, and the visiting airmen would give anxious looks at members of the crew. They'd reassure us, "Not even close."

It was close enough. The Navy awarded me a Distinguished Flying Cross for completing the mission on Chichi Jima, but what happened at the island was over in a hurry. Taking depth charges in a sub—even for ten minutes—could seem like an eternity.

But my month aboard the *Finback* had its better moments. There was the human element: I made friendships that have lasted a lifetime. I had a chance to reflect on the greater loss suffered at Chichi Jima. Six days after my rescue, I wrote a letter, later mailed to my parents, that described my feelings at the time:

"I try to think about it as little as possible," I said, "yet I

cannot get the thought of those two out of my mind. Oh, I'm O.K. —I want to fly again and I won't be scared of it, but I know I won't be able to shake the memory of this incident and I don't believe I want to completely."

Then there were the better moments spent standing watch on the tower during the midnight to four A.M. shift, when the *Finback* ran on the surface to recharge its batteries. The sub moved like a porpoise, water lapping over its bow, the sea changing colors, first jet black, then sparkling white. It reminded me of home and our family vacations in Maine. The nights were clear and the stars so bright you felt you could touch them. It was hypnotic. There was peace, calm, beauty—God's therapy.

I still don't understand the "logic" of war—why some survive and others are lost in their prime. But that month on the *Finback* gave me time to reflect, to go deep inside myself and search for answers. As you grow older and try to retrace the steps that made you the person you are, the signposts to look for are those special times of insight, even awakening. I remember my days and nights aboard the U.S.S. *Finback* as one of those times—maybe the most important of them all.

I rejoined the *San Jacinto* and VT-51 exactly eight weeks after being shot down, in time to take part in strikes against enemy positions and shipping in the Philippines. In October 1944 American troops had landed at Leyte; in November our squadron was in action at Manila Bay and in the Luzon area. We also got news that over one hundred B-29s, taking off from Saipan, had bombed Tokyo. Three years after it had begun, the war in the Pacific was coming full circle, a noose tightening around the Japanese home islands.

In December VT-51 was replaced by a new squadron, and after flying fifty-eight combat missions I was ordered home. No reunion could have been scripted more perfectly. I arrived Christmas Eve. There were tears, laughs, hugs, joy, the love and warmth of family in a holiday setting.

Barbara and I were married two weeks later, January 6, 1945, at the First Presbyterian Church in her hometown, Rye, New York, with a close friend from VT-51, Milt Moore, as a member of the wedding party.

A few months later I was reassigned to VT-153, a Navy torpedo bomber group being readied for the invasion of Japan. Everything I'd experienced in my year and a half of combat in the Pacific told me it was going to be the bloodiest, most prolonged battle of the war. Japan's war leaders were unfazed by massive raids on Tokyo. They seemed bent on national suicide, regardless of the cost in human life.

Now, years later, whenever I hear anyone criticize President Truman's decision to drop the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, I wonder whether the critic remembers those days and has really considered the alternative: millions of fighting men killed on both sides, possibly tens of millions of Japanese civilians. Harry Truman's decision wasn't just courageous, it was far-sighted. He spared the world and the Japanese people an unimaginable holocaust.

I was stationed at Oceana Naval Air Station, Virginia, on the mid-August day when the President announced that the Japanese had sued for peace. Barbara and I were living in Virginia Beach. The announcement came at seven P.M. Within minutes our neighborhood streets were filled with sailors, aviators, their wives and families celebrating late into the night. We joined in the celebration, then, before going home, went to a nearby church filled with others giving thanks and remembering those lost in the war. After four years it was finally over.

We were still young, life lay ahead of us, and the world was at peace. It was the best of times.

YALE'S HITTING BIG FACTOR
IN TEAM'S DIAMOND SUCCESS

The ability of the Yale Baseball team to back up some mighty impressive pitching on the part of Frank Quinn and Walt Gratham

Bush 88 Quayle

10/17/88

GEORGE BUSH ON DEFENSE POLICY
FACT SHEET

RESTORING OUR NATION'S DEFENSES

- Since 1981, we've worked hard to restore our military strength.

- Readiness: Ship readiness is up 125%. The US Army estimates its divisional war-fighting capabilities have improved by an average of 60% since 1980.

- Training and Exercises: Live fire training exercises are up 30%. The 1987 Reforger Exercises featured the largest trans-Atlantic deployment of US forces to Europe since 1944.

- Equipment: The firepower of our heavy armored and mechanized divisions has grown by 25%. Close to half of the Army's tank fleet has been modernized with the M-1 Abrams tank, and our artillery firepower has doubled with improved munitions and the long-range Multiple Rocket Launcher. The Air Force, Navy, and Marine fighter squadrons have been modernized, growing from 600 late model planes in 1980 to 2,500 4th generation aircraft today. The total number of US Navy major surface combatants has grown by 41%. The number of modern "Los Angeles" class submarines has tripled. POMCUS stocks in Europe have increased 3 1/2 times.

- Personnel: In 1980, only 68% of recruits had high school diplomas; today, 93% are high school graduates. Reenlistment rates remain steady at 65%, up from 55% in 1980.

CHALLENGING CIRCUMSTANCES

- Improvements in the Soviet military posture: Despite the new Soviet rhetoric of "new thinking" and "defensive defense," the Soviet military build-up continues. Soviet military spending as a percentage of Soviet GNP has increased, not decreased, since 1980. In recent years, the Soviets have deployed two new ICBMs -- the rail-mobile SS-24 and the road-mobile SS-25 -- as well as two new SSBNs -- the Delta IV and the Typhoon. The Soviets continue to invest heavily in strategic defenses, including improving their two-layered operational ABM system around Moscow by modifying old interceptors (GALOSH) and adding new ones (GAZELLE).

- Conventional forces: The Soviets now have:
  - over 25,000 tanks and over 27,000 artillery, mortars, and multiple rocket launchers.
  - over 7,500 fighter and attack aircraft and over 4,000 military helicopters.
  - over 80 major surface warships and over 80 submarines.

o Changing defense technology: A revolution in military affairs is taking place with improvements in computer technology, microchips, miniaturization, and communications technologies changing the nature of the modern battlefield.

o Altering military force posture: The relationship between nuclear and conventional forces is changing. Nuclear arsenals are getting smaller, and conventional weapons are becoming increasingly complex while improving their firepower.

o Fiscal constraints: We will continue to face a resource-constrained defense budgetary environment into the next decade. And we must learn to improve defense spending efficiency.

FOUR QUESTIONS FOR PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

o First, how are you going to modernize our land-based deterrent? A survivable land-based leg of the triad is essential for a robust deterrent. The bipartisan solution to the problem -- designated in the Scowcroft Commission report -- is a mobile missile.

o Second, will you continue the Strategic Defense Inititative Program? I have pledged to move forward vigorously with the SDI program and as technologies prove themselves, to deploy them. The cost estimates for a phase one deployment of SDI have dropped from $115 billion to $69 billion.

- And the bipartisan White House Science Council recently noted the "solid technical progress in just about every facet of SDI," including:
  - Demonstrated capability in non-nuclear hit-to-kill technologies.
  - Novel approaches for discriminating warheads from decoys gained from space-based experiments.
  - Technological improvements leading to small and cheap systems and components, greatly helping to resolve the problem of survivability.

- Third, what will you do to improve our conventional forces? Through the NATO Defense Program and the Conventional Defense Improvement Plan, this Administration has made great strides in restoring the strength of our conventional forces.

- Competitive Strategies:

- What is competitive strategies?
  - Competitive Strategies is a concept or approach, initiated by the Department of Defense, to guide strategic thinking.

    Competitive strategies seeks to shape the pace and direction of superpower military competition into safer and more stable areas.

- What are the essential elements of competitive strategies?
  1) Competitive strategies seeks to align enduring American strengths against enduring Soviet weaknesses. We must compete in areas where we have a comparative advantage, playing on our turf, not theirs, recognizing that some weapons systems will have a greater effect on the Soviets than will others.

  2) Competitive strategies seeks to bolster deterrence by heightening the Soviet military's uncertainties about being able to implement its military plan. The more the Soviet military believes that it may face unexpected obstacles or that its plans will be disrupted, the less likely it is to attack in the first place.

  3) Competitive strategies seeks to shape the competition and channel it into safer and more stable areas. The more the Soviets spend on purely defensive weapons, the less they can spend on offensive ones.

  4) Competitive strategies is not a new doctrine. It meets the requirements of Flexible Response more efficiently by focusing on areas in which we have natural advantages (e.g., high-tech weapons including stand-off systems, RPVs, Stealth, etc.).

- What is an example of the Competitive Strategies approach?
  - Air-breathing leg of Triad: By investing in strategic bombers and Stealth aircraft, we cause the Soviets to invest heavily in air defenses. We have natural advantages in this area: geography, aircraft technology (e.g., low observables) and pilot initiative and self-reliance. The competition is channeled into a safer area. The monies the Soviets spend on air defenses (which can't attack us), they can't spend on ICBMs or tanks (which can).

- What is the Competitive Strategies Inititative?
  - It is an attempt to institutionalize the concept within DOD. The concept originated with Andrew Marshall, Director of Net Assessment, OSD, in the mid-1970s and was made a major initiative by the Secretary two years ago. Now, efforts are underway to institutionalize competitive strategies throughout OSD, OJCS, and the services.

- Fourth, how will you make our defense policy more efficient?

  1) Follow a strategic plan, fitting weapons to missions.
  2) Pursue Competitive Strategies so you don't have to match the Soviets tank for tank and man for man.
  3) Implement the Packard Commission reforms, including:
     - Combine procurement laws into one government-wide procurement statute.
     - Move to multi-year budgeting to develop a smoother budgetary process and increase savings by planning ahead.
     - Cut wasteful bureaucracy by eliminating unnecessary layers of middle management.

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PRESS RELEASE

THE VICE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Wednesday, May 25, 1988

CONTACT: 202/456-6772

EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS FOR
VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY
WEST POINT, NEW YORK
WEDNESDAY, MAY 25, 1988

It is an honor to be here today, a day that is important for you, West Point's class of '88, but also for your country. For each class that travels through this academy, and emerges in the ranks, strengthens our military -- and, in so doing, strengthens the peace.

I have been here three times in the past seven years, and each time I'm struck by a paradox: how plain and prosaic a place this is in many respects, and yet how evocative. It is impossible to come to West Point and not feel a kind of tug -- a tug that's hard to describe but that has to do with our history and our lives, and the ancient call of valor, and a certain long gray line.

I know you've all given thought, at least now and then, to those who walked before you here, and on that line. I suspect that way back, years ago, when you were frightened plebes, that there were times that first autumn when you walked along the walkways here and thought of names. Robert E. Lee and Ulysses Simpson Grant, Persning, Stilwell, MacArthur, and Ridgeway, Patton and Omar Bradley, the GI's General. And the nicknames -- Stonewall, Black Jack, Vinegar Joe and Blood 'n Guts.

We gave them nicknames because they were real to us, and because we had affection for them, and appreciated them. I do not think it is a paradox that a country that so loves peace should so love its fighting men. I think America has always had a big heart and a shrewd brain, and it was the brain that knew that good generals help us keep the peace. And when peace is lost, generals help us win it back.

I am especially happy to have been invited today because this is a perfect place to speak of big things. I am here to speak of the peace we currently enjoy, and how we got it, and how to keep it.

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But I want to stop just one moment to indulge a personal desire. You at West Point have a prestigious, highly coveted honor you bestow each year called the Thayer Award. And I have a friend and a man I admire named Warren Burger, former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. The academy is allowing me to announce publicly that this year that great award will go to that great man.

Warren Burger -- congratulations on an honor well earned.

The President this morning left for Moscow, where he is to continue the personal talks with General Secretary Gorbachev that began two-and-a-half years ago, after five years of patient effort.

These summit talks are good in and of themselves, for they contribute to an atmosphere of peace and familiarity. It is not true that "talking is better" is sentimental. "Talking is better" is true. But how did we get here, and how do we build on it? To answer that, I must go back briefly in time.

The day the Second World War ended, America was changed forever. Our role in the world had changed. We had not asked for it, but we had to accept it. We had learned a great deal from the war, and from the events leading up to it. We had learned that a clean, well-motivated desire for peace is not enough in itself to achieve it. And we had learned that isolationism is an illusion: it does not keep peace, it guarantees war by tempting aggressors.

It's understandable that before the war, we had sought to stay to ourselves. We wanted to be no part of the failures of the League of Nations or the cynicism of European politics in the 1930s. We hoped to remain isolated from the rise of fascism and its commitment to conquest.

But as you know, and as we so painfully found, there was no hiding place. And so we fought, and so we won, and so 300,000 young men and women lost their lives. I know; I was there; it was one of the formative experiences of my life, as it was of our nation's.

At the end of the war we, as a people, faced a crucible. Across the ocean was a continent ravaged by war and occupation. Our allies were in shambles. Soviet totalitarianism -- potent militarily, backward economically and ruled by Stalin's iron will -- posed a direct threat to the weakened countries of Europe. Poland had already been lost. We faced the dawning of the atomic age, an age that changed the very meaning and consequence of war at a time when the possibility of conflict remained all too real. And we ourselves were exhausted and wished, understandably, to turn inward.

But we didn't. We couldn't. And we didn't flinch. Our political leaders, Democrats and Republicans, tempered by war and toughened by adversity, forged a set of principles to chart our future course.

They began with an insight as old as the wilderness: a house divided cannot stand. In unity there is strength. We can debate our foreign policy fiercely, they thought, hurl words and give fight and take no quarter. But the fighting would end at the water's edge.

From that, much followed.

The tough men who took us from the '40s to the '60s accepted the reality that we now had no choice but to be engaged in the world. They acknowledged that our fate and our security were intertwined with the Western democracies. There was no going back. We could keep, in certain respects, a certain prudent distance -- but the days of isolationism were over; there was no going back; history has its own momentum.

They agreed we would not only play a big part in the world, we would lead. And not only because of our strength, but also because of our goodness. The world trusted us, and rightly so. I will not put too innocent an edge on this, but America was known to adhere to certain values, and to prize and defend liberty. And so we would take the lead in organizing the defense of the Western world and rebuilding the West's economies.

To do this, we would have to stay strong, with strength measured not only in military, but also in economic terms -- for one cannot be sustained without the other.

We would need a strong deterrent, and the demonstrated will to use it. For only if a deterrent is credible does it deter. Our commitment to deterring war would need to be matched by our determination to pursue peace through negotiations -- negotiating with our eyes open and without illusions.

These principles came to embody the great bipartisan consensus -- a consensus that produced, among Democrats and Republicans alike, a commitment to our allies in Europe,

-- a commitment to defending the Persian Gulf, the West's economic lifeline,

-- a commitment to our sisters and brothers in this hemisphere,

-- a commitment to the spread of democracy -- for democracy itself tends to bring peace just as totalitarianism tends to bring aggression,

-- and a commitment to arms control and arms reduction negotiations with the Soviets.

Who were the dominant figures of the consensus? Well, this Republican doesn't mind telling you they were Democrats like Harry Truman and John Kennedy.

Think of Truman. That man had to tell his tired countrymen that the fight wasn't over, that Europe must be saved from starvation and Greece from communism. What a challenge history handed him! But "Little Harry" looked history in the eye and said: You've met your match.

The Truman Administration -- with solid support of the Republican party -- rebuilt Europe. Truman met the Soviet threat, stood up to their challenge in northern Iran, and led the international effort to resist North Korea's invasion of the South.

He did all this with the great bipartisan consensus behind him.

The consensus held as well for the Republican Eisenhower. Armed with his knowledge of the reality of war, and with his training here on the banks of the Hudson, Ike practiced strength, and he brought us peace.

The young John Kennedy saw the new frontiers that needed to be challenged on earth and in space. He understood the crucial importance of military strength -- he too had been "tempered by war" and "disciplined by a cold and bitter peace." Those, of course, are his words. The day Kennedy was inaugurated, Theodore H. White said of the new President and his aides: These are the junior officers of World War II come to power.

Kennedy presided over a major build-up in our strategic and conventional military power. And having heightened our military strength, he was prepared to meet the Soviet threat when they put missiles in Cuba. He was also prepared to negotiate -- and win -- the first test ban treaty with the Soviets. And his Republican colleagues, disagreeing with him on a number of domestic matters, stood with him in his international goals.

From the '40s through the mid-'60s the great bipartisan consensus held. And our greatest work -- the Marshall Plan, the saving of Greece, the healing of Europe, the understanding by the Soviets that recklessness on their part would not go unnoticed or unchallenged -- all this was made possible.

But by the '70s the consensus had fractured -- splintered -- the center did not hold. The death of Kennedy, Vietnam, the lure of the old desire to once again leave the world and turn inward.

The reasons would take another speech. The results are easier to detail.

It is true that the world had changed since the great bipartisan consensus was forged. The limits of our power were now more clearly defined, as were the limits of others'. Even the map had changed; the lines had been moved and moved again. But for all these changes, the logic of, and the principles behind, the great bipartisan consensus endured.

The logic still applies. The principles that served as the bedrock of the consensus endure.

But there are some today who have abandoned those principles and turned their backs on the legacy of Truman and Kennedy and Senators such as Scoop Jackson.

The liberal elite do not understand -- they never understood -- the common sense behind the consensus. They act as if they believe that strength is the preoccupation of bullies -- as if they believe that our desire to remain strong is proof that we are the aggressor. They are so blinded by ideology that they cannot see what Americans have understood for 40 years: that peace flows from strength. And that America is a good country that can be trusted with strength.

I do not think they mean to do harm. I think they simply do not understand that reducing our defense will erode our security. Maybe they don't understand that simply pulling back on our global responsibilities, without thinking it through and preparing the ground, will make the world more dangerous. Maybe they don't understand the real world dangers arrayed against us and the other free nations of the world.

Maybe, in short, they don't understand what goes into the creation of peace and the prevention of war.

I'm sure they would claim it isn't so and they're all in favor of a strong defense. They look the part, sober and measured in their gray suits, moving their hands on the Sunday talk shows with just the right amount of gravity and earnestness.

But what are we to think, when they say they're for a strong defense but they oppose every new weapons system that would preserve that strength? They're against a space shield, against

MX, against the 600-ship navy, against Midgetman, B-1, Stealth, against any increase whatsoever in the defense of the United States.

It's naive to think that if you don't spend money on defense, your competitors won't either. Across that ocean, General Secretary Gorbachev is emphasizing perestroika -- internal restructuring -- but let me tell you something: He isn't opposing every new Soviet military weapon system. Soviet military modernization is going forward.

And let me add something else: The Strategic Defense Initiative, which its opponents so love to hate, may well in fact prove to be the great population protector its supporters hope and believe. Through vigorous research let's find out if it will work. If it will work -- and I think it will -- we must deploy it.

We must be confident that those who will lead our country understand what it means to stand up to a challenge and meet our commitments. We must be confident that they will pursue negotiations with the Soviets realistically.

But much of the arms control elite criticized us when the Soviets left the negotiating table in 1983; they told us we had to chase after the Soviets and plead with them to come back. Well, we didn't; we waited, and did our work, and the Soviets came back. A historic arms agreement resulted.

The elite told us we would never get the Soviets to give up all their SS-20s; they said we'd never get them to accept intrusive verification. Indeed, they insisted on a freeze, locking in high Soviet levels with zero for the West.

Well, they were wrong. And where would we be if we had listened to their advice? Would we have an INF agreement that for the first time wipes out an entire class of missiles -- and establishes the principle of asymmetry in which they take out approximately 1,600 warheads and we take out roughly 400? Would we have an agreement that creates unprecedented and previously unthinkable verification procedures? Would we be talking about a START agreement providing for 50 percent reductions, providing major reductions to equal numbers? Would the Soviets have been as likely to agree to withdraw from Afghanistan?

There is nothing more important than the answer to those questions. This is the future we are talking about; this is the peace of the world we are discussing.

Hitler faced an allied effort strong in its unity and clear in its purpose; Stalin faced a West strong in its unity and clear in its purpose; Khrushchev faced an America strong in its unity and clear in its purpose. What will Gorbachev face in the 90's?

A vigorous clear-sighted America animated by the enduring principles of Truman, Eisenhower, John Kennedy and Scoop Jackson? Or an America distracted and divided by the "forgotten but not gone" policies of freeze, concede, and acquiesce?

We must see the world as it is, not as we might wish it to be. This is no time for the ivory tower; this is no time for Innocents Abroad.

We cannot wish away the Soviet Union as a competitor. But we can move with open eyes and clear purpose toward new agreements on conventional forces and chemical weapons, toward the resolution of regional conflicts and progress on human rights... looking hard at their deeds, and not just their pleasant words.

Fascinating forces are converging on the Warsaw Pact countries; this summer seems a time of unusual possibilities, perhaps even the beginning of profound change. We have just witnessed a remarkable change in power in Hungary and renewed ferment in Poland. The delicate task ahead is to encourage steps toward greater openness and personal freedom without provoking a backlash.

Nor can we wish away ominous regional developments like the proliferation of nuclear components, the stockpiling and use of chemical weapons, and the acquisition of ballistic missiles in the tinderboxes of the Middle East and South Asia. Unless something is done, it is just a matter of time before countries like Iran and Iraq have missiles that can deliver poison gas not just to each other but to the nations of Europe.

We must act now to prevent that nightmare from occurring -- by joining together to deter the acquisition of such weapons and to penalize those who would supply them.

Finally, we cannot wish away the responsibility and burdens of world leadership. We can and should expect our allies to share more of the cost of paying for the common defense... but we cannot share the lead... because no other country is willing or able to take our place.

Case in point: the Persian Gulf. Because we led the way, 5 European navies today are helping us reduce the threat to shipping. A failure to lead would have resulted in paralysis and retreat.

Those who opposed our efforts to protect our interests in the Gulf -- something 8 Presidents have regarded as vital -- have abandoned the bipartisan postwar common-sense consensus of peace through strength. Can we be sure they will understand the need to meet our commitments today and negotiate wisely with our adversaries tomorrow?

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The fact is the next President must build on the successes of the past eight years and be willing to recognize and deal with these challenges and more. The next President has a clear-cut task:

To inspire confidence with a coherent foreign policy;

To engender respect with resolve;

To keep the world safe not with vain dreams but with hard decisions.

And who will help him? You. For you are the strength we talk about, you are the resolve we show. You are the instruments of our foreign policy, and from what I see and hear, our future in this respect is in good hands.

So together we work, in unity and strength. And then there will be a greater chance for peace to flourish in the world, for freedom to spread, and for you -- our young peace keepers -- to never have to go out in battle, as we did, and see your friends never return.

These are big ambitions, but they are the only kind to have. And the only kind that make a difference and make an improvement in history, and the lives of man.

Thank you. It has been a pleasure and an honor.

# # # #

Bush 88 Quayle

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:
Wednesday, September 7, 1988

CONTACT: 202/842-1988

EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS BY
VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
THE AMERICAN LEGION
LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY
WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1988

Thank you, Commander Comer, for that wonderful introduction.

It's a great honor to speak before the American Legion -- 2.8 million strong; and dedicated, in so many ways, to keeping America strong.

You know, I spoke in New Orleans a few weeks ago about the kinds of organizations -- volunteer organizations -- that give America its big heart, its unparalleled generosity.

Here's the American Legion's record:

- Over two million hours of community service;
- 363,000 pints of blood donated;
- 25,000 veterans assisted with finding jobs and training;

The list goes on and on: contributions to cancer research, aid to handicapped children, your outstanding Boys State program, and of course, 63 years of sponsorship of my beloved game of baseball. Thank God that America has organizations like the American Legion.

The American Legion is the nation's largest and fastest growing veterans' organization. I am proud to say that I hold a Legion card myself.

As veterans, you know better than anyone the value of strength, the terrible costs of war, and the burdens that men and women have borne in the name of freedom.

I believe that the nation owes a debt of gratitude to those who have carried that burden.

As Abraham Lincoln said, "To care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan."

Let me just touch upon a few of the ways in which I, as a President who is a veteran, will support our veterans.

I will support the continuation, and the strengthening, of veterans preference in Federal hiring.

I will do everything I can to resolve the fates of our prisoners of war and soldiers missing in action.

I will help our Vietnam veterans -- to whom honor and respect is long overdue. And I will pay special attention to the needs of the six million veterans over age 65. We must develop a health care policy for our older veterans that can serve as a model for Americans nationwide.

Most of all, I want to strengthen the Veterans Administration. You've worked hard to pass a bill that would raise the V.A. to cabinet level status. I fully expect that, as one of his last acts in office, President Reagan will be able to sign that bill into law.

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But if for some reason he doen't get that chance; that's one of the first things I'll do as President. In a Bush Administration, we'll have the V.A. at the cabinet table.

This past weekend was Labor Day, the traditional kickoff of an election campaign that poses the most important choice in a generation.

Deep differences divide the candidates. Differences on the economy: my opponent has a record of tax increases. I favor the low-tax, high opportunity policies that have created the longest economic expansion in American history.

Deep differences on values -- my opponent vetoed a bill to require teachers to lead the kids in the pledge of allegiance in the schools; I would have signed that Bill. We are one nation "under God."

Deep differences on crime -- my opponent let murderers, who had not even served enough time to be eligible for parole, out on weekend furloughs. I want to keep them behind bars. I think some crimes -- such as drug kingpins killing police officers -- are so horrible they deserve the death penalty. My opponent opposes the death penalty.

But the issue which divides us the most is national security -- how we would fulfill our responsibilities as the leader of the free world.

It's not a responsibility I take lightly. Many of you in this room risked your lives to defend the values we hold dear. Freedom. Opportunity. The right to speak your mind freely and pursue your dreams to the end of the rainbow. "100% Americanism", as your constitution says.

I, too, served in that cause as a young man. In fact, it was 44 years ago this week, September 2, 1944, when I was just 20 years old, that my plane -- a Torpedo Avenger -- was shot down by enemy fire over the Pacific.

People have asked me what it was that sustained me as I floated -- alone --in that life raft, hoping that I might be rescued by a friendly ship. The answer is the same things that sustain me now, as I undertake this most important mission of my life: strength drawn from family, belief in God, and an unwavering faith in the United States of America.

I think that a President has no higher duty than to protect and enhance the national security of the United States.

Perhaps John F. Kennedy said it best: "Bad domestic policy could get us defeated; bad foreign policy could get us killed." Forty nine years ago this week, the world was plunged into war -- a war in which many of us ultimately served -- when Hitler's Nazi Germany invaded Poland. We learned a valuable lesson then, one which we should never forget: it is that weakness tempts aggression, and aggression leads to war.

Since then, Democratic and Republican Presidents alike have known that to maintain the peace, America must be strong.

Peace through strength is not just a slogan, it is a lesson learned through the years, sometimes with the blood of brave men and women. In a Bush Administration, that lesson would not be forgotten -- it would guide my defense and foreign policy. Peace through strength works.

Nat'l Security

War experience

JFK Quote

Today, the world is changing fast; and the lesson is being learned anew. Now, as Ronald Reagan's truly remarkable term of leadership comes to a close, we are presented with a unique opportunity. All around the globe, freedom is on the march.

The Soviets are withdrawing from Afghanistan. The Vietnamese are beginning to leave Cambodia. The Cubans are negotiating to leave Angola. And the thunder of war has ceased, at least for now, in the Persian Gulf.

We have begun a new relationship with the Soviet Union. It's a relationship that demands continued caution and realism, but we can say this: peace is breaking out all over -- and it is no accident.

It is happening because, over the last eight years, we have pursued a policy of strength. We have pursued a policy of consistency and patience in negotiations. And we have demonstrated our resolve in living up to our commitments.

You have been our supporters in this cause. In supporting our program to rebuild America's national defense. In supporting the Freedom Fighters in Nicaragua. In supporting the development of a Strategic Defense. And for that, as the President said yesterday, we are grateful.

Our success has been built on four pillars, the pillars that would guide my Presidency. First, pride. We took a demoralized military, and restored a sense of honor, as state of readiness, and ethic of service.

Second, realism -- seeing the world as it is, not as we wish it might be. Viewing the Soviets with hope, but also with caution. Looking for deeds, not just words.

Third, strength. Modernizing our forces. Preserving deterrence. Developing strategic defense.

Fourth, engagement. Taking up the challenge of our mission to lead. And defending the cause of freedom around the world.

The clearest sign of the success of these four pillars is the event which it will be my honor to witness tomorrow. Tomorrow, in Marshall, Texas, before assembled leaders from the United States and the Soviet Union, a set of missiles used to deliver intermediate range nuclear weapons will be destroyed.

For the first time in our history, we are destroying nuclear weapons, not just building them.

But we're not out of the woods yet. The Soviets are now deploying two new ICBM's, the SS-24 and SS-25. So even with perestroika, Soviet military modernization, including their own research into strategic defense, has not slackened. Soviet military spending continues to rise.

What's the answer? Winston Churchill put it best. In 1946, after the war was over and the hard-earned peace finally at hand, Churchill said: "Before we cast away the solid assurances of national armaments for self-preservation, we must be certain that our temple is built, not upon shifting sands, or quagmires, but upon the rock."

My friends, I will keep America's defenses "built upon the rock."

I will never let America be made weak again.

The key to future progress is continued strength. We must keep our nuclear forces -- our land based missiles, our bombers and our submarines -- ready and up-to-date.

That is what brought the Soviets to the negotiating table. That is what produced the INF treaty. And that is what will lead to further arms reductions.

Only a willingness to modernize gives the Soviet Union the incentive to negotiate real arms reduction.

We cannot defend ourselves if we allow our weapons to become obsolete.

Soviet leaders would have no incentive to to sit down and negotiate with us if we do the work of disarming America for them!

For many years, my opponent supported the nuclear freeze, the freeze that ultimately would have made it impossible to reach the INF Treaty.

He has made proposals to cancel and delay our strategic modernization -- with what amounts to an undeclared unilateral freeze.

Just look at the record: in the past, he has called for cancellation of the MX, and he continues to oppose deployment of the mobile MX and Midgetman. He has, in the past, said he couldn't commit to deployment of the stealth bomber; although this may be changing.

He has called for the cancellation of two carrier task forces.

I favor these elements of our modernization program, for a simple reason: if the Soviets think that an American President will unilaterally gut our weapons modernization program, they will have no incentive to negotiate reductions. They would continue to modernize and we would be at an increased disadvantage.

After all, if my opponent doesn't want to modernize his snowblower, that's his business. But if he doesn't want to modernize our defenses, why that's dangerous business for America!

The fact is that we need those two carrier task forces to maintain our commitments in the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean, where the Soviets are now building a new naval base in Syria.

The fact is that we've had a bipartisan consensus in this country for both a strong nuclear deterrent and a robust conventional defense. Not just one, but both. Not just one at the expense of the other, but the two working together. That's what guarantees deterrence. Let's not abandon a guarantee that's worked for 40 years.

One of the promising new tools to strengthen that guarantee -- to ensure that it never fails -- is the Strategic Defense Initiative. Let me tell you my position on SDI. I have consistently supported the President's vision of a world safe from attacks by ballistic missiles.

We've made dramatic progress over the last five years. SDI is neither naive nor impractical; and it is certainly not a "fantasy", as my opponent calls it.

Quite the contrary, I've seen the technology first-hand. I've seen the results of American ingenuity and scientific genius.

We are now on the verge of being able to move from a force posture which relies on our ability to destroy our enemies in order to deter war -- to one where we can deter war by protecting ourselves. How do we get there? By researching, testing, and evaluating the full range of promising SDI technologies. And then by deploying those that work best. But make no mistake: we will get there.

My opponent opposes S.D.I. But like you in the American Legion, I support it. We cannot leave America hostage to Soviet ballistic missiles.

I'd like to mention one other key modernization issue. In the event of a crisis, a President would need the most up to date communications system in the world -- so that he would have the ability to send and receive secret messages as rapidly as possible in the event of an attack.

Our nation has designed such a communications system -- which spans the continent. It's called the Ground Wave Emergency Network -- or GWEN -- for short. Of the 56 planned GWEN sites around the country, 52 have been completed. Only one Governor refused to have a site anywhere in his state -- only one. The Governor of Massachusetts.

Let me be clear.

I do not doubt my opponent's patriotism. But patriotism is not the issue. The issue is how best to deter war, to keep the peace, and to fulfill our country's special responsibility as leader of the free world.

You see, I believe that America does have a special mission in this world; we are the flagship of freedom.

We have a mission to lead.

We led the mission to protect American citizens abroad, and to give the people of Grenada a chance to live their lives in democracy and peace. My opponent called it "a misuse of U.S. military power."

I say we did the right thing in Grenada.

We led the mission to combat terrorism by striking against Qadhafi in Libya. My opponent opposed the strike against Libya, I supported it.

Today we have stronger cooperation in meeting the terrorist threat. And let me say this: if terrorists murder innocent Americans, and we have the irrefutable evidence as we did in the case of Libya, I would not hesitate to strike again!

We also led the mission to protect the flow of oil to the free world through the Persian Gulf. Some, including my opponent, were quick to criticize our efforts. But look what's happened: the oil never stopped flowing, and the parties are talking peace.

The point is that it is our responsibility to lead. We cannot and should not turn that responsibility over to the United

Nations or some other multilateral force. Our job is to protect America's vital interests. No one else can do it.

What it all comes down to is that the President must be a shrewd protector of America's interests. As Teddy Roosevelt said, "No public men have a right, whether for shortsightedness, from selfish indifference, or from sentimentality, to sacrifice national interests which are vital in character."

In our changing world, full of both danger and hope, full of new technologies and old ambitions, the question I put to you is who should lead this great country -- this last best hope of man on earth. Who is best able to be the shrewd protector of America's interests? Who should be that man at the desk.

I think America wants tough, tested, and experienced leadership in the man who sits at that desk as we begin the 1990's.

It's a pleasure to be here in Louisville, to speak to your great organization. This is blue-grass country, and I must tell you, I like a good race. So let me finish by telling you my strategy for that race. I mean to run hard. I mean to stand on the issues. And I mean to win.

Thank you very much.

# # # #

PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH CARD SETUP

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Page Layout:

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Header	12
Footer	35
Last Typing Line	34

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Paper Width	~~8.5~~ 11
Length	~~11~~ 4.5
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F1

Margins/Tabs (1) 29-87 [End] <Enter>
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Typestyle (3) 262
Header (5) centered on page - F8 for number sign, F2 to Return and Save.
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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release January 23, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT SWEARING-IN OF COMMISSIONED PRESIDENTIAL STAFF

The East Room

8:20 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Well, that official act having been completed, we all now are about to embark on a really great adventure. And I've often said that I see responsibilities in life as missions defined, and so I want to just make -- say a few words, first welcoming all of you to what I know will be a superb White House staff. And we have a tremendous opportunity to make life better for people in this country, better in so many ways. And I think we can, by hard work, make this a safer and a more secure country.

The long hours and hard work that's associated with the White House staff are well-known. But these long hours can result in a country with more opportunity for all. And we've got to tackle, as you know, some of you actively involved in this already, the budget deficit and ensure an economy that is sound and stable. We can do a lot through the wonder of the White House to exhort, to use government resources widely to make the educational system second to none.

As I mentioned in the Inaugural Address -- many of you here will be involved in what I mentioned, which was the antinarcotics effort -- and I said in the Inaugural Address, we've got to get rid of the scourge, and that's -- some of you will be involved in all of that. We've got to challenge all elements of government and the private sector in the environment to do better in protecting our land and water so these kids back here will grow up in a happy, sound -- I'm glad they're somebody else's kids, I'll tell you. (Laughter.) You ought to have been around here the last 48 hours; it's been fantastic. (Laughter.)

But the mission is great, but it really has to be accomplished in the finest tradition of our nation. Pride, honesty, spirit of idealism when it comes to public service, knowing that our actions must always be of the highest integrity. It's not really very complicated. It's a question of knowing right from wrong, avoiding conflicts of interest, bending over backwards to see that there's not even a perception of conflict of interest.

And so I know that we'll all set a high standard in that regard. We've got to try. I am very proud of all of you. I think we have a wonderful team and I'm confident that when our time is over in this marvelous place I'll be just as proud of you. I'm delighted to see the families here today, and I would simply ask for your understanding because your spouses, husbands and wives, are embarking on an ordeal that is known to be a time-consuming killer in a lot of ways. It just -- the lights burn brightly well after dark around this place. And I just hope you'll be understanding because the system works that way. Work is really never done. And I thank you all for sharing your spouses with us.

I want you to know that all of you are important also as part of a team. Those who work in the White House make the personal commitment, and with that comes this sense of personal sacrifice; and

I know that you all will be struggling at times with the give-and-take that goes hand in hand with assignments like this.

Barbara understands this. She set a good example, it seems to me, in a lot of volunteer action and I hope that all of us in the White House and outside will do our part in terms of encouraging the volunteer sector, the thousand points of light that I plan to keep on talking about. Government itself can't do it all.

So I really came over with the Vice President to thank you all, to encourage your understanding, those here, and to all of you here standing up here with me, I'm very, very proud to have you on our team. And now I understand there is going to be a little chance to browse through the room and wander down there and have a cup of coffee. But let's go to work.

Thank you all and God bless you. Thank you. (Applause.)

END 8:27 A.M. EST

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release January 20, 1989

INAUGURAL ADDRESS
OF THE PRESIDENT

The Capitol

12:05 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. President, Vice President Quayle, Senator Mitchell, Speaker Wright, Senator Dole, Congressman Michel, and fellow citizens, neighbors and friends.

There is a man here who has earned a lasting place in our hearts, and in our history. President Reagan, on behalf of our nation I thank you for the wonderful things that you have done for America. (Applause.)

I've just repeated word-for-word the oath taken by George Washington 200 years ago; and the Bible on which I placed my hand is the Bible on which he placed his.

It is right that the memory of Washington be with us today, not only because this is our Bicentennial Inauguration, but because Washington remains the father of our country. And he would, I think, be gladdened by this day. For today is the concrete expression of a stunning fact: Our continuity these 200 years since our government began.

We meet on democracy's front porch. A good place to talk as neighbors, and as friends. For this is a day when our nation is made whole, when our differences, for a moment, are suspended.

And my first act as President is a prayer. I ask you to bow your heads.

'Heavenly Father, we bow our heads and thank you for your love. Accept our thanks for the peace that yields this day and the shared faith that makes its continuance likely. Make us strong to do your work, willing to heed and hear your will, and write on our hearts these words: "Use power to help people." For we are given power not to advance our own purposes, nor to make a great show in the world, nor a name. There is but one just use of power, and it is to serve people. Help us remember, Lord. Amen.'

I come before you and assume the presidency at a moment rich with promise. We live in a peaceful, prosperous time, but we can make it better.

For a new breeze is blowing, and a world refreshed by freedom seems reborn; for in man's heart, if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. (Applause.) The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient lifeless tree.

A new breeze is blowing, and a nation refreshed by freedom stands ready to push on. There is new ground to be broken, and new action to be taken.

There are times when the future seems thick as a fog; you sit and wait, hoping the mists will lift and reveal the right path.

But this is a time when the future seems a door you can walk right through -- into a room called Tomorrow.

Great nations of the world are moving toward democracy -- through the door to freedom.

Men and women of the world move toward free markets -- through the door to prosperity.

The people of the world agitate for free expression and free thought -- through the door to the moral and intellectual satisfactions that only liberty allows.

We know what works: Freedom works. We know what's right: Freedom is right. 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. (Applause.)

For the first time in this century -- for the first time in perhaps all history -- man does not have to invent a system by which to live. We don't have to talk late into the night about which form of government is better. We don't have to wrest justice from the kings. We only have to summon it from within ourselves.

We must act on what we know. I take as my guide the hope of a saint: In crucial things, unity -- in important things, diversity -- in all things, generosity.

America today is a proud, free nation, decent and civil -- a place we cannot help but love. We know in our hearts, not loudly and proudly, but as a simple fact, that this country has meaning beyond what we see, and that our strength is a force for good.

But have we changed as a nation even in our time? Are we enthralled with material things, less appreciative of the nobility of work and sacrifice?

My friends, we are not the sum of our possessions. They are not the measure of our lives. In our hearts we know what matters. We cannot hope only to leave our children a bigger car, a bigger bank account. We must hope to give them a sense of what it means to be a loyal friend, a loving parent, a citizen who leaves his home, his neighborhood and town better than he found it.

And what do we want the men and women who work with us to say when we are no longer there? That we were more driven to succeed than anyone around us? Or that we stopped to ask if a sick child had gotten better, and stayed a moment there to trade a word of friendship?

No president, no government, can teach us to remember what is best in what we are. But if the man you have chosen to lead this government can help make a difference; if he can celebrate the quieter, deeper successes that are made not of gold and silk, but of better hearts and finer souls; if he can do these things, then he must.

America is never wholly herself unless she is engaged in high moral principle. We as a people have such a purpose today. It is to make kinder the face of the nation and gentler the face of the world.

My friends, we have work to do. (Applause.) There are the homeless, lost and roaming, there are the children who have nothing -- no love and no normalcy -- there are those who cannot free themselves of enslavement to whatever addiction -- drugs, welfare, the demoralization that rules the slums. There is crime to be conquered, the rough crime of the streets. There are young women to be helped who are about to become mothers of children they can't care for and might not love. They need our care, our guidance, and our education, though we bless them for choosing life.

The old solution, the old way, was to think that public money alone could end these problems. But we have learned that that is not so. And in any case, our funds are low. We have a deficit to bring down. We have more will than wallet, but will is what we need.

We will make the hard choices, looking at what we have and perhaps allocating it differently, making our decisions based on honest need and prudent safety.

And then we will do the wisest thing of all -- we will turn to the only resource we have that in times of need always grows: the goodness and the courage of the American people. (Applause.)

And I am speaking of a new engagement in the lives of others -- a new activism, hands-on and involved, that gets the job done. We must bring in the generations, harnessing the unused talent of the elderly and the unfocused energy of the young. For not only leadership is passed from generation to generation, but so is stewardship. And the generation born after the Second World War has come of age.

I have spoken of a thousand points of light -- of all the community organizations that are spread like stars throughout the nation, doing good.

We will work hand in hand, encouraging, sometimes leading, sometimes being led, rewarding. We will work on this in the White House, in the Cabinet agencies. I will go to the people and the programs that are the brighter points of light, and I'll ask every member of my government to become involved.

The old ideas are new again because they are not old, they are timeless: duty, sacrifice, commitment, and a patriotism that finds its expression in taking part and pitching in. (Applause.)

We need a new engagement, too, between the Executive and the Congress. The challenges before us will be thrashed out with the House and the Senate. And we must bring the federal budget into balance, and we must ensure that America stands before the world united -- strong, at peace and fiscally sound. But of course things may be difficult.

We need compromise; we've had dissension. We need harmony; we've had a chorus of discordant voices.

For Congress, too, has changed in our time. There has grown a certain divisiveness. We have seen the hard looks and heard the statements in which not each other's ideas are challenged, but each other's motives. And our great parties have too often been far apart and untrusting of each other.

It's been this way since Vietnam. That war cleaves us still. But, friends, that war began in earnest a quarter of a century ago, and surely the statute of limitations has been reached. This is a fact: The final lesson of Vietnam is that no great nation can long afford to be sundered by a memory.

A new breeze is blowing -- and the old bipartisanship must be made new again. (Applause.)

To my friends -- and, yes, I do mean friends -- in the loyal opposition -- and, yes, I mean loyal, I put out my hand.

I am putting out my hand to you, Mr. Speaker.

I am putting out my hand to you, Mr. Majority Leader.

For this is the thing: This is the age of the offered

hand.

And we can't turn back clocks and I don't want to. But when our fathers were young, Mr. Speaker, our differences ended at the water's edge. And we don't wish to turn back time, but when our mothers were young, Mr. Majority Leader, the Congress and the Executive were capable of working together to produce a budget on which this nation could live. Let us negotiate soon, and hard. But in the end, let us produce.

The American people await action. They didn't send us here to bicker. They ask us to rise above the merely partisan. (Applause.) "In crucial things, unity" -- and this, my friends, is crucial.

To the world, too, we offer new engagement and a renewed vow; we will stay strong to protect the peace. The "offered hand" is a reluctant fist; once made, strong and can be used with great effect.

There are today Americans who are held against their will in foreign lands and Americans who are unaccounted for. Assistance can be shown here and will be long remembered. Goodwill begets goodwill. Good faith can be a spiral that endlessly moves on.

"Great nations like great men must keep their word." When America says something, America means it, whether a treaty, or an agreement, or a vow made on marble steps. (Applause.) We will always try to speak clearly, for candor is a compliment. But subtlety, too, is good and has its place.

While keeping our alliances and friendships around the world strong, ever strong, we will continue the new closeness with the Soviet Union, consistent both with our security and with progress. One might say that our new relationship in part reflects the triumph of hope and strength over experience. But hope is good. And so is strength. And vigilance.

Here today are tens of thousands of our citizens who feel the understandable satisfaction of those who have taken part in democracy and seen their hopes fulfilled.

But my thoughts have been turning the past few days to those who would be watching at home.

To an older fellow who will throw a salute by himself when the flag goes by, and the woman who will tell her sons the words of the battle hymns. I don't mean this to be sentimental. I mean that on days like this, we remember that we are all part of a continuum, inescapably connected by the ties that bind.

Our children are watching in schools throughout our great land. And to them I say, thank you for watching democracy's big day. For democracy belongs to us all, and freedom is like a beautiful kite that can go higher and higher with the breeze.

And to all I say, no matter what your circumstances or where you are, you are part of this day; you are part of the life of our great nation. (Applause.)

A president is neither prince nor pope, and I don't seek "a window on men's souls." In fact, I yearn for a greater tolerance, an easy-goingness about each other's attitudes and way of life.

There are few clear areas in which we as a society must rise up united and express our intolerance. The most obvious now is drugs. And when that first cocaine was smuggled in on a ship, it may as well have been a deadly bacteria, so much has it hurt the body, the soul of our country. And there is much to be done and to be said, but take my word for it -- this scourge will stop. (Applause.)

And so there is much to do; and tomorrow the work begins.

And I do not mistrust the future; I do not fear what is ahead. For our problems are large, but our heart is larger. Our challenges are great, but our will is greater. And if our flaws are endless, God's love is truly boundless.

Some see leadership as high drama and the sound of trumpets calling. And sometimes it is that. But I see history as a book with many pages -- and each day we fill a page with acts of hopefulness and meaning.

The new breeze blows, a page turns, the story unfolds -- and so today a chapter begins -- a small and stately story of unity, diversity, and generosity -- shared, and written, together.

Thank you. God bless you. And God bless the United States of America. (Applause.)

END 12:25 P.M. EST

Mark -
Please call me to discuss. Thanks.
Amy Schwartz x 7953
(Counsel's office)

DRAFT.

January 24, 1989

Our national Government depends for its success on the excellence and integrity of those who serve the public. In choosing officials to fill positions throughout the Government, I have sought out individuals of unquestioned competence and the highest integrity. Along with these high standards of selection, however, we need a clear, unambiguous code of conduct for public officials, to ensure that those who serve the public trust have adequate guidance to avoid any actual or apparent conflict between their personal and public interests. As we have seen in the recent debates about ethics legislation, current Federal ethics rules do not adequately serve this purpose of eliminating abuse of public office for private gain. The current framework is fragmented, confusing, and most important, does not incorporate sufficient safeguards to protect the public interest in honest and fair Government.

Given the difficult of these issues, I am today creating the President's Commission on Federal Ethics Law Reform, to be composed of seven very distinguished citizens with substantial experience in ethics issues, and I am asking the Commission to reassess the entire area of ethical standards in all three branches of the Federal government. The Commission will convene on February 7, and I am asking for it to submit to me

recommendations as to needed legislative or other reforms within 30 days thereafter.

I am pleased to announce that I have asked the following individuals to serve on the Commission, and they have agreed to serve:

MALCOLM RICHARD WILKEY, former Circuit Judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, and currently Ambassador to Uruguay, to serve as Chairman;

GRIFFIN B. BELL, former Attorney General of the United States and former Circuit Judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, to serve as Vice Chairman;

JAN WITOLD BARAN, General Counsel to the American Bicentennial Presidential Inauguration, former General Counsel to Bush-Quayle '88, and former Executive Assistant to the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission;

LLOYD N. CUTLER, former Counsel to President Carter;

FRED FISHER FIELDING, former Counsel to President Reagan;

HARRISON H. SCHMITT, former United States Senator from the State of New Mexico and former Vice Chairman of the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Ethics;

R. JAMES WOOLSEY, former Under Secretary of the Navy and former General Counsel to the U.S. Senate Committee on Armed Services.

The President's Commission should be guided in its efforts by a number of key principles:

- The ethical standards applicable to public servants must be exacting enough to ensure that officials act with the utmost integrity, in a manner fully warranting the public's confidence.

- Ethical standards must be fair, reasonable, objective, and consistent with common sense.

- Ethical standards must be equitable throughout all branches of the Federal Government.

- Ethical standards should avoid unreasonably restrictive requirements that discourage able citizens from entering public service.

I am calling on the Commission to take a fresh look at these issues and consider a variety of viewpoints in formulating its recommendations. The Commission will have administrative support from the Department of Justice and the full cooperation of other Federal agencies, including the Office of Government Ethics.

The task of reforming and revitalizing Federal ethical standards is of the highest importance to me, and I will await the Commission's recommendations with great interest.

# # # # #

Nicknames

Capt. J. J. Connor - "Skipper"

Comm. of Carrier Air Wing 1: J. L. Johnson - "J. Bird" Johns

Squadrons

VF33 - "Tarsiers" - nocturnal primate
VF102 - "The Diamond Backs"
VA85 - "The Black Falcons"
VFA82 - "The Marauders"
VFA86 - "The Side Winders"
VAW123 - "The Screw Tops"
VAQ137 - "The Rooks"
VS32 - "Norsemen"
HS11 - "The Dragon Slayers"

1-24-89

Stephanie-

Attached is a list of biographies of all Secretaries of the Navy who occupied the OSDB office. There is also some historical info on the room

Mary Bellor
Rm 484
X 5894

January 26, 1989

MEMORANDUM

TO: Clark Judge

FROM: Stephanie Blessey

RE: Naval Yard Speech

The following is information gathered from the advance office:

Location:	U.S.S. America
Captain:	J.J. Coonan Jr.
Type of Audience:	crew of the ship and military personnel from Norfolk
Time Frame:	Advance office has allowed the President 30 minutes to remark.
Number Attending:	2,000 - 5,000
Backdrop:	Island of carrier, flight crews, and possibly 2 F-14s
Theme of Ship:	"~~Come~~ tread on me."
Trivia:	* Favorite saying on ship: "My ship, my country." * One of the "air wings" was involved in a strike against Qaddafi.
Possible Guests:	Senator Tower and the Secretary of the Navy (This is only a possibility.)

John Nettles, the White House Military Officer, is providing me with more information about the U.S.S. America Thursday morning.

PRESS RELEASE

Charles Balcreesh (?)

THE VICE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

July 26, 1988

FACT SHEET

VICE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH ON ETHICS IN GOVERNMENT

Speaking before Congressional Interns, the Vice President outlined a comprehensive ethics in government program saying, "What is intuitively right, will invariably be the written rule."

The Ethics Program Rests on Six Principles

* First, the right people. The recruitment of people dedicated to public service is a sine qua non to any ethics program. Talent and moral fiber will be the yardstick by which candidates will be measured for jobs in the Bush administration.

* Second, bright-line and well understood rules of conduct. The code of conduct for government employees must be expressed in unambiguous terms, with clear and concise definition.

* Third, Congress must be covered by federal ethics law. To hold otherwise is to set a double standard that feeds public distrust and breeds cynicism.

* Fourth, federal ethics law should provide for civil, as well as enhanced criminal sanctions. This serves two purposes: (i) it permits prosecutors to enforce the law in a wider variety of situations and (ii) it provides for penalties that are fair and proportionate to the conduct under review.

* Fifth, substantive provisions of federal ethics laws should be amended to reach "revolving door" abuses that are not proscribed under current law.

* Sixth, the prestige and powers of the Office of Government Ethics and Designated Agency Ethics Officials should be enhanced and reinforced.

Simplification of the Government Ethics Code

* The Vice President stated that he would simplify and improve the current government ethics code to make it clear and understandable. The standards of conduct will be based on common sense. None will be hyper-technical. What is intuitively correct will invariably be the written rule.

White House Ethics Office

* The Vice President will establish a White House Ethics Office, the staff and resources of which are dedicated solely to compliance with the federal ethics program. The responsibilities of this office would be to:

  (i) Establish bright-line rules for White House and executive branch personnel.

  (ii) Issue advisory opinions to White House personnel regarding conflict of interest issues.

  (iii) Investigate alleged ethical improprieties committed by White House personnel.

  (iv) Supervise mandatory annual ethics briefings for White House personnel.

Designated Agency Ethics Officials ("DAEO's")

* DAEO's are the front-line of the federal ethics program. The Vice President proposes to increase that profile and visibility and the resources dedicated to agency ethics programs.

  (i) He would establish a permanent ethics office in each department and major agency, headed by senior government officials of a rank such as Deputy Assistant Secretary;

  (ii) He would provide a permanent staff for each such office dedicated solely to implementing and monitoring compliance with the ethics program;

(iii) The office/staff would be provided with adequate funds to do the job and, indeed, would be included as a separate line item in the budget process;

(iv) The Vice President would require mandatory annual briefings for all senior government personnel by agency ethics officials.

Recruitment of Talented People, Dedicated to Public Service

* The centerpiece of any federal ethics program is the recruitment and retention of talented people. The Vice President pledged to seek people of unquestioned character, integrity, and dedication to public service.

Standards of Conduct

* The Vice President pledged to establish unambiguous, clearly defined bright-line rules for standards of conduct of White House and Executive Branch personnel. He proposes to include in the Code the following, without limitation:

(i) All blind trusts will be managed by institutions -- not individuals;

(ii) No Presidential appointee may receive outside earned income for services rendered while holding office;

(iii) The term "negotiations" for prospective employment, for purposes of triggering disqualification or refusal action under 18 U.S.C. 208, will mean any affirmative step taken by a government employee to initiate job discussions or to follow-up on a job feeler.

(iv) Formal rules will be adopted to govern all White House contacts with investigative agencies, including the requirement that all such contacts be made through the Office of White House counsel.

Substantive Conflicts of Interest

* 18 U.S.C. 208 makes it a felony to act on certain matters of a personal financial interest while in office. The felony is punishable by up to two years in jail and a fine of $10,000. It is limited in its use and application as currently drawn. The Vice President proposes to:

  (i) Extend 18 U.S.C. 208's prohibitions on acting on matters of a personal financial interest to members and senior staff of Congress.

  (ii) Prohibit the acceptance of anything of monetary value -- e.g., meals, entertainment, travel -- by members and staff of Congress and executive branch personnel from lobbyists.

  (iii) Provide for civil sanctions and proof of misconduct by a preponderance of the evidence for violation of 208.

  (iv) Provide for enhanced criminal sanctions for conduct that is undertaken with corrupt purpose and specific intent to violate 208's prohibitions against acting on matters of a personal financial interest.

Post-Employment Restrictions

* 18 U.S.C. 207 makes it a felony to engage in certain post-employment activities that raise questions of conflicts of interest. The scope of the post-employment restrictions imposed by the statute is sometimes confused. The statute is therefore limited in its use and application. Violation of the statute is punishable by up to two years in prison and a fine of $10,000. The Vice President proposes to:

(i) Eliminate the power of the Office of Government Ethics to subdivide agencies and cabinet departments for purposes of defining the scope of post-employment restrictions under 18 U.S.C. 207, as proposed in the Senate's Integrity in Post-Employment Act of 1988 ("the 1988 Post-Employment Act").

(ii) Bar members of Congress (and senior Congressional staff) from lobbying Congress for one year -- a one-year "cooling-off" period -- as proposed in the 1988 Post-Employment Act.

(iii) Provide for civil sanctions and proof of misconduct by a preponderance of the evidence for violation of 207's post-employment restrictions, as proposed in the 1988 Post-Employment Act.

(iv) Provide for enhanced criminal sanctions for knowing and intended violation of 207's post-employment restrictions, as proposed in the 1988 Post-Employment Act.

(v) Prohibit the use of confidential information in post-employment activity with civil and criminal sanctions impose both the former employee and his/her new employer in the private sector.

GEORGE BUSH

October 5, 1988

This letter was sent To
The leaders of many associations
of Federal, state + local employees

Dear

My experience as Vice President, and as Director of the CIA, has given me a very high regard for the overall competence and dedication of career civil servants. They serve a vital role in our democratic form of government.

Experience in our government has also made me aware that public service at all levels - federal, state and local - is facing serious problems. As President, I hope I will have your help and your organization's assistance in identifying, analyzing and finding ways of solving those problems.

The attached statement outlines in broad terms my views on public service and on the ways in which I will approach some of its problems. Further work to develop specific actions is being done by several members of my staff. As part of their effort, they have been talking with two bipartisan groups, Paul Volcker's "National Commission on the Public Service", and the Congressionally-chartered "National Academy of Public Administration."

It would be very useful if you and appropriate members of your organization would review the work of these groups. Enclosed is Chapter 4, "Reinvigorating the Public Service" from the National Academy' s Report for your perusal.

I look forward to a cooperative and productive relationship with you and your organization.

Sincerely,

George Bush

PAID FOR BY BUSH-QUAYLE '88

Bush 88 Quayle

733 15th Street N.W.
Suite 800
Washington D.C. 20005
202 842 1988

STATEMENT OF
VICE PRESIDENT BUSH
FEDERAL SERVICE

My experience as Vice President, and as Director of the CIA, has given me a very high regard for the overall competence of career civil servants and for the vital role they have in our democratic form of government.

How well the tasks of government are done affects the quality of the lives of all our people. Moreover, the success of any political leadership in implementing its policies and objectives, depends heavily upon the expertise, quality, and commitment of the professional career employees of government.

So, despite our determination to cut the size and costs of government, we recognize that the nation needs a highly skilled and dedicated civil service to perform those governmental services that we - as a people - decide we want.

For those reasons, improving the quality, morale and performance of the public service will be a high priority of my administration. My appointees will work closely with career civil servants to provide the teamwork needed to implement my policies, and to manage more effectively necessary programs across the government.

One of the things we will do is to provide a White House orientation program for all new appointees without previous federal experience. That orientation will have firm objectives: to show them how to be effective in the federal environment; to be sure they understand the limitations our democratic system places upon Executive Branch officials; to help them lead their agencies skillfully; and to urge them to build teamwork among the political and career officials in the agency they lead.

Through that kind of teamwork, we will launch a vigorous effort to achieve excellence in governmental programs and the delivery of services to the public. Many of the past failures of government have occurred - not because federal employees lack talent and energy - but because byzantine rules and procedures imprison talents and sap morale.

1. first helped liberate the American people from unnecessary reg.
Now, I want to liberate civil servants from streamline procedures

It has been my observation that most federal workers are like most other American workers. They have the same desire for pride in their work, the same drive for accomplishment, and the same work ethic that has made the American workforce one of the most effective in history. It will be our objective, therefore, to remove impediments to effective management and to encourage workforce creativity.

Because of the rigidities now existing in the federal pay structure, many agencies are finding it difficult to retain and recruit high-quality employees. This is especially true in hard-to-hire occupations and locations. Working with both federal professional associations and federal employee unions, we will seek to improve federal recruiting efforts and to make federal jobs more challenging and more satisfying.

As examples, we will experiment with "honors" programs to attract top professional and law school graduates; with new types of in service professional development; and with tuition assistance for work-related courses.

Several major studies of the federal service are now being conducted by such distinguished groups as the National Commission on the Public Service (which is headed by Paul Volcker) and the National Academy of Public Administration. The objective of these studies is to advise the next President on ways of solving the problems of the public service and they have been assured of my interest in their recommendations.

The Office of Personnel Management (OPM) must be a vital center for human resource planning for the federal workforce. The Director I choose for OPM will be a person with both the managerial and professional experience needed to fill that role. Responsibility for personnel operations, however, will be delegated to the departments, and to their field installations to the maximum degree feasible. Over-regulation WITHIN the federal government is as unwise as over-regulation BY the federal government.

We will also be open to further congressional suggestions for legislative improvements in the personnel system. For example, we will explore carefully the idea of extending to children of federal employees the law allowing students who reach the age of 22 to continue their health insurance coverage under certain conditions.

Beyond these specifics, my administration will work cooperatively and continually with your group and with other friends of the public service, to make it more efficient, more effective, and more productive, as well as a more satisfying place to work.

PRESS RELEASE

THE VICE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Tuesday, July 26, 1988

CONTACT: 202/456-6772

EXCERPTS OF REMARKS FOR
VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
SPEECH TO CONGRESSIONAL INTERNS
WASHINGTON, D.C.
TUESDAY, JULY 26, 1988

I want to talk to you plainly and frankly today about a matter of crucial importance to our nation.

The subject is ethics and the standards and code of conduct that I will bring to the White House and to government service. This is an issue I have felt strongly about since I first came to Washington to serve in the Congress some 20 years ago. Last year, in a speech at Albion College, I spoke of my vision of ethics and public service; today, I want to fill in the details, to formulate a comprehensive statement and plan on ethics in government.

I have been guided in this exercise by four controlling principles.

First: It has been an article of faith in my family since my early childhood that public service is the highest calling.

As a young and apprehensive Navy pilot; a freshman Congressman; representative to the People's Republic of China; Director of Central Intelligence; Ambassador to the U.N.; Chairman of the RNC; and indeed, as Vice President, I have tried always to be guided by a moral compass of decency, integrity, fairness and public purpose.

In my first term in Congress, before most of you were born and a full decade before it finally became law, I sponsored and fought for legislation that would both reform our election laws and set a standard for ethical behavior in the Congress and in the executive branch.

Legislation I sponsored in 1968 would have made it a crime to promise employment in return for election support, would have limited campaign contributions from both individuals and businesses, and would have required that members of the legislative branch and their families report income, expenditures, and gifts on their behalf.

The Federal Financial Disclosure Act I sponsored in 1969 would have provided for public financial disclosure by members of the executive branch, the courts, the President and his Cabinet, the Congress, and candidates for federal office. I asked for curbs on congressional travel expenses, which were then and are still widely abused. I supported a code of ethics for members of the Congress that I thought should be followed. And I led by example, voluntarily disclosing as early as 1969 my own personal finances.

This was years before Watergate and close to a decade before passage of the 1978 Ethics in Government Act. It's a cause I championed for a simple reason -- one, I think, that each of you has already learned, even in your short tenure here in Washington: It's a privilege to serve. It's an honor to hold the public trust. And it is a disgrace to violate it.

Those who take on the people's trust must hold themselves to an exacting code of conduct. We can expect, and indeed, tolerate nothing less from the people who work for the government.

That message will be unmistakable in my Administration. To give effect to this commitment, I will establish an office at the highest level of government -- that of Senior Counselor to the President, whose first responsibility will be ethics. I intend to ensure that my standards are my Administration's standards.

Second: In fairness to the people who often make real sacrifices to serve the government, who may leave professions, jobs and hometowns to join my Administration, the high standards of conduct to which they will be held accountable must be expressed in unambiguous terms, with clear, concise, and simple definitions, eliminating needless restrictions. We must not discourage good people from serving their country.

Third: The sanctions imposed by law for breach of the standards of conduct must be fair and proportionate. Today, there is little or no room under conflicts law for the exercise of discretion and the fashioning of measured responses.

To put it in high relief, one is either charged with a felony or nothing at all. This is plainly unacceptable. The threshold for judging ethical conduct in government is not, should not, and will not be whether an appointee has committed a criminal offense, but whether that individual has exercised honest, unbiased judgment and scrupulously avoided any appearance of impropriety or conflict of interest.

Fourth: However we elect to define the rules, they must be equitably applied to all who enjoy the privilege of public service -- including Congress. To exempt Congress from any of these rules, as does current conflict of interest law, is to

establish a double standard that breeds suspicion, cynicism, and abuse. No one, no institution, no body of government should be above the law. That is not the American way.

With these principles in mind, I want to walk you through the specifics of my ethics program. The starting point is people. The best policy to foster ethical behavior in government is to attract and retain individuals who subscribe to the highest moral standards.

The test for appointment to office in the Bush Administration, therefore, will be unquestioned character, integrity, talent, and dedication to public service.

After 40 years in business and public life, I have a long list of experienced hands to call upon -- people who will accept positions of public trust not for personal profit, but for the satisfaction of selflessly serving their country.

I want those in government to be proud to serve the people of this nation -- to know that by being entrusted with the public's interest, they are serving a higher calling. I firmly believe that the dedication and good purpose of the people I will bring to Washington will be infectious and long-lasting. I am convinced that the vast majority of people in public service -- in the Executive, the Congress, and the Judiciary, are men and women of total integrity.

That brings me to the second aspect of my ethics policy. While it takes honest and dedicated men and women to govern properly and to govern well, there must also be a clear and concise code of ethics to guide them.

The present system of federal ethics law is a confused quiltwork of executive policy statements, administrative regulations, and criminal laws. Indeed, virtually every agency of government issues its own set of standards of conduct. There are gaps, inconsistencies, and ambiguities where there should be bright-line rules.

In my administration, the code of conduct will be clear and uniform. It will reflect common sense. Nothing will be overly technical. What is intuitively right -- what your conscience tells you -- will invariably be the written rule.

These rules must be given voice -- the third aspect of my ethics program.

Even the best of the people and the best of laws require molding and forceful leadership. Towards that end, I will establish a White House Ethics Office.

The office will be headed by the Senior Counselor to the President and permanently staffed with people whose sole responsibility is the implementation of my ethics program. It

will spearhead legislative proposals; promulgate a simple and uniform government ethics code; provide professional guidance to White House personnel on questions concerning compliance with the code; investigate possible breaches of the code; recommend sanctions, when warranted, directly to the President; and conduct mandatory annual briefings of all senior White House personnel on the basic requirements of federal ethics law.

I am mindful that some of these tasks have been undertaken in the past by the Office of Government Ethics. I do not intend to frustrate those efforts, only to complement them. Indeed, I want to enhance the powers and prestige of that office. In my administration, the Office of Government Ethics will not be looked upon as the instrument or step-child of the Executive, but an independent arbiter of federal ethics law.

The need for independence in the enforcement of the law is particularly compelling with respect to high government officials. With respect to investigation of any such officials, I wholeheartedly endorse the concept of an independent counsel. And because no body of government should hold itself above the law, legislation should be enacted without delay applying the independent counsel law to Congress. The law must apply fairly, and to all.

I have set forth my model for the promulgation and enforcement of the standards of conduct. I now want to address their day-to-day implementation.

Under the current regulatory scheme, the front line responsibilities for implementation of and monitoring compliance with federal ethics law is committed to Designated Agency Ethics Officials in each of the departments and major agencies of government. More often than not, these officials have numerous and competing job responsibilities. Ethics programs can, consequently, be given short shrift.

To ensure that this does not happen, several measures will be taken to increase the prestige and visibility of Agency Ethics Officials and the resources committed to the programs they administer.

A permanent ethics office will be established in each department and major agency of government, headed by senior agency officials, with a small, permanent staff dedicated solely to implementing and monitoring compliance with the ethics program. The staff must be given adequate funds to do the job, and the office will be included as a separate line item in the budget process. In addition, mandatory annual briefings will be required for senior government personnel within each respective department or agency of government.

Those briefings and, indeed, all of the structural changes I've outlined for you today will fall on deaf ears and will be of little utility if the laws and standards of conduct they seek to administer are confused, inartfully drawn, and inadequately applied.

I want to repeat for you the first order of business in my Administration: Make the code of conduct reflected in government regulations and in the criminal code simple, uniform, fair, far-reaching, and intuitively correct.

If elected, I will therefore propose a sweeping restatement of federal conflict of interest law. The changes I will propose include the following:

* First, federal conflict of interest laws will be amended to recognize differences in the gravity of the conduct under review. Be it conduct while in government, or subsequent lobbying activity after government service, prosecutors will be free to exercise their judgment and discretion in pursuing civil remedies, as well as enhanced criminal sanctions. A wider variety of misconduct will consequently be reached, with fair and proportionate responses for each.

* Second, all blind trusts will be managed by institutions, not individuals.

* Third, current law does not adequately address the misuse of office before departure from government in order to feather a future nest in the private sector, nor does it adequately prohibit the use of confidential information by ex-government employees and their new employer. The law will be amended to deal with these two situations.

* Fourth, statutory prohibitions against acting on matters of a personal financial interest will be extended to members and senior staff of Congress.

* Fifth, the statutory prohibitions on the "revolving door" -- that is, the absolute bar on lobbying an agency or department of government in which an employee worked for a period of one year -- will be extended similarly to members and senior staff of Congress. The practice of Congress to legislate rules of conduct for others and not for itself is without justification or excuse. The Senate has made a start by passing the Thurmond bill, which I endorse. I urge the House to pass this legislation promptly because it goes to the very heart of proper intentions and the public's perception of honest government.

Nothing could be more critical to making our government work. Honesty, integrity, loyalty, and service, all that we speak of under the heading of ethics -- these are the life blood of democratic societies and democratic government.

A country founded on the concepts of freedom and fair play, of honor and decency, relies on its public officials to live up to those ideals, and not to abuse the trust the people have vested in them. You have spent a summer, or a semester, working here in the excitement of Washington. I have dedicated a lot of my adult life to serving my country, and in that time, the vast majority of the men and women I have worked with have been dedicated, honorable professionals, who gave long hours to their work and little thought to personal gain.

America attracts such people to public service, because high ideals -- the high ideals of American democracy and freedom -- attract high-minded individuals. We believe in the power of the ethical man to shape society for the better. We believe in the power of truth to make us strong and guide us through a troubled world.

We believe that what we do here, in Washington, couldn't be more important: We are the keepers and the protectors of the flame, the democratic hopes, not just of a nation, but of the world too often subject to tyranny, autocracy, and corruption. By protecting the integrity of the institutions of democracy, we keep America, and so freedom, strong. We keep our American way alive.

Thank you all very much and God bless you.

# # # #

TELECOPY LEADER

111½

TO: Bob Simon
TELE # 456-7750

FROM: MAJ STOKES
Headquarters, United States Marine Corps
Commandant of the Marine Corps (PAM)
Washington, D.C. 20380

1. 24-Hour telecopier: Comm: (202) 695-7460
Autovon: 225-7460

2. For confirmation/questions, call:
Public Affairs Media Branch
Comm: (202) 694-1494
Autovon: 224-1494

NUMBER OF PAGES, INCLUDING THIS COVER SHEET: 4

On Thursday, January 19, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Pettigrew, ages 81 and 80, respectively, set out from Charleston, S.C. for a day of fishing in their 17 foot Glassmaster fishing boat. When they failed to return that evening, worried relatives contacted the Charleston Coast Guard Station. An extensive search and rescue mission involving two aircraft and the 110 foot cutter Metompkin was launched. After experiencing cold temperatures, high winds and rough seas, the Coast Guard called off the search on Sunday evening.

On Monday, 23 January, at approximately 3:30 p.m., Marine Corps Air Station Beaufort's Search and Rescue helicopter, Angel One, was just completing training operations off the Beaufort area coastline. Its normal crew of five Marines had three additional Marines aboard for the training flight.

As the helicopter was returning to the Air Station via a final flight down the area coastline, the pilot spotted what appeared to be a beached boat flying a white flag on Bay Point Island. The pilot circled the area and then noticed the Pettigrews excitedly waving their arms.. The crew landed Angel One approximately 100 yards away from the couple and the crew chief ran to them to see if they needed assistance. When the couple told them that they had been "lost" since Thursday, he immediately asked them to come with him. The couple had not eaten since Thursday. In addition, Mr. Pettigrew, who suffers from a chronic heart condition, also has a colostomy and was

suffering from dehydration and exhaustion. The crew chief ran back to the aircraft, informed the crew, and returned with the corpsman and swimmers. After obtaining their vital signs and brief medical histories, the crew carried Mr. Pettigrew aboard Angel One, while Mrs. Pettigrew followed.

While on the beach area, Angel One could not communicate directly to the Air Station to advise them of the situation. They radioed Mr. Paul Field of Fripp Sea Island Rescue. Mr. Field then relayed the information to the Air Station, to Coast Guard Group Charleston and to Beaufort Memorial Hospital so they would be prepared to provide care to the Pettigrews when Angel One arrived. Once in the air, the helicopter had the couple at the hospital in five minutes.

The Pettigrews later related that their troubles began Thursday evening when their compass "went haywire." They went to Seabrook Island and spent the night there. Mr. Pettigrew said, "Then we headed toward Fripp Island and we ran out of gas. The tide caught us and took us farther out into the ocean and then brought us back." The rough waters and strong current pushed their boat ashore, swamping it and leaving the couple stranded without food or water.

When asked about their rescue, Mr. Pettigrew said, "I owe them the rest of my life."

The crew of Angel One was aware through news reports that a couple from Charleston had been missing over the weekend,

however, they had not been asked to provide search assistance and were not actively looking for the Pettigrews. Crewmembers said that they were thrilled that their training for such occasions allowed them to play a part in saving two lives.

Primary Participants

Victims: Thomas and Katie Pettigrew

Primary Search and Rescue Crew Members:

Pilot -- Captain Michael J. Hengel
Copilot - Captain Timothy L. Burgess
Crewchief- Sergeant Walter Oliver Jr.
Swimmer-- Staff Sergeant Anthony J. Lasorba
Corpsman- Petty Officer Second Class Albert R. Hoch

Additional Crew:

Crewchief - Corporal Stephen R. Delaney
Swimmer --- Sergeant Thomas A. Smith
Corpsman -- Hospital Corpsman Richard A. Cameron

Fripp Sea Island Rescue-- Mr. Paul Field

Angel One -- HH-46D Sea Knight

January 25, 1989

MEMORANDUM

TO: Clark Judge

FROM: Stephanie Blessey

RE: Naval Yard Speech

Attached is some additional information for the Naval Yard speech. The package includes:

* People article about Chinese waif, now millionaire
* Examples of Contemporary Naval Heroes
  - WWII
  - Korea
  - Vietnam
* History of the Norfolk shipyard
* People article on injured Vietnam veteran who returns to North Vietnam with medical supplies
* Copy of memo sent to Judd Swift regarding the pre-advance

—

FROM CDR Rodgers OFFICE/DESK OSD/ES PHONE NBR 695-0028

SUBJECT Examples of Contemporary Heroes of the Naval Service

PAGES 3

DELIVERY INSTRUCTIONS:

☐ HOLD FOR NORMAL DUTY HOURS

☒ IMMEDIATELY

DELIVER TO:

AGENCY	INDIVIDUAL (NAME)	OFFICE	ROOM NBR	PHONE NBR
WHMO	Joni Stevens			695-4120

REMARKS:

111 1/2 OEOB

EXAMPLES OF CONTEMPORARY HEROES OF THE NAVAL SERVICE

Clearly, no list of reasonable size could list the names of all the brave sailors and marines who risked or gave their lives in service to our nation. This list serves merely as an example of those who served with distinction.

World War Two

- The leaders who rebuilt and manuevered the naval forces of the Pacific following Pearl Harbor are well remembered. They include:

- CHESTER NIMITZ: Who led the Pacific Fleet from December of 1941 through to the final peace in Tokyo Harbor.

- WILLIAM F. "BULL" HALSEY: Commander of Naval Task Forces in the Southern Pacific throughout the war, including the decisive battle at Leyte Gulf.

- RAYMOND SPRUANCE: Who led Navy Task Forces at the Battle of Midway.

- ARLEIGH "31 KNOT" BURKE: His inspirational leadership of Destroyer Squadron 23 played a key role in the decisive battles in the Solomon's.

- At the same time, men with the most ordinary duties were daily giving there utmost to the defense of their nation.

- A perfect example was a Navy Steward, a black man, DORIE MILLER, who in battle saved the lives of both his Commanding Officer and Executive Officer, pulling them to safety under fire.

- Sergeants MITCHELL PAIGE and JOHN BASILONE typified the fighting spirit of Marines throughout the Pacific in their valient action on Guadacanal. Now retired Colonel Paige earned the Congressional Medal of Honor on Guadacanal and remains active in Veterans Affairs to this day. John Basilone received the Navy Cross for his action on Guadacanal and later was posthumously presented the Medal of Honor for his service on Iwo Jima.

Korean War Era

- Among the heroes of this period, the first Navy

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Congressional Medal of Honor was presented to aviator Lieutenant (junior grade) THOMAS HUDNER who gave his life trying to save a fellow Navy pilot shot down over Korea. That fellow pilot was a hero in his own right having become the first black Navy pilot, Ensign JESSE L. BROWN, who also lost his life despite Lt. Hudner's heroic effort.

- General RAY DAVIS led a Marine Battalion in Korea, earning the Congressional Medal of Honor as he led his battalion to the relief of an embattled Marine Company, rescuing their surviving men and holding the vital ground.

Vietnam Era

- Among the many who served the country with great honor, some members of the Naval Service who distinguished themselves represent the wide variety of assignments undertaken by Navy personnel in this period.

- Retired Vice Admiral JAMES STOCKDALE and former Senator and retired Rear Admiral JEREMIAH DENTON were leaders among American prisoners of war, encouraging resistance to their captors propaganda efforts in the face of torture and news of protest at home.

- Navy Corpsmen (Navy Chaplain) VINCENT CAPODANNO, DON BALLARD, DAVID R. RAY each received the Medal of Honor for their heroic service to their fellow Americans on the fields and rivers of Vietnam.

- Navy Special Forces personnel, Lieutenant THOMAS NORRIS and Petty Officer MICHAEL THORNTON typified the contributions of sea-air-land (SEAL) forces on the most difficult missions of Vietnam.

- Petty Officer MARVIN SHIELDS became the first Seabee to be presented the Medal of Honor when repeatedly risking and finally loosing his life rescuing his platoon from an ambush.

- Now BGEN James Livingston, then a company commander, led his men through the 1968 TET offensive, repeatedly risking his own to hold his position and save his men.

- But perhaps the most unlikely hero was Seaman Apprentice DOUGLAS HEGDAHL of South Dakota, who after only six months in the Navy, fell overboard from his ship in the Gulf of Tonkin and became a prisoner of war. Convincing his captors of his lowly status, he was released early by the North Vietnamese and carried back

Photocopy-Preservation

in his memory the names of many, many prisoners of war to the government and their families.

Current Day

Young Americans continue to serve our nation in the Naval Service every day. Typical of their effort, dedication and readiness is the crew of the USS SAMUEL B. ROBERTS. With heroic effort, strong leadership and solid training beforehand, they saved their ship from what appeared to be almost certain loss last year when a mine ripped open the ship on patrol in the Persian Gulf.

Photocopy-Preservation

What's Been Accomplished

Excerpts from Looking Forward & Man of Integrity
on GB's military experience

Washington Times article on military buddies

Book of Days

Speech to West Point 5/25/88
points on valor
peace through strength

Speech to American Legion 9/7/88
war experience
JFK quote
freedom

List of Secretaries of Navy that held same office
note: Josephus Daniels p. 1.0.3

Called Military Office
They are calling Pentagon for recent
military heros

Called State
Leon Weintraub (Cuba) is calling back w/info

Reader's Digest Heros
one man from Vietnam w/ legs blown
off; ran the N.Y. marathon on his hands

Advance Off. -> Norfolk, VA ; pre-advance
Times 7:45 - 1:05

GB statement on federal service

Thurs. SES speech

Every town and city in America has its own examples of courage, kindness and decency. Here are three . . .

HEROES FOR TODAY®

He's All Heart

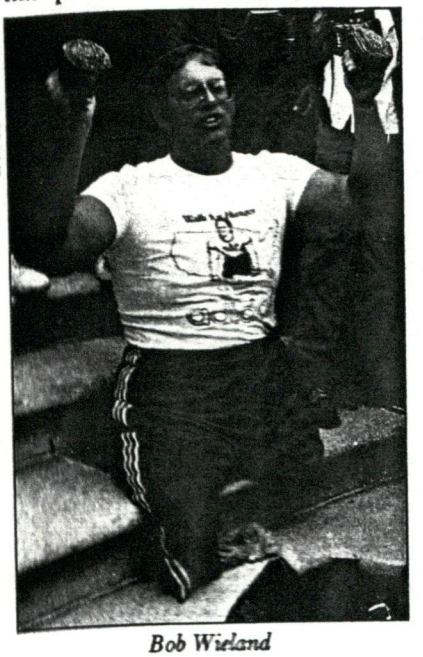
WHEN HE ARRIVED in Vietnam in 1969, Bob Wieland thought he might never leave there alive. He was half right. Only the top part of him got out.

Bob went into battle a 6-foot, 200-pound combat medic, fairly glowing with health. When he left Vietnam, he was 3½ feet tall and weighed 87 pounds. He had a 106-degree temperature, malaria, his blood pressure was hovering between indistinct and undetectable, and he was packed in ice and strapped to a board.

"Outside of that," Bob says, "I wasn't feeling too bad."

A lot of people would consider his predicament a rotten break. Not Bob Wieland: "I felt blessed. Unlike some of my friends, I was happy to be alive."

At Valley Forge Army Hospital, to which he was evacuated, Bob quickly demonstrated that his essential parts—the heart, lungs, mind



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Bob Wieland

LOS ANGELES TIMES (NOVEMBER 25, '86), © 1986 BY LOS ANGELES TIMES CO., TIMES MIRROR SQUARE, LOS ANGELES, CALIF. 90053; NEW YORK TIMES (SEPTEMBER 18, '86), © 1986 BY THE NEW YORK TIMES CO., 229 W. 43 ST., NEW YORK, N.Y. 10036; NEWSWEEK (SUMMER '86), © 1986 BY NEWSWEEK, INC. 444 MADISON AVE., NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022

RD My '87

and spirit—had been saved. "Hey, I still got my hair, even," he says.

What he doesn't have are legs. "The Army fitted me with artificial legs, but they were too slow," Bob says. "I had places to go and people to see and things to do. I couldn't wait for my legs to catch up."

Almost anyone can run a marathon—on legs. Anyone can cross the country—in an airplane. Bob Wieland does those things *on his hands.* He propels himself in a leap-frog motion that sometimes impels passing motorists to think some creature from another planet has landed on the highway. "They think I'm E.T. wearing a green Army poncho," he says, laughing.

Bob went for 2784 miles, from Buena Park, Calif., to the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, on his hands. It took three years, eight months, six days. Then, last November, he entered the 26-mile New York Marathon. The 40-year-old veteran "ran" through the streets for almost 40 hours before stopping for a nap. Two days after the race had finished, he was still on the course.

Recalls Bob: "The police were taking down the barriers and here I come swinging down the street yelling, 'The race isn't over!' All those people in the high-rises are leaning out the window and yelling, 'God bless you!' "

Hearing that Contestant No. C783 was moving down Fifth Avenue, the director of the race replaced the finishing-line clock and the tape. As hundreds of spectators cheered, Bob finally crossed the finish line. His time: 98 hours, 47 minutes, 17 seconds.

Long-distance running is known for increasing the size and function of the heart and lungs. And it has become a cliché to say of a brave person fighting huge odds that he is all heart. Bob Wieland may be the first person of whom it is literally true, any way you want to take it.

—Jim Murray in Los Angeles *Times*

Bubba Says No

FORMER ATHLETES are widely seen as role models for America's youth. They are also much in demand to hawk beer on television, and generally eager to do so. Now the moral implication of such work has come home to one former football great—or rather he came home to it.

Bubba Smith was once a defensive end for Michigan State and the Baltimore Colts. Starting in the late 1970s, he appeared in commercials for Miller Lite. In October 1985, Bubba served as a grand marshal of the homecoming parade at his alma ma-



Bubba Smith

PHOTO: AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

GEORGE BUSH

October 5, 1988

This letter was sent to
the leaders of many associations
of Federal, state + local employees

Sample

Dear

My experience as Vice President, and as Director of the CIA, has given me a very high regard for the overall competence and dedication of career civil servants. They serve a vital role in our democratic form of government.

Experience in our government has also made me aware that public service at all levels - federal, state and local - is facing serious problems. As President, I hope I will have your help and your organization's assistance in identifying, analyzing and finding ways of solving those problems.

The attached statement outlines in broad terms my views on public service and on the ways in which I will approach some of its problems. Further work to develop specific actions is being done by several members of my staff. As part of their effort, they have been talking with two bipartisan groups, Paul Volcker's "National Commission on the Public Service", and the Congressionally-chartered "National Academy of Public Administration."

It would be very useful if you and appropriate members of your organization would review the work of these groups. Enclosed is Chapter 4, "Reinvigorating the Public Service" from the National Academy' s Report for your perusal.

I look forward to a cooperative and productive relationship with you and your organization.

Sincerely,

George Bush

PAID FOR BY BUSH-QUAYLE '88

Bush 88 Quayle

733 15th Street N.W.
Suite 800
Washington D.C. 20005
202 842 1988

STATEMENT OF
VICE PRESIDENT BUSH
FEDERAL SERVICE

My experience as Vice President, and as Director of the CIA, has given me a very high regard for the overall competence of career civil servants and for the vital role they have in our democratic form of government.

How well the tasks of government are done affects the quality of the lives of all our people. Moreover, the success of any political leadership in implementing its policies and objectives, depends heavily upon the expertise, quality, and commitment of the professional career employees of government.

So, despite our determination to cut the size and costs of government, we recognize that the nation needs a highly skilled and dedicated civil service to perform those governmental services that we - as a people - decide we want.

For those reasons, improving the quality, morale and performance of the public service will be a high priority of my administration. My appointees will work closely with career civil servants to provide the teamwork needed to implement my policies, and to manage more effectively necessary programs across the government.

One of the things we will do is to provide a White House orientation program for all new appointees without previous federal experience. That orientation will have firm objectives: to show them how to be effective in the federal environment; to be sure they understand the limitations our democratic system places upon Executive Branch officials; to help them lead their agencies skillfully; and to urge them to build teamwork among the political and career officials in the agency they lead.

Through that kind of teamwork, we will launch a vigorous effort to achieve excellence in governmental programs and the delivery of services to the public. Many of the past failures of government have occurred - not because federal employees lack talent and energy - but because byzantine rules and procedures imprison talents and sap morale.

1. first helped liberate the American people from unnecessary reg.
Now, I want to liberate civil servants from streamline procedures

SCA

Paid for by Bush-Quayle 88

It has been my observation that most federal workers are like most other American workers. They have the same desire for pride in their work, the same drive for accomplishment, and the same work ethic that has made the American workforce one of the most effective in history. It will be our objective, therefore, to remove impediments to effective management and to encourage workforce creativity.

Because of the rigidities now existing in the federal pay structure, many agencies are finding it difficult to retain and recruit high-quality employees. This is especially true in hard-to-hire occupations and locations. Working with both federal professional associations and federal employee unions, we will seek to improve federal recruiting efforts and to make federal jobs more challenging and more satisfying.

As examples, we will experiment with "honors" programs to attract top professional and law school graduates; with new types of in service professional development; and with tuition assistance for work-related courses.

Several major studies of the federal service are now being conducted by such distinguished groups as the National Commission on the Public Service (which is headed by Paul Volcker) and the National Academy of Public Administration. The objective of these studies is to advise the next President on ways of solving the problems of the public service and they have been assured of my interest in their recommendations.

The Office of Personnel Management (OPM) must be a vital center for human resource planning for the federal workforce. The Director I choose for OPM will be a person with both the managerial and professional experience needed to fill that role. Responsibility for personnel operations, however, will be delegated to the departments, and to their field installations to the maximum degree feasible. Over-regulation WITHIN the federal government is as unwise as over-regulation BY the federal government.

We will also be open to further congressional suggestions for legislative improvements in the personnel system. For example, we will explore carefully the idea of extending to children of federal employees the law allowing students who reach the age of 22 to continue their health insurance coverage under certain conditions.

Beyond these specifics, my administration will work cooperatively and continually with your group and with other friends of the public service, to make it more efficient, more effective, and more productive, as well as a more satisfying place to work.

Navy Department (April 16, 1879 to 1923)

Secretary	President	Date entered on duties
Richard W. Thompson	Hayes	3/12/1877-
Nathan Goff, Jr.	Hayes	1/6/1881-
William H. Hunt	Garfield	3/7/1881-
William E. Chandler	Arthur	4/17/1882-
William C. Whitney	Cleveland	3/6/1885-
Benjamin F. Tracy	Harrison	3/5/1889-
Hilary A. Herbert	Cleveland	3/6/1893-
John D. Long*	McKinley-Roosevelt	3/5/1897-
William F. Moody	Roosevelt	5/1/1902-
Paul Morton	Roosevelt	7/1/1904-
Charles J. Bonaparte	Roosevelt	1/1/1905-
Victor H. Metcalf	Roosevelt	12/17/1906-
Truman H. Newberry	Roosevelt	12/1/1908
George von L. Meyer	Taft	3/5/1909-
Josephus Daniels **	Wilson	3/5/1913-
Edwin Denby	Harding	3/5/1921-

Ad Interim Secretaries of the Navy

Alexander Ramsay (also Secretary of War)	1880-1881

* JOHN LONG WAS SEC. OF NAVY DUPING SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR ASSISTED BY Teddy Roosevelt

** Josephus DANIELS WAS Secretary of the Navy during WORLD WAR I, ASSISTED BY F.D.R.

pilasters, granite steps, each carved as an individual component, cantilevered eighteen inches into the wall. The only wood used in the building is in floors, doors, window frames, and stair banisters.

The balusters, designed by Richard von Ezdorf, are of solid bronze, and are being restored this year (1987.)

The building was built in four wings; will be entering the earliest one next, with a dome designed by the architect.

(point out elevators on level below)

STOP 2: STATE DEPARTMENT LIBRARY

Completed in 1876, Mullett design, original palette, cast iron construction; only surviving original stencilling in the coved ceiling; painted cast iron railing with State Department seals in the corner; Minton tile floor; restored, as was the dome just walked through, in-house after Park Service lab determined original colors; used as the State Department's library, tour stop in the late 19th century b/c it was elegant and held the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Presidential Seal, presidential papers, etc. Today is White House Library and Research Center.

Introduce von Ezdorf: son of deposed Austrian count, born in Venetian palazzo designed by Michelangelo, first appeared on payrolls in 1873, resp. for much interior design in OEOB.

STOP 3: INDIAN TREATY ROOM

Completed in 1879, von Ezdorf design, both library and reception room, entries for stacks where air conditioning equipment is now, Italian and French marble, cast iron railing, Minton tile floor, use of nautical motif, only original lighting fixtures are the 800 lbs. bronze War and Peace, Liberty, Arts and Sciences, and Industry sconces. No Indian Treaties signed here; Bretton Woods, UN Charter, Peace treaties with Rumania, Hungaria, etc. after WW II were signed here. Now used for receptions, some ceremonies.

STOP 4: THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY'S OFFICE

Room 274 in the Old Executive Office Building was designed as the office of the Secretary of the Navy and was used as such by fifteen secretaries from 1879 until 1921, when General John Pershing took up residence as Army Chief of Staff and as Chairman of the Battle Monuments Commission until 1947. Pershing's occupancy of the office was interrupted only once during these 26 years, when President Hoover was forced to relocate his office following a Christmas Eve fire in the West Wing of The White House in 1929. Since 1960, it has been occupied by every Vice

President with the exception of Hubert Humphrey, who used Room 175 directly below. Today the room is used for ceremonial purposes by the President, Vice President, and Chief of Staff.

What you see now is the result of the 1986 restoration project that included the walls, ceiling, and floor. This is the original configuration of the room and foyer. Post-historic walls had been added in the earlier part of this century, to create several spaces. These walls were demolished as part of the restoration process, and the foyer repainted in its historic colors.

[refer to supplement on 274 to answer additional questions]

STOP 5: EAST ROTUNDA

Completed in 1879, a von Ezdorf design, painted over the day after Pearl Harbor, use of bronze and aluminum based powder paint.

STOP 6: THE WEST ROTUNDA

Completed in 1884, von Ezdorf design, design for stained glass is on back of brochure, original glass removed 1950 what you see now is a replication of that scheme with a palette determined by the Preservation Office in conjunction with a stained glass manufacturer [Cummings Studio], also original paint colors in panels below, use of real gold leaf [applied by in-house GSA forces], will probably have to use some bronze leaf when the gold leaf runs out. [Bronze leaf, or "Dutch Metal", has been found to last longer than bronze powder paint.]

STOP 7: THE WAR LIBRARY

1887, von Ezdorf design, very eclectic desgin, basically French Renaissance, now The White House Law Library, cast iron looks like other metals through process like early form of electroplating, late Minton tile floor, coved ceiling with terra cotta oak leaves, gas jets behind gold cornice originally, will be replicated with halogen lights soon, used for storage at one time (see photos in case) with original fabric covered up but not damaged.

STOP 8: THE NW DOME

Look up to NW dome with 14 color pallette, a von Ezdorf design.

Thank you for coming, etc. Take elevators to ground floor. EXIT 17th Street security post.

THE HISTORIC OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

This room is filled with echoes from the past. Here, John D. Long, assisted by an energetic Theodore Roosevelt oversaw operations during the Spanish American War. Later, Josephus Daniels and his young assistant Franklin D. Roosevelt directed the American Navy during World War I

The Army took a turn at using this room when General John "Blackjack" Pershing, aided by Dwight D. Eisenhower, occupied the office as Army Chief of Staff and as Chairman of the Battle Monuments Commission until 1947. Pershing's occupancy of the office was interrupted only once during these 26 years, when President Hoover was forced to relocate his office following a Christmas Eve fire in the West Wing of the White House in 1929.

November 18, 1986

SECRETARIES OF THE NAVY

Richard W. Thompson

Secretary of the Navy under Hayes--March 12, 1877- January 5, 1881. His appointment to the cabinet was considered a bad move on the part of Hayes. Although a friendly man he was "Extremely partisan in politics, intolerant in religion" and his professional life seemed always involved in some sort of controversy. While in the office of Secretary of the Navy, he also took the chairmanship of The Panama Canal Co. Hayes accepted his resignation from the cabinet appointment despite the fact that Thompson never offered it.

William H. Hunt

Garfield, 3-7-1881/4-16-1882

As Secretary of the Navy, his most notable service was the appointment of the first naval advisory board which began the work of building the new American Navy. Upon his appointment as U.S. minister to Russia by President Arthur, he left the office of Secretary of the Navy.

William E. Chandler

Arthur, 4-17-82/3-6-85

When he took his appointment, his main concern was to rebuild the US Navy as a fighting force by taking advantage of new methods of Naval Architecture. In his first year, Congress authorized the preparation of plan for two steel cruisers. Seven months later, it made appropriations for contracting them and for adding two more vessels to the new navy. It was Chandler's plan to procede only as American building resources would accomodate, and not to buy them from abroad. None of the four vessels authorized was a triumph. Despite the attempt at using modern architecture, the new ships still needed complete sailing equipment as well steam. He handed over his office to William C. Whitney having established the new program of steel consruction, however unsatisfactory.

William C. Whitney

Cleveland, 3-6-85/3-4-89

He too felt that the fighting force of the US Navy was extinct. He devoted himself to fighting contractors who delivered vessels built according to obsolete specifications drawn up during the administration of Chandler, striking from the navy list ships that were not worth repairing, and the inauguration of the Naval War College at Newport, R.I. Shipyards had to be taught to build vessels of size and soundness, gun foundries large enough to cast the ingots needed by modern guns had to be designed, plants were needed for turning and finishing the great guns and for rolling armor plate. In all of these tasks, Whitney showed ingenuity and imagination. He left an effective establishment for his successor.

Benjamin F. Tracy

Under Harrison March 5, 1889 - March 5, 1893. Very involved in his career as Secretary. Initiated a program for building a powerful Navy. During his administration the Iowa, Massachusetts, Oregon, and Brooklyn were completed or authorized. He organized the naval militia, created the board of construction to correlate the work of various bureaus, did much to abolish political corruption in appointments and the purchase of supplies at the navy yards. Responsible for several official interpretations of international law including the right of property in seals which became the basis of one of the questions put up for arbitration by U.S. in the Bering Sea controversy.

Hilary A. Herbert

Cleveland, 3-6-93/3-4-97

Three times chairman of the committe on naval affairs, he was largely responsible for the increased appropriations which led to the revival of the American navy. While Secretary of the Navy, he had a definite program in view which centered construction work upon battleships and torpedo boats and, constantly urging increased construction upon a reluctant Congress, he was able in spite of the financial depression to get support for an enlarged navy.

John D. Long

Under McKinley and Roosevelt March 5, 1897 - April 30, 1902. Pleasant and diplomatic, there is nothing very notable about his tenure. He was a very intelligent man who concerned himself with supervision and personal relations rather than technical matters. He is noted for his tact and given partial credit by some historians for the untarnished record of the Navy in the war with Spain. Conservative and loyal to his party, his example did much to remove friction and promote cooperation within the department.

William H. Moody

Under T.R., May 1, 1902 - June 30, 1904. An outsanding lawyer, His appointment to the office of Secretary of the Navy appears to be only a stepping stone to his appointment of Attorney General, the term for which his career is most notable. Besides, his name is all wrong.

Paul Morton

Under T.R. July 1, 1904 - December 31, 1904. An ambitious and exemplary businessman. He was enthusiastically committed to building a strong and formidable Navy and he added significantly to its fleet. However, earlier, during his business career, certain subordinants of his had become involved in the granting of illegal rebates. Although Morton was not prosecuted and possibly not involved in the controversy, when the situation later came to light during his term as Secretary of the Navy, the public and press did not think him a fit servant for the Roosevelt administration. He therefore resigned and went back to business, this time, insurance.

Charles J. Bonparte

Roosevelt, 1-1-05/12-16-06
Although he held the office for two years, the most interesting point about him is that he was the grand-nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte. This cabinet position was a stepping stone to the office of Attorney-General.

Truman Newberry

Roosevelt 12-1-08/3-4-09
TR appointed him Assistant Secretary of the Navy in 1905, and three years later Newberry became Secretary of the Navy, a position he held from the last three months of the Roosevelt administration. In this capacity he attemped to overhaul the administrative system of the Navy; but his plan was criticized by Admiral William S. Sims, TR's naval aide, and was not adopted.

George von L. Meyer

Under Taft, March 5, 1909-March 4, 1913. Efficient and able in everything he did. His other positions included foreign diplomat and Postmaster General. His tenure is considered to have greatly increased the efficiency of the department--making it a veritable well-oiled machine. He instituted navel aids to the Secretary to keep him more responsibly informed; improved the gunnery and direction of the active fleet; navy yards were administered to meet the needs of the fleet rather than merely to provide work for local constituencies; engineering problems were better solved by his greater reliance upon naval engineers.

Josephus Daniels

Wilson 3-5-13/3-4-21

Daniels was one of three cabinet members who served throughout both of Wilson's terms. Although Daniels suffered much criticism as well as enjoyed great praise from colleagues, he is regarded as one of the most innovative Secretaries of the Navy. He instituted a number of reforms including:

Requiring sea sevice in order to be eligable for promotion.
Providing compulsory schooling for illiterate and poorly educated sailors.
Improving the US Naval Academy and openning it to enlisted men.
Strengthing the War College.
Reforming the Naval prisons.

As administrator, Daniels insisted on competitice bidding on navy contracts. He guarded the naval oil reserves from exploitation by private interests (an area in which his successor, Denby failed miserably). Daniels created the Navy Consulting Board headed by Thomas Edison consisting of prominent experts nominated by the leading scientific and engineering societies of the country to advise on technical problems.

A few decisions for which Daniels received much criticism included Banning liquor from the officer's mess (he himself never drank alcohol) and granting more privledges to enlisted men. He was also criticized for being a pacifist and therefore failing to adequately prepare the Navy for possible war.

Daniels is considered by most historians to be one of the few great Secretaries of the Navy in the history of this country.

Edwin Denby

Harding 3-5-21/

As secretary of the Navy he appears to have had little influence upon naval organization or upon national naval policy. It has not been shown that his decisions were important in connection with the Washington Conference on Limitation of Armaments or with the treaties that arose from it. His administration was terminated by a scandal in the handling of the naval oil reserves (Tea Pot Dome). So I guess he's a no-go.

1967–Astronauts Virgil Grissom, Edward White and Roger Chaffee were killed by fire in their Apollo spaceship, Cape Kennedy, Fla.

The day's birthdays:

Composer Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart 1756, Salzburg, Austria; labor leader Samuel Gompers 1850, London; composer Jerome Kern 1885, New York; journalist Ilya Ehrenburg 1891, Kiev, Russia; writer Lewis Carroll (Charles L. Dodgson) 1832, Daresbury, England; U.S. Admiral Hyman G. Rickover 1900, Makow, Poland.

Quotation of the day:

"The atrocious crime of being a young man . . . I shall neither attempt to palliate or deny."–William Pitt, the elder, January 27, 1741

——JANUARY 28——

Zodiac sign for the day: Aquarius, the water boy.
Zodiac birthstone for the day: Garnet.

The day in history:

1871–Paris surrendered to Germans and armistice was signed in Franco-Prussian War.
1878–*Yale Daily News,* first college daily newspaper, began publication at Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
1878–First commercial telephone switchboard went into use in New Haven, Conn.
1915–U.S. Coast Guard established by merger of Revenue Cutter Service and Life Saving Service.
1916–Louis D. Brandeis became first American of Jewish faith to be appointed to U.S. Supreme Court.
1961–Rwanda Republic Day marks date when African nation became republic, while still affiliated with Belgium.

The day's birthdays:

Pianist Artur Rubinstein 1887, Lodz, Poland; writer Colette (Sidonie Gabrielle Claudine Colette) 1873, St. Sauveur-en-Puisaye, France.

Quotation of the day:

"There is nothing stronger than human prejudice."–Wendell Phillips, January 28, 1852

"All religions have been made by men."–Napoleon Bonaparte, January 28, 1817

——JANUARY 29——

Zodiac sign for the day: Aquarius, the water boy.
Zodiac birthstone for the day: Garnet.

The day in history:

1819—Singapore was founded at tip of Malay Peninsula by Sir Stamford Raffles.
1861—Kansas was admitted to U.S. as 34th state.
1876—Congress established a special Electoral Commission to decide the disputed Hayes-Tilden Presidential election.
1900—The American League of Baseball Clubs was organized in Philadelphia, with a membership of eight teams.
1936—Baseball Hall of Fame's first five players were elected: Ty Cobb, Babe Ruth, Honus Wagner, Christy Mathewson and Walter Johnson.

The day's birthdays:

Political essayist Thomas Paine 1737, Thetford, England; President William McKinley 1843, Niles, Ohio; financier John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 1874, Cleveland; philosopher Emanuel Swedenborg 1688, Stockholm; writer Romain Rolland 1866, Clamecy, France; cavalryman Henry (Light Horse Harry) Lee 1756, Dumfries, Va.; statesman Albert Gallatin 1761, Geneva.

Quotation of the day:

"Advice is seldom welcome; and those who want it the most always like it the least."—Earl of Chesterfield, January 29, 1748
"Nothing is so fatal to religion as indifference, which is, at least, half infidelity."—Edmund Burke, January 29, 1795
"Somebody has said, that a king may make a nobleman, but he cannot make a gentleman."—Edmund Burke, January 29, 1795
"All discussion, all debate, all dissidence tends to question, and in consequence to upset existing convictions; that is precisely its purpose and its justification."—Learned Hand, January 29, 1955

——JANUARY 30——

Zodiac sign for the day: Aquarius, the water boy.
Zodiac birthstone for the day: Garnet.

The day in history:

1835–Richard Lawrence, a demented painter, attempted unsuccessfully to shoot President Andrew Jackson during Jackson's visit to Capitol in Washington, D.C.; first attempt to assassinate a President.
1889–Crown Prince Rudolf of Austria and Baroness Marie Vetsera found suicides at Castle Mayerling in Austria.
1925–Floyd Collins was trapped in a cave in Kentucky; 18 days later rescuers gave up attempt to reach him.
1933–Adolf Hitler ushered in Nazi era in Germany when he became Chancellor.
1948–Mahatma Gandhi, Indian leader and apostle of nonviolence, was assassinated in New Delhi, India.

The day's birthdays:

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt 1882, Hyde Park, N.Y.; conductor Walter Damrosch 1862, Breslau, Germany; actress Vanessa Redgrave, London.

Quotation of the day:

"A little rebellion now and then is a good thing."–Thomas Jefferson, January 30, 1787

——JANUARY 31——

Zodiac sign for the day: Aquarius, the water boy.
Zodiac birthstone for the day: Garnet.

The day in history:

1606–Guy Fawkes executed for the Gunpowder Plot against government of England, in London.
1709–Alexander Selkirk, real-life prototype of Robinson Crusoe, rescued after four years marooned on Juan Fernandez Island in Pacific.
1950–President Truman ordered development of H-bomb by Atomic Energy Commission.
1958–U.S. launched its first satellite, *Explorer I.*
1968–Pacific island of Nauru became free.

The day's birthdays:

Composer Franz Schubert 1797, Vienna; comedian Eddie Cantor 1892, New York; western writer Zane Grey 1872, Zanesville, O.; writer John O'Hara 1905, Pottsville, Penna.; writer Norman Mailer

1923, Long Branch, N.J.; explorer John Charles Fremont 1813, Savannah, Ga.; actress Carol Channing, Seattle; publisher Gardner Cowles 1903, Algona, Iowa; entertainer Garry Moore 1915, Baltimore; ball player Jackie Robinson 1919, Cairo, Ga.; fighter "Jersey Joe" Walcott 1914, Merchantville, N.J.

Quotation of the day:

"I have directed the Atomic Energy Commission to continue its work on all forms of atomic weapons, including the so-called hydrogen or super-bomb."–President Harry S. Truman, January 31, 1950

February

FEBRUARY IS THE ONLY MONTH with less than 30 days. In leap years such as 1976 it has 29 days (every fourth year), otherwise 28. It was named from the Latin word *februare*, meaning "to purify." The Romans had an annual purification ceremony at this time of year.

February is Heart Month (not only for the Heart Association, but also by virtue of Valentine's day), and the peak of winter carnival time. Its observances include those for the Boy Scouts and for Black history. The science of aluminum processing was born in February, and so was the U.S. weather service. The month's birthdays range from Jack Benny to the Boston Latin School—America's oldest public school—to the Elks and Rotary Club. Also born in February were those great American institutions, the gerrymander and the income tax. And it was in February that Senator Joseph McCarthy made what proved to be an ill-omened allusion to "twenty years of treason."

February's birthstone: Amethyst.
February's flower: Violet or primrose.

Quotations about February:

"February, fill the dyke
With what thou dost like."—Thomas Tusser, *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry*, 1573

"February brings the rain,
Thaws the frozen lake again."—Sara Coleridge, "Pretty Lessons in Verse," 1834

"If February give much snow,
A fine summer it doth foreshow."—British proverb

"... You have such a February face;
So full of frost, of storm and cloudiness..."—William Shakespeare, *Much Ado About Nothing*, 1598

Month-long observances in February:

Heart Month (American Heart Assn., 44 East 23 Street, New York, N.Y. 10010)

American History Month (National Society, Daughters of American Revolution, 1776 D Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20006)

American Music Month (National Federation of Music Clubs, 600 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill. 60605)

National Cherry Month (National Red Cherry Institute, 415 West Grand River Avenue, East Lansing, Mich. 48823)

Catholic Press Month (Catholic Press Assn., 432 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10016)

Boy Scouts of America Anniversary Month (Boy Scouts of America, New Brunswick, New Jersey 08902)

Frozen Potato Month (Frozen Potato Products Institute, 333 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill. 60601)

Easter Seal campaign—may start this month, depending on date of Easter Sunday. (National Easter Seal Society for Crippled Children & Adults, 2023 West Ogden Avenue, Chicago, Ill. 60612)

February's special weeks, with usual starting dates:

International Clergy Week, Sunday before February 3 (Civitan International, 115 North 21st Street, Birmingham, Ala. 35203)

National Children's Dental Health Week, first Sunday (American Dental Assn., 211 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill. 60611)

National Pay Your Bills Week, first Monday (American Collectors Assn., 4040 West 70 Street, Minneapolis, Minn. 55435)

National Electrical Week, week of Edison's birthday—February 11 (National Electrical Week Committee, Suite 600, 1 Memorial Drive, St. Louis, Mo. 63102)

Protect the Gagwriter Week, first Sunday (George Q. Lewis, Humor Societies of America, 342 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017)

National Crime Prevention Week, week of Lincoln's birthday, February 12 (National Exchange Club, 3050 Central Avenue, Toledo, O. 43606)

Negro History Week, includes February 12 (Lincoln's birthday) usually, and February 14 (birthday of Frederick Douglass)

always. (Assn. for Study of Negro Life & History, 1407 14th Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20005)

National Beauty Salon Week, second Sunday (National Hairdressers & Cosmetologists Assn., via Bozell & Jacobs, 120 South Riverside Plaza, Chicago, Ill. 60606)

Brotherhood Week, week of Washington's Birthday (National Conference of Christians and Jews, 43 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y. 10019)

Catholic Book Week, last full week beginning Sunday (Catholic Library Assn., 461 West Lancaster Avenue, Haverford, Penna. 19041)

Future Farmers of America Week, Saturday before February 22 (National Future Farmers of America Center, P.O. Box 15160, Alexandria, Va. 22309)

National Engineers Week, last full week beginning Sunday (National Society of Professional Engineers, 2029 K Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20006)

Sertoma International Freedom Week, week of February 22 (Sertoma International, 1900 East Meyer Boulevard, Kansas City, Mo. 64132)

Pencil Week, last full week beginning Sunday (Lead Pencil Manufacturers Assn., 60 East 42nd Street, New York N.Y. 10017)

National Salesman's Week, last full week beginning Sunday (Sales & Marketing Executives International, 630 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017)

National Office Products Week, last full week beginning Friday (Office Appliances, Business Press International, 288 Park Avenue, Elmhurst, Ill. 60128)

Variable dates within February:

Washington's Birthday, third Monday.

Chinese New Year, January or February.

Ash Wednesday, start of Lent.

Mardi Gras or Shrove Tuesday.

Gasparilla Pirate Invasion, Tampa, Fla., starts first or second Monday.

Quebec Winter Carnival, Quebec City, Canada, first half of month.

Dartmouth Winter Carnival, Hanover, N.H., second weekend.

Westminster Kennel Club show, New York, usually second Monday. (437 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016)

American Assn. of School Administrators meets in Atlantic City,

beginning on second or third weekend (1201 16th Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20036)

——FEBRUARY 1——

National Freedom Day–Commemorates President Lincoln's 1865 proposal of anti-slavery amendment (13th) to U.S. Constitution.

Zodiac sign for the day: Aquarius, the water boy.
Zodiac birthstone for the day: Garnet.

The day in history:

1790–U.S. Supreme Court convened for first time, in New York City.
1862–Julia Ward Howe's "Battle Hymn of the Republic" was published in *The Atlantic Monthly.*
1892–Ward McAllister's list of 400 guests for Mrs. William B. Astor's society ball in New York City made "the 400" synonymous with high society.
1926–Col. Billy Mitchell, apostle of air power, resigned from the U.S. Army.
1946–Trygve Lie of Norway became first Secretary General of the United Nations.
1951–United Nations General Assembly named Red China as aggressor in Korea.
1958–United Arab Republic proclaimed in merger of Egypt and Syria under Gamal Abdel Nasser.

The day's birthdays:

Composer Victor Herbert 1859, Dublin; actor Clark Gable 1901, Cadiz, Ohio; single Hildegarde (Hildegarde Loretta Sill), Adell, Wis.; humorist S.J. Perelman 1904, Brooklyn, N.Y.; film director John Ford 1895, Cape Elizabeth, Me.; basso Feodor Chaliapin 1873, Kazan, Russia; singer Renata Tebaldi, Pesaro, Italy.

Quotation of the day:

"America cannot be an ostrich with its head in the sand."–Woodrow Wilson, February 1, 1916

——FEBRUARY 2——

Groundhog Day–Legend says that if the groundhog comes out today and sees his shadow it means six more weeks of winter.

Zodiac sign for the day: Aquarius, the water boy.
Zodiac birthstone for the day: Garnet.

The day in history:

1653–New Amsterdam was incorporated as a city.
1819–In Dartmouth College case, U.S. Supreme Court upheld sanctity of college charter as legal contract, against amendment by legislative action.
1848–Mexico and U.S. signed Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, in which Mexico relinquished ownership of Texas, New Mexico, California and parts of other Western states.
1870–Cardiff Giant, "petrified" human figure "discovered" previous year on farm in Cardiff, N.Y., revealed as a hoax.
1876–Baseball's National League formed with teams from Chicago, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Hartford, St. Louis, Louisville and Cincinnati.
1943–World War II siege of Stalingrad by Nazis ended after five months with surrender of German army of Field Marshal von Paulus in defeat that broke back of Hitler's Eastern offensive.
1961–Passengers aboard hijacked Portuguese liner *Santa Maria* landed in Recife, Brazil. (See January 22.)

The day's birthdays:

Violinist Fritz Kreisler 1875, Vienna; writer James Joyce 1882, Dublin; violinist Jascha Heifetz 1901, Vilna, Russia; writer Havelock Ellis 1859, Croydon, England; courtesan Nell Gwyn 1651, London; baseball's Red (Al) Schoendienst 1923, Germantown, Ill.

Quotation of the day:

"...beware of too much confidence in any man."–Thomas Jefferson, February 2, 1800

——FEBRUARY 3——

Four Chaplains Day–Commemorates heroic death in World War II of Rev. George L. Fox, Rabbi Alexander D. Goode, Rev. Clark V. Poling and Father John P. Washington in North Atlantic sinking of transport *Dorchester,* in 1943.

Zodiac sign for the day: Aquarius, the water boy.
Zodiac birthstone for the day: Garnet.

terests in Cuba, always a bone of contention, nonetheless remained strong until the confiscation of such properties in late 1960 by the revolutionary regime of Fidel Castro, who had supplanted the long-entrenched dictator Fulgencio Batista y Zaldívar as Cuban chief of state after prolonged and bloody guerrilla warfare.

JANUARY 29

Kansas Day

The admission of Kansas to the Union as the 34th state on January 29, 1861, brought to a close one of the important chapters of US history. That chapter began seven years earlier when Kansas was organized as a territory under the controversial Kansas-Nebraska Act passed by Congress on May 30, 1854.

Repercussions of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which opened the way for the extension of slavery to the West, were widespread. Debate over the act intensified pro- and antislavery sentiments across the country, making slavery the most inflammatory issue in the land. Passage of the measure inaugurated an era of bloodshed in Kansas which in some ways foreshadowed the Civil War. Politically there were repercussions too, for opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska Act cut across party lines and led to formation of the new Republican party by antislavery Whigs and Democrats and members of some other groups, like the Free-Soil party, which opposed the extension of slavery.

The bearing of the Kansas issue on the birth of the Republican party, and Kansans' historic habit (less pronounced since World War II) of voting Republican probably account for the fact that the anniversary of statehood, officially known as Kansas Day, is an occasion of Republican celebration. It has been so since 1892.

Commemoration of the anniversary began considerably earlier than that, however. It was, in fact, about 1877 when Kansas Day observances originated with a program planned by Paola, Kansas, schoolchildren with the encouragement of an imaginative teacher, L. G. A. Copley. The well-received program was accorded statewide publicity and the observance of Kansas Day became an annual event. Today, hundreds of school classes throughout the state mark the day with brief programs on Kansas. The day also is noted, at least in passing, by various clubs and organizations throughout the state.

Most notable, however, is the flood of Republican organization members who make their way to Topeka, the state capital, on Kansas Day to hold annual meetings; elect officers; attend assorted breakfasts, luncheons, receptions, and annual banquets; and listen to partisan speeches. Participating groups include the Kansas Day Club, Kansas Republican Veterans Club, and Kansas Federation of Republican Women, as well as the Republican central committees and various party clubs from Shawnee and Sedgwick counties — where Topeka and Wichita, the state's largest city, are respectively located. So many of the political organizations meet that Kansas Day events now are scheduled over a two-day period beginning on January 28. Certain nonpartisan organizations also plan special events in Topeka for Kansas Day or the day before.

An outline of Topeka events in one recent year is representative of the Kansas Day observances which customarily take place: The nonpartisan Woman's Kansas Day Club marked Kansas Day by holding its annual meeting, electing officers, and hearing a luncheon speech about "Old Cars and People." This was followed by a history of "Horseless Carriages Made in Kansas," with presentation to the Kansas State Historical Society of photographs and other related materials. The night before, the Woman's Kansas Day Club held its annual reception at Cedar Crest, the official residence of the governor of the state.

The Kansas Day Club, which also held a number of events on Kansas Day, had the day's largest event. This was its annual banquet, attended by more than 1,000 persons and addressed by then Representative Gerald R. Ford of Michigan, later President, who was minority leader of the national House of Representatives at the time. His talk, in the tradition of such gatherings, promised a bright future for the Republican party and castigated Democratic policies. Earlier the same day, US Senator Frank Carlson of Kansas addressed the Kansas Republican Veterans Club at its annual luncheon.

The previous day, members of the Kansas Federation of Republican Women attended a breakfast and luncheon, and heard a panel discussion by members of the Kansas congressional delegation and addresses by the governor of Kansas and the president of the National Federation of Republican Women. At a banquet that night William L. White, the editor, like his famous father, of the Emporia *Gazette*, spoke to the nonpartisan Native Sons and Daughters — who also chose the occasion for presentation of their Kansan of the Year award.

Some other pre-Kansas Day gatherings — such as the Buccaneer Club's conversation hour, the

reception held by four Shawnee County Republican organizations, and the "mixer" put on by the Kansas Young Republican Federation – placed more emphasis on fun than on either politics or history. Generally speaking, however, Kansas Day is a time when Kansans are more than usually conscious of their state's history.

That history began when most of what is now Kansas came into United States possession through the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. The southwestern part of present Kansas was claimed by Spain until 1822 and Mexico until 1848. Parts of the region meanwhile were designated as Indian territory by the US government. For a time – from 1835 to 1850 – part of Kansas also was claimed by Texas. After the Texas claim was reduced, the southwest corner of Kansas still was earmarked as Indian territory until Kansas was organized as a state in 1861.

The prelude to statehood had begun in 1804 and 1806, when Lewis and Clark passed through part of the "Kansas" region. The vast prairies subsequently were crossed and recrossed by such explorers as Zebulon M. Pike, John C. Frémont, and Stephen H. Long – who dismissed the whole area, now known as the nation's wheat basket, as "uninhabitable by a people depending on agriculture." Beginning in 1821, the Santa Fe Trail stretched across the entire length of Kansas. Westward migration through the region continued in the 1830s; and in the 1840s the Oregon Trail carried thousands of Pacific-bound emigrants across the northeastern corner.

But these were all people with destinations farther west. Actual settlement in the Kansas area began when Presbyterians (with representatives of other denominations) founded the first Kansas mission in 1824. Defenses against Indians and marauders followed shortly with the establishment of Fort Leavenworth in 1827, Fort Scott in 1842, and Fort Riley in 1853. Large numbers of permanent settlers did not pour in, however, until Kansas was officially designated a territory by the Kansas-Nebraska Act, signed into law by President Franklin Pierce on May 30, 1854.

It was that act's provision that the residents of the Kansas Territory were to decide whether it should, or should not, permit slavery that sowed the seeds of violent dissension. This was particularly true because the act, which was passed only after months of bitter debate, repealed the Missouri Compromise of 1820 (see March 3). Except in Missouri itself, the hard-won Missouri Compromise had expressly forbidden the extension of slavery to any of the Louisiana Purchase north of latitude 36°30′.

With passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, however, the whole inflammatory question of slavery in the territories was again thrown open to question. Looking ahead toward statehood, slaveholders and abolitionists each bent their efforts to securing a majority for their point of view. Determined that Kansas would become a slave – or a free – state, immigrants from Missouri, the South, and northern states flooded in, precipitating the era of "bleeding Kansas" as the contestants sought to determine the issue.

Antislavery men settled in Lawrence, Topeka, and Osawatomie. Advocates of slavery founded Leavenworth, Atchison, and Lecompton. On March 30, 1855, an election of a territorial legislature was held and 5,427 proslavery votes were cast out of a total of 6,307 – amazingly enough, since there were only 2,905 legal voters in the territory. The discrepancy was accounted for by proslavery Missourians who had crossed the border to stuff the ballot boxes and intimidate voters. Territorial Governor A. H. Reeder set aside the election in six of the districts and ordered a new election that resulted in the victory of the antislavery candidates.

When the first territorial legislature met at Pawnee on July 2, 1855, it nonetheless was controlled by a proslavery majority. This majority expelled the members chosen at the second election ordered by the governor. It passed acts making it a capital offense to assist slaves in escaping either to or from the territory and a felony to circulate antislavery publications or to deny the right to hold slaves. Not content with this, it also required all voters to swear to support the Fugitive Slave Law – and secured Governor Reeder's removal.

Antislavery men refused to recognize the legality of the territorial government and in a convention held at Topeka between October 23 and November 11, 1855, they adopted a constitution prohibiting slavery after July 4, 1857, and excluding blacks from Kansas. After their constitution was adopted at a December election (in which the proslavery men took no part), the Free-Soil, or abolitionist, contingent went on to choose state officers and a legislature and set up a rival government in January 1856.

Although the abolitionists wished to avoid armed conflict, violence came when a sheriff of the proslavery territorial government was shot at Lawrence while trying to seize a prisoner. Antislavery leaders were indicted for treason and imprisoned; and on May 21 a mob of proslavery men sacked Lawrence. Three days later, the fiery abolitionist John Brown and his sons retaliated by killing five proslavery men on Pottawatomie creek. Civil war between the two

factions began, and continued throughout the month of June until US troops intervened and restored order.

The Free-Soil legislature met at Topeka on July 4, 1856. Dispersed by federal troops, it made another attempt to meet on January 6, 1857, but its members were arrested. Robert J. Walker, who by then had become governor of the territory – the sixth in a rapidly changing series of chief executives – succeeded in arranging a compromise with the Free-Soilers, who agreed to take part in an election for a territorial legislature in October 1857.

Although the abolitionists won the election, the proslavery party meanwhile had called a convention to meet in Lecompton, where they adopted the proslavery Lecompton Constitution on November 7. Declaring that the right of slaveholders in Kansas to their slaves was inviolable, this constitution prohibited the legislature from passing any act of emancipation or preventing the importation of slaves. Then, on December 21, the people of the territory were called upon to decide whether they would have a constitution with slavery (i.e., with the Lecompton provisions) or without.

The proslavery vote was 6,226 – more than half of which was polled along the Missouri border where there were not more than 1,000 qualified voters. Since the great body of antislavery partisans regarded the election as farcical and refrained from voting, the opposition vote was only 569.

Following this, the entire Lecompton Constitution was submitted to the voters by the territorial legislature on January 4, 1858, with 10,226 votes cast against the measure and less than 200 for it. The issue was then taken to Congress, where the Senate ignored the verdict of territory residents and voted to admit Kansas as a state *with* the Lecompton Constitution. The House of Representatives rejected this bill, however, instead passing the English Bill, which usually is referred to as a compromise measure even though it was not much of a compromise: it would have predicated the usual cession of land to a new state upon Kansas voters' acceptance of the Lecompton Constitution by a referendum.

In a ringing defeat for the proslavery forces, Kansas voters rejected this proposition by nearly 10,000 votes, finally ending the struggle to establish slavery in Kansas. The antislavery Wyandotte Constitution subsequently was adopted by Kansans on October 4, 1859. And Kansas was admitted to the Union as a free state on January 29, 1861 – not long before the outbreak of the Civil War, which the Kansas trouble had in part anticipated.

William McKinley's Birthday

William McKinley, the 25th President of the United States, was born in Niles, Ohio, on January 29, 1843. Of Scotch-Irish ancestry, he was the seventh of the nine children of William and Nancy (Allison) McKinley. His great-grandfather, David McKinley, was a soldier in the American Revolution. His father and grandfather were engaged in the iron industry, and he worked with his father as a boy.

After the family moved to Poland, Ohio, McKinley prepared for college at Poland Academy and subsequently entered Allegheny College at Meadville, Pennsylvania. Unable to complete his work toward a degree because of lack of money, he returned to Poland and obtained employment as a teacher nearby. He was teaching when the Civil War broke out.

Not long afterwards, on June 11, 1861, he enlisted in the 23rd Regiment, Ohio Volunteer Infantry, which Brigadier General William S. Rosecrans commanded. Rutherford B. Hayes, a Republican later elected President, succeeded Rosecrans as commander – and on September 24, 1862, commissioned McKinley a second lieutenant for gallantry in the field. McKinley continued with the regiment throughout the war, reaching the rank of captain. On March 13, 1865, he was brevetted major, a title by which he was known in later life.

When he was mustered out, McKinley began the study of law in the office of an Ohio judge and completed his preparation at the Albany (New York) Law School. He was admitted to the bar in 1867 and opened an office in Canton, Ohio. Immediately becoming active as a Republican, he worked on behalf of Ulysses S. Grant's successful candidacy in the presidential campaign of 1868.

McKinley's own political career began the next year, when he was elected prosecuting attorney for Ohio's Stark County – an unusual achievement for a Republican since the county was normally Democratic. McKinley loyally supported the candidacy of his former commander, Rutherford B. Hayes, for the governorship of Ohio in 1875 and attracted national attention with his speeches in favor of the resumption of specie payments.

Elected to the US House of Representatives in 1876, McKinley served there for seven terms, which were interrupted by only a single defeat – in 1882. In time, he became the Republican leader in the House and rose to the chairmanship of the Ways and Means Committee. A highly protective tariff act drawn up by that committee was known by his name.

McKinley lost the election of 1890 as a result

of a reapportionment of Ohio's congressional districts, when Democrats in control of the state legislature gerrymandered his district to give their party a majority. However, the defeat represented hardly a pause in his upward career. He was elected governor of Ohio on the Republican ticket in 1891 and was easily reelected in 1893. With this triumph behind him, he was nominated by the Republicans for the presidency in 1896 and elected over William Jennings Bryan, the Democratic-Populist candidate, by an electoral vote of 271 to 176.

The chief event during McKinley's presidency was the Spanish-American War of 1898 (see April 21), which he carried to what was regarded as a successful end. The treaty of peace that concluded the war provided that Spain withdraw from Cuba and cede Puerto Rico, the island of Guam, and the Philippine Islands (upon payment of an indemnity of $20 million) to the United States.

With Bryan as the Democratic candidate, McKinley was reelected President in 1900. But his tenure was short. In 1901, he was fatally shot while holding a public reception at the Pan American Exposition in Buffalo, New York (see September 6). He died on September 14.

Although the observance is now less widespread than formerly, the anniversary of McKinley's birth for years was observed as Carnation Day in many parts of the country. The celebration was proposed by Lewis G. Reynolds of Dayton, Ohio. In a letter to the editor of the New York *Tribune*, published on January 22, 1903, he said:

> It is proper that some annual observance be held in memory of William McKinley. The same loyal impulse that prompted the stoppage of almost all the wheels of industry for those few moments on the day of his burial may find annual expression in this tribute suggested by the Carnation League. The plan of the movement is a simple, inexpensive and attractive one and can be taken part in by the old and the young of either sex. A beautiful, fragrant flower worn in the lapel of the coat or at the throat or in the hair in silent memory of a public servant whose life was forfeited because he was our servant is what is contemplated. The fact that the carnation was President McKinley's favorite flower and was always found in his buttonhole is the reason for its choice as a league symbol. On all other days of the year it will be what it is today—the common people's flower—but on September 14 [it was first proposed to observe the day of McKinley's death] it becomes especially the President's flower and will be worn in silent tribute to his memory. . . . If the Carnation League of America serves the purpose of a perennial memorial to a faithful public servant and at the same time fosters a national brotherhood of patriotism it will be worthy of our people.

The Carnation League was formally organized on January 29, 1903, with a dozen distinguished active trustees, President Theodore Roosevelt, the governor of Ohio, and the Ohio senators as honorary trustees.

Although it was in 1903 that McKinley's birthday became known as Carnation Day, a notable anniversary observance already had taken place in 1902. That year, a memorial association organized to raise money for a monument to McKinley's memory persuaded the governors of many states to issue proclamations calling upon the people to gather in public places to honor the memory of the dead President, and suggesting that special services be held in the schools. Such public meetings and memorial services were widely held and many who attended them wore carnations in the buttonholes of their coats.

At one noteworthy later observance of McKinley's birthday, held by the now defunct Tippecanoe Club of Cleveland in 1908, the principal speaker was William Howard Taft, then secretary of war, later President, who reflected upon "that which I think will be ever remembered as [among] the great and distinguishing characteristics of McKinley's administration – the expansion of the United States into a world power." For in the opinion of Taft, which was not shared by everyone, "That which really [distinguished] the administration of McKinley [was] the war with Spain and the expansion which followed it."

McKinley's association with the red carnation dated from 1876, when nursery owner Levi L. Lamborn of Alliance, Ohio, who publicly debated McKinley in that year's congressional contest, made certain before each debate that his opponent was provided with a carnation boutonniere. The carnation became McKinley's favorite flower and during his presidency he had several fresh blossoms sent to him every day from the White House conservatories. Callers frequently asked him for the flower he was wearing as a souvenir of their visit. The red carnation became the official state flower of Ohio in 1904, upon action of the state legislature.

In 1959, the legislature officially designated Alliance as the home of the state flower. Every other year, when the Ohio General Assembly is in session, its Republican members observe January 29 as Carnation Day. At the suggestion of Republican Frank T. Bow, the Representative in Washington of what once was McKinley's 16th Ohio District, congressional Republicans from Ohio began in 1963 to hold similar anniversary celebrations.

Residents of Alliance – which has adopted

for itself the nickname Carnation City – have been growing red carnations ever since McKinley was presented with one during the 1876 campaign speech at Alliance. Although there is no connection with his birthday, McKinley is indirectly called to mind by the week-long Carnation Festival, which Alliance holds annually, usually during the second week in August. The festival includes a parade, the selection of a carnation queen, and a dance.

Canton, Ohio, McKinley's long-time home, honors him more directly. The imposing McKinley State Memorial, set in Monument Park and housing McKinley's tomb, was built with the contributions of more than a million Americans. The Stark County Historical Society Museum, next to it, includes McKinley memorabilia. There is also a handsome memorial building at Niles, where McKinley was born, dedicated in his honor on October 5, 1917.

Thomas Paine's Birthday

Thomas Paine, the propagandist and humanitarian whose writings on independence inflamed colonial minds by clarifying the issues for which the American Revolution would be fought, was born at Thetford, Norfolk, England, on January 29, 1737. Forced by poverty to leave school at the age of 13, he joined his Quaker father in the trade of corset making. He followed this trade intermittently in various parts of England and also worked at one time or another as a sailor, excise officer, tobacconist, grocer, and schoolteacher – meanwhile educating himself by wide reading of political, social, and scientific works.

In England, however, Paine was oppressed by want; by the death of his first wife and an unhappy second marriage; and by his frustration at the seemingly wide gap between what he was and what he felt capable of becoming. Armed with letters of introduction from Benjamin Franklin, whom he had met in London, he emigrated to Philadelphia in the fall of 1774.

There, he became editor of the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, attached himself to the patriot cause, and soon showed himself the master of a pen that could set men on fire. His pamphlet *Common Sense*, arguing that the American colonies owed no allegiance to the British crown and "should forthwith be independent," was published in January 1776 and had a decisive effect in the colonies, where public opinion hovered irresolutely between the alternatives of limited revolt and an attempt to gain independence. Though it did nothing to alter the apathy of some, the pamphlet, in the understated words of George Washington, "worked a powerful change in the minds of many men." Six months after the publication of *Common Sense*, the Declaration of Independence was adopted by the Second Continental Congress, meeting in Philadelphia, on July 4, 1776. The clashes later recognized as the beginning of the American Revolution already had taken place in 1775 at Lexington and Concord (see April 19, Patriots' Day) and at Bunker Hill (see June 17). After the Declaration, however, the course of the former colonists was set for nothing short of total independence.

Paine served briefly in Washington's army in 1776, and on a November night during the New Jersey retreat demonstrated the truth of a comment Franklin had made: that while some could rule and many could fight, "only Paine can write for us." Huddled over a drum, Paine poured his fervor into what became the first of *The Crisis* papers – starting with the memorable words "These are the times that try men's souls." Widely read and influential, *The Crisis* essays were issued in 11 additional and 4 supplementary numbers during the Revolution, and gave substantial encouragement to the new nation's first patriots.

During the late 1770s, Paine served as secretary of the congressional committee on foreign affairs and then as clerk of the Pennsylvania assembly. In 1781 he went with John Laurens to France, successfully seeking financial aid for the former colonies. At the suggestion of Washington, Congress voted Paine $800 for his services to the nation. He was subsequently presented by the state of New York with a 300-acre farm at New Rochelle; by Pennsylvania with £500; and by Congress with an additional $3,000 in 1785.

After the Revolution, Paine spent the years 1787 to 1802 in England and France. Although his original purpose was to enlist interest in an iron bridge of his invention, he attracted more attention as a propagandist bent on turning both England and France into republics – initially with his *Rights of Man* (1791 and 1792), defending the actions of the French Revolution, which had begun in 1789. The publication gave a spirited defense of the republican form of government with a written constitution, universal male suffrage, and no artificial distinctions of birth and rank – which, said Paine, was the only way that man's "natural rights" could be guaranteed. The sentiments did not win Paine the friendship of the British government, which indicted him for treason and suppressed the pamphlet, fearing that it would lead (as Paine hoped) to revolution.

Before he could be brought to trial, however,

he escaped to France and rapidly became involved in revolutionary politics there. Named a French citizen, he was elected a delegate to the revolutionary National Convention, which discussed the deposition of King Louis XVI. Paine, who played a significant role in French revolutionary affairs, served a year in the convention. He was attached to the moderate Girondist party and counseled exile, rather than execution, for the king, arousing the suspicion of Robespierre and the increasingly radical Jacobins. After the Jacobins had crushed the Girondists and instituted the Reign of Terror, Paine was arrested and imprisoned for about 10 months, beginning on December 28, 1793. Late the next year, after the fall of Robespierre, he was reinstated in the convention.

Paine's controversial *Age of Reason*, which appeared in two parts in 1794 and 1796, was a defense of deism, the doctrine that reason and nature, as seen in the logical design of the cosmos, are in themselves, and without benefit of supernatural revelation, sufficient proof of the existence of God. Although *The Age of Reason* attacked a strictly literal interpretation of the Bible, it was, in Paine's words, written "lest in the general wreck of superstition . . . we lose sight of morality . . . humanity, and . . . the theology that is true."

Thomas Jefferson's favorable comment upon the work put Paine squarely in the line of fire between Jefferson and the Federalists who were trying to undermine Jefferson. Toward that end, they falsely accused Paine of being an atheist, a charge that long persisted. It can also be said that Paine's own tactlessness, and such works as his vitriolic *Letter to Washington* (1796) did not increase his popularity.

When Paine returned to the United States in 1802 he discovered that although his services to the cause of freedom had not been wholly forgotten, he was nonetheless almost completely ostracized. He spent his last seven years in poverty and deteriorating health. After his death in New York City on June 8, 1809, he was buried in a corner of his farm at New Rochelle, where a monument was erected to him in 1839. His body, however, was removed to England in 1819 at the direction of the British journalist and reformer William Cobbett.

It was not long after the death of Paine, whose religious beliefs found partial expression in Unitarianism, that religious freethinkers began to observe the anniversary of his birth on January 29. In Boston, for example, it was for some years their custom to decorate their houses and places of business with flags on that date.

A dinner in New York on the 1910 anniversary of his birth was marked by the unveiling of a wax statue of Paine. The statue was later placed in the Thomas Paine Memorial Building at 983 North Avenue, New Rochelle, New York, on Paine's former farmland. The building, open five afternoons a week as a museum, was constructed in 1925 (with inventor Thomas Edison turning the first shovelful of dirt) for the express purpose of honoring Paine and housing some of his letters and personal effects — among them the Franklin stove presented to Paine by Benjamin Franklin. It also contains the Hufeland Collection of New York State and Westchester County materials from the revolutionary period. The cottage in which Paine lived, a two-minute walk from the Memorial Building and on the same 300-acre site, also can be visited by the public. The buildings and grounds are owned by the Huguenot-Thomas Paine Historical Association, a merger of the Huguenot and Historical Association and the Thomas Paine National Historical Association.

Despite the controversy that marked his seldom placid life, Paine is respected as a patriot and leading figure of the American Revolution. A bust of Paine was added to the Hall of Fame for Great Americans in New York City in 1945. Some of his original writings are housed in Philadelphia's Independence Hall.

The Huguenot-Thomas Paine National Historical Association honors him by meeting annually on the Sunday nearest his birthday at the museum in New Rochelle and from time to time a wreath is laid at the Paine monument there.

JANUARY 30

Franklin D. Roosevelt's Birthday

One of the United States' most influential Presidents, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the 32nd to hold the office, was born on January 30, 1882, on his family's Hudson Valley estate at Hyde Park, New York. Roosevelt began his presidency during the darkest days of the Great Depression, giving decisive leadership to an apprehensive nation on the brink of despair. He was still at the helm eight years later when the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor precipitated the United States' entry into World War II, and he guided the country's course until almost the end of that global conflict. In all, he served as President a little more than 12 years, longer than any other person, and they were 12 of the most crucial years in the history of the nation.

January 30, the anniversary of Roosevelt's

birth, is a legal holiday in Kentucky and in the US Virgin Islands. He is honored on that day or others by citizens from many parts of the world. Not the least of the honors is the resurgence of interest in his life in recent years. One evidence of this is the steady flow of visitors – some 300,000 each year – to his home at Hyde Park, which is now known as the Home of Franklin D. Roosevelt National Historic Site, administered by the National Park Service and comprising more than 93 acres. Also a magnet for visitors is the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at the same site, which is administered by the National Archives and Records Service. Throngs – up to a quarter of a million annually – visit the museum section of the library, which is open to the public. Scholars and writers who have made advance written application use the book collection and presidential papers in the library. In 1973 J. C. James, director of the library, reported that it had become the third busiest research center in the field of American history, ranking after the Library of Congress and the National Archives in Washington, D.C.

Roosevelt's birthday is now customarily marked annually at his grave at Hyde Park by family members, friends, and representatives of various organizations. The 11:00 A.M. ceremony begins when members of a color guard of cadets from the US Military Academy at West Point march into the quarter-acre rose garden where the President is buried and take their places in front of his grave. Wreaths are laid by a representative of the Roosevelt Home Club of Hyde Park, by the director of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, and by representatives of the local March of Dimes organization and of the Lafayette post of the American Legion. A family member then places cut flowers – traditionally yellow and white chrysanthemums – on his grave. Following this the superintendent of the military academy presents the "President's wreath," and a prayer is offered at the graveside. The ceremony concludes with three volleys by a ceremonial firing squad from the academy, followed by the playing of taps.

On a personal level, the story of Roosevelt's presidency is the story of a physical handicap overcome; and for years, many of the observances of his birthday were related to this fact. He was 39 and already involved in an active political life when he was stricken in August 1921 with poliomyelitis, or infantile paralysis, at his summer home on Campobello Island, off the Maine-New Brunswick coast – a retreat that the First Ladies of the United States and Canada dedicated as Roosevelt Campobello International Park in August 1964.

Roosevelt was severely afflicted with polio and for a time doctors despaired of his life. He survived, however, but with both legs and his lower abdomen paralyzed. In the course of years he gained the ability to walk with crutches and then with a cane while his legs were supported by iron braces. Three years after he was stricken, Roosevelt went to Warm Springs, Georgia, and found so much help from swimming in the warm pool there that he acquired the springs, a nearby hotel and cottages, and some 1,200 acres of land. After the American Orthopedic Association had confirmed his findings by experiments with other paralytics, Roosevelt, in January 1927, established the nonprofit Georgia Warm Springs Foundation for the benefit of other polio sufferers. In 1938, the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis was incorporated with Roosevelt as founder. With support from the foundation's annual March of Dimes, new vaccines were developed that have almost obliterated the threat of polio.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt was descended on his father's side from Claes Martenszan van Rosenvelt, who arrived in New Amsterdam about 1649 from the Netherlands. The New World ancestors of his mother, the former Sara Delano, dated back to Philippe de la Noye, of French-Dutch lineage, who arrived in Plymouth colony in the 1620s. James Roosevelt, the father of FDR (as he came to be called), was vice president of the Delaware & Hudson Railroad and lived on the estate at Hyde Park that his family had owned for a hundred years. His only child grew up there, educated by governesses and tutors, and spent summer vacations on Campobello Island, where he developed a lifetime interest in ships and sailing.

At 14, Franklin Roosevelt, a reserved boy, was sent to the strict Groton School in Groton, Massachusetts, where he sometimes "felt left out" and was an intelligent but not outstanding student. He entered Harvard in 1900, and it was during his freshman year there that his father died. While studying at the university, Roosevelt was a member of, among others, the Fly and Hasty Pudding clubs, both of which he served as librarian; and he did well scholastically. Indeed, he finished the requirements for his A.B. degree in three years, but stayed on for a fourth in order to serve as editor-in-chief of the *Harvard Crimson*.

By then, two important developments had taken place. First, Roosevelt's interest in politics had been intensified by the career of his fifth cousin, Republican Theodore Roosevelt (see October 27). As William McKinley's Vice President, "Teddy" Roosevelt, as he was affec-

tionately known, succeeded to the presidency on September 14, 1901, after McKinley had been shot by an assassin (see September 6). TR won election to the presidency in his own right in 1904 and one of the votes contributing to his substantial victory was that of his cousin Franklin Roosevelt, afterward a lifelong Democrat.

The second important development was marriage. During his years at Harvard, FDR had fallen in love with his shy fifth-cousin-once-removed, Anna Eleanor Roosevelt, self-described as the "ugly duckling" of her socially prominent family. Eleanor Roosevelt, who was to win such admiration in the course of her lifetime that she would ultimately be referred to as the First Lady of the World (see October 11), was the niece of Theodore Roosevelt, and it was he who gave her away when she married Franklin Roosevelt on March 17, 1905.

FDR meanwhile had entered Columbia Law School in the fall of 1904. Following a delayed honeymoon in Europe, the young couple lived in a house on East 36th Street in New York City. The first of their six children (one of whom died in infancy) was born in 1906. After Roosevelt passed the New York bar examination in 1907, he began to practice law in New York City with the firm of Carter, Ledyard and Milburn, an association that lasted about three years. One of his fellow law clerks later recalled his having explained during this period that he wanted, at the first chance, to run for public office and that he would, in fact, like to be President.

While practicing law – in which he had only limited interest, though he felt zest for trying cases in court – Roosevelt also spent a good deal of time at Hyde Park managing the family property and participating in community affairs in Hyde Park and the surrounding Dutchess County area. The opportunity to run for office was not long in coming. As the son of a leading local family, he was offered his district's Democratic nomination for the state Senate in 1910. He was elected after an energetic campaign, even though the district usually voted Republican, and he was reelected in 1912. In Albany, he attracted notice as the leader of a band of insurgents who rebelled against the dominance of Tammany Hall in New York City Democratic politics. In 1911 and 1912 he was prominent in the effort to secure the Democratic presidential nomination for Woodrow Wilson, organizing independent Democrats for Wilson and leading an unofficial delegation to the Democratic convention in Baltimore. After Wilson's election Roosevelt was offered several posts in the new administration. He accepted with enthusiasm the one that meshed with his longtime interest in the sea, serving in Washington as assistant secretary of the navy from 1913 to 1920. Commenting on the appointment, Theodore Roosevelt wrote FDR, "It is interesting to see that you are in another place which I myself once held."

However, although Franklin Roosevelt served creditably in the post, his upward political mobility slowed at this point. His run for the US Senate in 1914 was unsuccessful and although he was nominated as Vice President in 1920 on a ticket headed by James M. Cox, the Democrats lost the presidency that year to Republican Warren G. Harding, whose running mate was Calvin Coolidge. Then came the crippling attack of polio of August 1921, which imperiled not only Roosevelt's political career, but even his life.

Roosevelt's optimism and refusal to accept defeat in the face of this adversity are by now legendary. They shed light on a similar attitude he was to exhibit in a much wider sphere, and with effects on the entire nation, just over a decade later. Determined to regain his health, he ignored his mother's exhortations to retire to a life of leisure (and semi-invalidism) at Hyde Park, and set up for himself a strenuous program of exercise – particularly swimming, which he found most helpful. The effort occupied a large part of his time for the next several years. Through it all, however, his fundamental preoccupation with politics never waned and he kept up an extensive correspondence that kept him in touch with political figures across the nation.

By 1924, his vitality had returned and he resumed work. Dissolving his association with Emmet, Marvin and Roosevelt, the law partnership he had begun with Langdon Marvin in 1910 and reentered in 1920, he entered into a new law partnership with Basil O'Connor. He also resumed his work with the New York office of a surety bonding firm, the Fidelity and Deposit Company of Maryland, of which he had become a vice president after his campaign for the vice presidency of the United States in 1920.

The year 1924 also marked Roosevelt's return to national politics, when he proceeded by wheelchair and then on crutches to the platform at the Democratic National Convention in New York and electrified the gathering with his speech proposing Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York as the party's nominee for President. Although the nomination went to another, Smith was forever after known by Roosevelt's characterization of him as the Happy Warrior.

On the suggestion of an old friend who had written about the restorative potential of the warm, natural springs he owned in western Georgia, Roosevelt proceeded to that spot as soon as the convention was over and found so much help there that he returned the following spring. It was not until 1927 that he purchased this property, vesting title in the Warm Springs Foundation. In the meantime, other polio victims, reading of Roosevelt's "swimming himself back to health," began to flock to the place. Since it was not yet staffed with medical personnel, it was Roosevelt himself who inspired his fellow paralytics with his optimism and supervised their exercises. Ultimately he ventured perhaps as much as two-thirds of his none-too-ample inheritance on the acquisition and upkeep of the Warm Springs center.

In 1928 Roosevelt, then able to walk with braces and canes, again nominated Smith, who became the Democratic candidate for President but who was substantially defeated by the Republican candidate, Herbert Hoover. The same year, Smith persuaded Roosevelt – who had intended for health reasons to spend another two years in private life – to run as the Democratic candidate for governor of New York State. After a vigorous campaign, and in the face of the Republican sweep of most of the nation, Roosevelt was successful in his bid, and he was reelected governor in 1930. His term in that office was one more in a series of similarities between his career in politics and that of his older cousin Theodore Roosevelt.

The Great Depression meanwhile had begun, following the stock market crash of 1929 (see October 29), and it was against this background that the Democrats met at Chicago in 1932 to choose a candidate for President. On the fourth ballot the delegates chose Roosevelt. Characteristically breaking precedent, he flew to Chicago to accept the nomination in person, and pledged in his acceptance speech "a new deal for the American people." His energetic election campaign emphasized the plight of the "forgotten man at the bottom of the economic pyramid." With his vice presidential running mate, John Nance Garner, Roosevelt won overwhelmingly in November over the ticket headed by President Hoover, gaining over 22 million popular votes to the Republicans' 15 million; and 472 electoral college votes to the Republicans' 59.

The nation's economic crisis deepened in the period between election day and Roosevelt's inauguration on March 4, 1933. By the time he had taken office, the nation's unemployed numbered between 12 and 15 million; one-seventh of the population was subsisting on public or private relief; industrial production was down to about half that of 1929; factory gates by the hundreds had closed; ships and locomotives stood idle; and some 5,504 banks had failed. A mood bordering on panic pervaded the nation. Roosevelt, however, was prepared for action. In the interim between election and inauguration, he had gathered around him a group of advisers later referred to as his Brain Trust. They and other experts set their minds to devising programs to meet the crisis.

On Inauguration Day, a Saturday, the new President set the tone for what was to come. Jaunty, confident, and optimistic, he declared in his inaugural address that "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself." On Sunday, March 5, he issued two proclamations. One called the 73rd Congress to meet in special session on Thursday, March 9. The other declared a four-day bank holiday beginning on Monday, March 6, which closed all the nation's banks. Those of demonstrated soundness, a large majority, were permitted to reopen soon afterward under new, stricter controls.

Roosevelt's New Deal began with a series of messages to Congress, interspersed with specific legislation proposed to implement them, which he fired off in rapid order. The country and its legislators were ready for strong leadership. During Roosevelt's famous first "Hundred Days" in office, the special session of Congress acted with breathtaking speed to pass more legislation of consequence than had ever been enacted in any comparable peacetime period, jolting a desperate nation out of its paralysis and starting it on the road to recovery.

Aimed at supplying relief, bringing economic recovery, and avoiding crises of such serious dimensions in the future, the measures were designed to, among other things, stabilize the banking system, create jobs, give financial assistance to the needy, insure better farm income, protect home owners and investors, begin a vast program of public works, and reform dealings in investments and securities. The titles of some of the measures are indicative of their scope: the Emergency Banking Act (March 9); the Emergency Farm Mortgage Act (May 12); the Federal Securities Act (May 27), requiring full information on new issues and in other ways protecting investors; the National Employment System Act (June 6); the Home Owners Refinancing Act (June 13); the Glass-Steagall Banking Act, creating the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (June 16); the Farm Credit Act (June 16).

Numerous government agencies were established – among them such "alphabet" agencies

as the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC, created on March 31), which provided work in reforestation, road construction, flood control, soil protection and national park projects for up to a quarter million 18-to-25-year-olds; the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA, May 12), which undertook to raise agricultural purchasing power by subsidizing farmers to curtail basic crops in an effort to eliminate surpluses and raise prices; the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA, May 12); and the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA, May 18), which involved the government in a precedent-setting effort at regional planning and development designed to benefit residents in a seven-state area. The TVA eventually created a series of 16 dams, provided electrical power and fertilizers, among other things, and contributed to navigation, flood control, land cultivation, and reforestation in the region. Also born in the hundred-day period were the National Recovery Administration (NRA), created under the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA, June 16), which provided for industrial self-regulation under federal supervision and included among its goals increased production and employment, prevention of ruinous competition, extension to labor of the right to organize and bargain collectively, and the realization of higher wages and a shorter work week. Also established under the NIRA was the Public Works Administration (PWA), which sought to "prime the pump" of consumer power by adding to employment and business activity by means of a substantial public works program for the construction of roads, public buildings, military airports, and other facilities. The Works Progress (or Projects) Administration (WPA), a huge federal work program consolidating earlier relief efforts (other than the CCC and PWA, which continued separately) was added to the list of alphabet agencies in May 1935. Before its official termination in the early 1940s, the WPA had expended more than $11 million, providing jobs for some 8 million persons. Its more than 250,000 projects emphasized various kinds of construction work and improvements, and also included special writing, art, theater, and music projects whose influence long outlasted the WPA. Supplementing the WPA was the National Youth Administration (NYA), which provided part-time work, usually in schools, colleges, and universities, for 16-to-25-year-olds.

There were other key measures during Roosevelt's first administration. An act was passed creating the Securities and Exchange Commission, with power to regulate stock exchanges and dealings in securities. Congress approved the National Labor Relations (or Wagner-Connery) Act (July 5, 1935), which reasserted labor's right to bargain collectively, strengthened guarantees against coercion by employers, and established the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) with power to supervise elections (when so requested) to determine employees' choice of a bargaining unit to represent them. The NLRB also was authorized to certify the duly selected union. The Social Security Act was passed (August 14, 1935) to provide old-age insurance and unemployment compensation. Particularly controversial was Roosevelt's program to redistribute the burden of taxes according to ability to pay. Legislation was passed to move toward this goal via inheritance levies, income surtaxes, corporation taxes, and other measures – which his critics labeled as a "soak the rich" approach. During Roosevelt's first term in office, the United States also went off the gold standard. In foreign affairs the nation embarked on the President's Good Neighbor policy in its relations with Latin America and also extended diplomatic recognition to the USSR.

Roosevelt was renominated by acclamation at the Democratic National Convention held in Philadelphia in June 1936. He won reelection in November by a precedent-shattering margin: with a plurality of more than 11 million in the popular vote and all but eight of the electoral votes, he carried every state except Maine and Vermont against the Republican ticket headed by Governor Alfred M. Landon of Kansas. In early 1937 Roosevelt became the first President inaugurated under the terms of the 20th Amendment to the US Constitution, which set January 20 as the date on which presidential terms begin.

His second inaugural address stressed the fact that, despite past accomplishments, a great deal remained to be done; that still, as he phrased it, "I see one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished." Reforms strengthening or extending the earlier New Deal legislation were enacted during his second term as President, as were acts to replace some New Deal measures that had been declared unconstitutional by a Supreme Court that was increasingly hostile to his program. Among the new enactments were the Bituminous Coal Act; the Farm Tenancy Act; and the Wagner-Steagall Housing Act of 1937, which established the US Housing Authority to assist in the provision of low-income housing. Also passed – in 1938 – were the second Agricultural Adjustment Act; the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, containing important provisions for consumer protection and providing for their enforcement by the

Food and Drug Administration and Federal Trade Commission; and the Fair Labor Standards Act establishing minimum wages and providing for the 40-hour work week.

But the passage of Roosevelt-proposed measures in Congress was increasingly an uphill battle. The New Deal had won ardent admirers. It had pulled the country back from the verge of despair and had established the concept that government, through appropriate regulation of a free society, had a responsibility for maintaining the economic well-being of citizens. But it also had inspired impassioned opposition. Included among the dissenters were not only bankers and businessmen who deplored the deficit financing that helped pay for costly New Deal programs and resented what they saw as too much government regulation, but also other citizens who feared that New Deal concepts would destroy private enterprise and impair such traditional American qualities as frugality, initiative, self-reliance, and the "rugged individualism" that had been prized since pioneer days.

The recession of 1937, which political opponents were quick to call the "Roosevelt recession," did nothing to ease the way of additional New Deal legislation through Congress. Neither did the industrial strife that characterized the late 1930s as labor, with the encouragement of earlier New Deal measures, moved rapidly to organize. Roosevelt's controversial attempt to enlarge – critics said "pack" – the nine-member Supreme Court brought additional antagonism. His proposal, bitterly opposed, died in committee in the Senate, even though he eventually achieved his goal of having a more liberal Supreme Court, especially as a succession of retirements gave him the unusual opportunity to appoint seven new justices, by 1941.

Across the Atlantic, meanwhile, dictatorship and aggression had begun to appear. Most Americans, exhausted by the depression and wary of foreign entanglements, were content, for a time, to look the other way. The tide of isolationism ran strong. Roosevelt was quicker than most of his compatriots to recognize the danger to democracies and all Western civilization in such events as Italy's conquest of Ethiopia in 1935 under the Fascist dictator Benito Mussolini; dictator Francisco Franco's accession to power in the Spanish Civil War of 1936–1939; militaristic Japan's policy of aggression toward China; and especially the actions of Adolf Hitler, the Nazi dictator, who had come to power in Germany in 1933. Under Hitler Germany had remilitarized the Rhineland in 1936; adopted a policy of increasingly oppressive anti-Semitism; annexed Austria in 1938; swallowed up Czechoslovakia in 1938 and 1939; and invaded Poland on September 1, 1939. The last act, which precipitated declarations of war against Germany by Britain and France two days later, marked the beginning of World War II in Europe (see September 1).

Though their prime concern at first was to stay out of the war, most Americans were sympathetic toward Britain, France, and the other Allies and opposed to Germany and its Axis partners, particularly as world domination, brutality, oppression, and the extermination of Jews came to be seen with growing clarity as the deliberate policy of the Nazi-led Axis. As the true nature of the threat became ever more clear – especially after Hitler's blitzkrieging legions swept Norway, Denmark, the Low Countries, and France in 1940, leaving a heroically defiant Britain alone against the advancing tide – the US public's desire to stay out of war began to be increasingly outweighed by its concern for the survival of the free world.

During the country's slow transition away from isolationism, Roosevelt took what actions he could to strengthen the United States and increase its preparedness in the face of the growing menace. He secured congressional appropriations for expansion of a two-ocean US Navy and, after the fighting had begun in Europe in September 1939, he persuaded a special session of Congress to repeal the arms embargo provision of the Neutrality Act of 1937 so that Britain and France could buy arms from the United States on a cash-and-carry basis. As the disasters of 1940 unfolded in Europe, and particularly after the fall of France, his requests for defense appropriations increased. Directly or through intermediaries the US government released for British use mounting stores of "old" or surplus arms, munitions, and aircraft. Then, as the battle of Britain raged, with German bombers blasting that island fortress in preparation for an expected invasion, Roosevelt acted in September to transfer 50 overage US destroyers to the British in exchange for 99-year leases on eight naval and air bases in the Western Hemisphere. The action, by executive order and without the approval of Congress, was controversial, provoking protests from noninterventionists. Later the same month the President signed the Selective Training and Service Act, the nation's first peacetime draft, which Congress had passed after months of debate. A scant 11 days later, Japan officially joined the Axis.

Against this backdrop, Roosevelt meanwhile had been nominated as the Democratic con-

tender for the presidency in the 1940 election and had chosen Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace as his vice presidential running mate. The Republicans had nominated for President the affable internationalist Wendell L. Willkie, who ran with Senator Charles L. McNary of Oregon. During the campaign both Roosevelt and Willkie went on record as opposing US entry into the war, but as supporting hemispheric defense and aid to embattled Britain. Roosevelt won the November election – becoming the first person ever to hold the presidency for three terms – but with a plurality under 5 million, smaller than his previous margins.

On December 29 the President, in one of his famous radio "fireside chats," emphasized the global nature of the Axis threat and urged a huge effort to increase production and turn the still technically neutral United States into the "arsenal of democracy." Recognizing that Britain soon would exhaust its ability to buy arms on a cash basis, Roosevelt, in his annual message to Congress on January 6, 1941, urged adoption of what became the Lend-Lease Act. This legislation, signed into law on March 11, provided that any nation whose defense the President judged essential to that of the United States could be loaned arms and supplies on the understanding that they could be returned or replaced – either in kind, or by goods, services, or other benefits – after the end of hostilities. Initially intended primarily for Britain and Nationalist China, Lend-Lease assistance was later extended to other countries, eventually reaching a total of more than $50 billion. Britain's Prime Minister Winston Churchill referred to the legislation as the "most unsordid act in the history of any nation."

Such a policy, the President had hoped in his January message to Congress, would make possible a "world founded upon four essential human freedoms" – freedom of speech and expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear (see January 6, The "Four Freedoms" Enunciated). Anglo-US goals were defined further in the Atlantic Charter (see August 14). This declaration of common principles, formulated during Roosevelt and Churchill's August 1941 meetings off the coast of Newfoundland, came to serve as a statement of the war aims of the Allies.

With passage of the Lend-Lease Act in March 1941, the United States, still technically neutral, had all but abandoned its claim to that status. Events moved rapidly during the remainder of 1941. Adding to their earlier conquests, the Axis powers were moving relentlessly across Eastern Europe and the war had spread to North Africa (see November 8). In April the United States agreed to defend Greenland against invasion, declaring it vital to the security of the Western Hemisphere. As the international situation worsened, President Roosevelt, on May 27, proclaimed an unlimited national emergency. In June he ordered the freezing of all German and Italian assets in the United States and directed German and Italian consulates to be closed. In July he announced that, by agreement with Iceland, US forces would take over the defense of that country for the duration of the war, and would keep ship convoy lines open as far as Iceland.

As summer turned to fall, German submarines operating in the Atlantic increasingly took their toll of ships carrying goods to Britain. American ships in the Iceland area were among those the Nazi raiders attacked, triggering several reactions. After an attack on the US destroyer *Greer* in early September, ships of the US Navy, theretofore forbidden to shoot unless fired upon, were given new orders on September 11: in Roosevelt's words, "American naval vessels and American planes will no longer wait until Axis submarines . . . strike [the first blow]." Early the next month he asked Congress to repeal the most restrictive parts of the Neutrality Act of 1939, a request Congress granted in mid-November. Thereafter, previously defenseless US merchant ships were armed. For the first time, they also were allowed to go to Allied ports with military supplies, meaning that they could travel all the way to England.

As US friendship was demonstrated in increasingly specific ways, Britain meanwhile had gained another powerful ally in an unexpected quarter. In an incredible gamble, Hitler, who had had a mutual nonaggression pact with the Soviet Union since August 1939, suddenly invaded his supposed ally on June 22, 1941. Roosevelt pledged US aid to the attacked Russians two days later, and on July 12 Britain and the Soviet Union signed a pact of mutual assistance, which precluded the signing of a separate peace treaty with Germany by either power.

Any remaining ambiguity in the United States' increasingly unneutral stance was removed forever when Japan, the Far Eastern member of the Axis, suddenly attacked the US naval installation at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on December 7, 1941, "a date which," the President declared, "shall live in infamy." The next day he asked a suddenly united Congress to declare that "since [that] unprovoked and dastardly attack . . . a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese

Empire." Within four hours both houses of Congress had approved the declaration of war with only a single dissenting vote. On December 11 Japan's Axis partners, Germany and Italy, declared war against the United States – which reciprocated by declaring war on them the same day.

Although dismal years were ahead, the dreaded invasion of Britain and the feared Axis conquest of the entire free world were averted after the Allies took the offensive – first in North Africa; then in Sicily (see July 10) and on the Italian mainland; and ultimately with the long-awaited second front, beginning with the Allied invasion of France (see June 6, D Day) in 1944.

Roosevelt's role in the war was, of course, immense. He authorized a mammoth effort by scientists to develop an atomic bomb after fellow scientists had persuaded Albert Einstein (see March 15) to warn the President in 1939 about the potential of such a weapon – and the danger that German scientists, already on the track, would develop it first. As one of the major leaders of the free world, Roosevelt also was the author of, or participant in, the major decisions on how the war was to be conducted – where and when offensives were to be launched, in what order, and under whose command. His was an influential presence at the series of wartime conferences with Churchill and with the Soviet Russian Premier Joseph Stalin, the Nationalist Chinese leader Chiang Kai-shek, and others; and he cast his weight strongly in favor of the creation of a postwar organization designed to maintain peace.

In 1944, with the war still raging, Roosevelt was nominated by the Democrats for an unprecedented fourth term. With his vice presidential running mate, Harry S. Truman, he defeated the Republican candidates Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York and John W. Bricker of Ohio in November, with a plurality of 3.59 million. Before the election Roosevelt had contributed substantially to the conferences held at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, to plan for international monetary and financial cooperation in the postwar years, and at Dumbarton Oaks, near Washington, D.C., where a framework was drawn up for what later became the United Nations Organization. Soon after his fourth inauguration a plainly exhausted President Roosevelt left to meet with Churchill and Stalin in the February 1945 conference at Yalta in the Russian Crimea. There the leaders concerned themselves with specific measures for the final defeat of the Axis, including Russia's commitment to fight against Japan after Germany was defeated; with details of postwar occupation and boundaries; and with the "earliest possible establishment . . . of a general international organization to maintain peace and security."

To the immense relief of the free world, Germany surrendered in May 1945 (see May 8, V-E Day). The war in Asia (see December 7, Pearl Harbor Day; January 26, Douglas MacArthur's Birthday; February 24, Chester William Nimitz's Birthday) ended after the atomic bomb was dropped on two Japanese cities (see August 5) with effects so devastating that the world still lives in terror of the weapon. The Japanese capitulation followed shortly (see August 14, V-J Day, and September 2, World War II Ends).

President Roosevelt, however, did not live to see the final Allied victory. On April 12, 1945, he had been stricken with a massive cerebral hemorrhage at the Little White House, the modest home he had built at Warm Springs, Georgia, in 1932.

To the present time, everything in the house, which can now be visited by the public, remains as it was when he died, even to the unfinished portrait for which he was sitting at the time. The nearby Franklin D. Roosevelt Museum and Auditorium, situated in a 4,000-acre park, contains Roosevelt mementos and regularly exhibits a 12-minute film depicting his life at the springs. Flags and native stones from the 50 states line the walk that leads from the museum to a memorial fountain at the park's entrance. The entire property was deeded to the state of Georgia in 1947.

Roosevelt's body was taken from Warm Springs to Washington. The flag-draped coffin remained briefly in the East Room of the White House, while on the Capitol the flag flew at half-staff for the seventh President to die in office. Later, Roosevelt's body was taken to his family estate at Hyde Park, New York, and buried in the rose garden, the grave marked – as the President had requested – by a plain white marble tombstone bearing his name and the dates of his birth and death and, below that, the name and date of birth of his wife, Anna Eleanor Roosevelt. (She was buried beside him in 1962.) Apart from the customary wreath-laying ceremony on the President's birthday, the anniversary of his death is marked annually by a memorial service at the grave. In addition a major memorial observance takes place in the rose garden on Memorial Day, usually with a person of national prominence delivering the main address.

In contrast to the elaborate monuments to some other Presidents, the memorial to Roosevelt in Washington, D.C., is, as he had re-

quested, no bigger than his desktop and "plain, without any ornamentation." It is located in the center of what he had referred to as "that green plot in front of the Archives Building." It was dedicated on April 12, 1965, the 20th anniversary of his death. Proposals for a more elaborate memorial have been made from time to time, but agreement has not been reached on the form it should take. In New York City, Welfare Island was renamed Roosevelt Island in 1973 and a memorial to the late President was designed for its southern tip.

One innovation of President Roosevelt's has been of special importance to writers and scholars. He was the first Chief Executive to give his presidential and other papers to the government – which also received his extensive book collection and personal mementos, as well as 16 acres of his Hyde Park land as the site for a building to house them. Presidential papers previously had been considered the personal property of the various Presidents, with the result that from the time of George Washington, many items of historical interest had been treated in disparate and sometimes haphazard ways. Some were simply discarded; others, which fell into the hands of individuals or private institutions, were widely scattered; some were placed in the Library of Congress.

Accepting Roosevelt's gift, Congress, by a joint resolution approved on July 18, 1939, established the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library as a federal agency. The library, erected entirely from funds donated by the President's admirers, was accepted by the government on July 4, 1940. Its establishment created a precedent for the maintenance of presidential libraries by the government, which, by a 1955 act, was empowered to accept and maintain not only the historical materials of any President, but also buildings in which to preserve them.

The Roosevelt Library was substantially enlarged by addition of the Eleanor Roosevelt wings, dedicated on May 3, 1972. Virtually all of Franklin D. Roosevelt's papers, many of them previously subject to restriction, had become available for study by 1972.

JANUARY 31

James G. Blaine's Birthday

James G. Blaine, who at the height of his career was the most popular political leader in the country, was born in West Brownsville, Pennsylvania, on January 31, 1830. He was graduated from Washington (now Washington and Jefferson) College in Washington, Pennsylvania, at the age of 17. After spending the next half dozen years as a teacher and student of law in Kentucky and Pennsylvania, he moved to Augusta, Maine, and became part-owner and editor of the Kennebec *Journal* in 1854.

Attending the first national convention of the newly organized Republican party in 1856, he played an active role in the formation of the party in Maine. As a journalist he was instrumental in making the name Republican widely known in the East. In 1857 he became editor of the *Advertiser* in Portland, Maine, a position that he held for three years.

At the age of 28, Blaine was elected to the larger house of the state legislature in 1858, and rose to the post of speaker two years later. In the meantime, he had been made chairman of the Republican state committee. He was elected to the national House of Representatives in 1862 and served there until 1876 – as its Speaker from 1869 to 1875.

Blaine was an aspirant for the Republican presidential nomination in 1876, but the publication of what are known as the Mulligan letters, suggesting that he had used his political influence for his personal profit, weakened his support and he lost the nomination. Immediately after that year's election, however, he was appointed by the state of Maine to fill a vacancy in the US Senate. Soon afterwards he was elected to a full Senate term. Blaine was again a candidate for his party's presidential nomination in 1880, but failed for a second time to receive it.

Four years later, however, he finally did win the nomination and ran against Grover Cleveland (see March 18), whom the Democrats had named as their nominee. With the independent Republicans, or mugwumps, bolting the party ticket and opposing Blaine's election, Cleveland was successful. His success was by a narrow margin, however – so narrow that some observers laid the blame for Blaine's defeat on a single issue – his failure to repudiate promptly the speech of a supporter who called the Democrats the party of "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion." The offending speech, by the Reverend Samuel D. Burchard at New York City's Fifth Avenue Hotel on October 29, 1884, may have cost Blaine the support of Catholic voters in New York City; Blaine, who was present when the remark was made, may or may not have heard it. It is certain, in any event, that he lost the crucial state of New York; that he also lost the presidential election; and that it may, as often alleged, have been for this reason.

President James Garfield, elected in 1880,

had made Blaine secretary of state, but after the assassination of Garfield in 1881 (see July 2) Blaine resigned — although not before he had sought modification of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 between the United States and Great Britain. Modification of its terms was not accomplished until after Blaine's death, but when it did take place, with the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901, it laid the groundwork for the Panama Canal (see January 7) by making it possible for a canal entirely under US auspices to be constructed across the Isthmus of Panama.

Blaine became secretary of state a second time, under President Benjamin Harrison in 1889. It was through his interest in building a constructive foreign policy that Blaine made his most lasting contribution to history. With an international concern that was well ahead of his time, he was particularly noted for his consistent Pan-Americanism. Long the champion of an inter-American system that would provide for arbitration to offset tensions and prevent conflicts, and that also would facilitate planning of cooperative measures for the mutual advantage of the United States and Latin America, Blaine presided over the first Pan-American Conference (see October 2) during his second term as secretary of state. Also favoring increased trade within the hemisphere, he urged adoption of reciprocity treaties with Latin American nations that might contribute toward that end.

Blaine was the author of *Twenty Years of Congress*, an autobiographical work, and he also published a volume of political addresses. After his resignation from his State Department post in June of 1892, his health went rapidly downhill. He died in Washington, D.C., on January 27, 1893.

February

February (*Februarius,* derived from the Latin *februa,* feast of purification) is the second month in the Gregorian or New Style calendar in use today. It usually has 28 days, although in leap years (see February 29) it consists of 29. Like January, February was originally omitted from the early Roman calendar, which was composed of only 10 months, March through December. To complete the calendar year, the Romans inserted a blank number of days or an occasional intercalary month in the "dead" season of midwinter, between the last month of the year – December – and the first month of the next year – March. According to tradition, Numa Pompilius, the legendary second Roman king (about 715–672 B.C.), created the months of *Januarius* and *Februarius* out of this previously unnamed period. He is said to have inaugurated a complicated calendar, operating on a four-year cycle, in which the number of days allotted to February varied from 23 to 29, depending upon the year.

Julius Caesar revised the lengths of the months in his calendar reform, which was adopted in 45 B.C. (see Appendix, The Calendar). His calendar, which is now known as the Julian or Old Style calendar, made February 28 days long, but in every fourth year contained an extra day between February 23 and 24. The Romans, counting back from March 1 – the Kalends or first day of the month – called "both" February 24ths the sixth of the Kalends of March, hence the term *bissextile,* literally meaning "sixth twice," for a leap year. Another explanation, although no longer credited, has been given to account for the changes in the lengths of the months. This holds that Emperor Augustus, after it was proposed that a month be named for him, insisted out of vanity that the month contain 31 days – as many as the longer months. Specifically, he supposedly did not wish "his" month to have fewer days than July, named after Julius Caesar. Augustus, so the story goes, therefore "stole" time from February to add to August, which had previously had fewer than 31 days.

The name *Februarius* arose from the Roman ceremonies of religious purification and expiation, which took place during that month in anticipation of the new year, which originally began on March 1. Among the most important festivals was the *Lupercalia,* the ancient feast of fruitfulness, or fertility, on February 15. This celebration had originated in early Roman times, when the small settlement on the Palatine Hill earned its livelihood by cultivating the soil and keeping flocks and herds. The rites were under the supervision of a corporation of priests called the *Luperci,* divided into two colleges called *Quinctillani* and *Fabiani,* and each headed by a master (*magister*). In 44 B.C. a third college, the *Luperci Iulii,* was instituted in honor of Julius Caesar; and on February 15 of that year, Mark Antony, as its master, offered to make Caesar king, just a month before the latter's assassination. Shakespeare alludes to the *Lupercalia* in Mark Antony's famous oration in *Julius Caesar:* "You all did see that on the Lupercal / I thrice presented him a kingly crown, / Which he did thrice refuse. . . .

It is not known if the ritual honored some particular deity, such as the god "Lupercus," now recognized as a mere invention of past speculators. Some scholars, however, claim that the *Lupercalia* honored a pastoral deity, probably Faunus. Whatever the case, the *Lupercalian* rites began as the priests assembled in the cave of Lupercal on the southwestern part of the Palatine Hill, where Romulus and Remus, the legendary founders of Rome, were

supposed to have been nourished by a she-wolf. There the priests sacrificed goats and a young dog, after which the foreheads of two youthful *Luperci* of high rank were smeared with the blood of the victims. After the blood had been wiped off with wool dipped in milk, ritual required that the two youths laugh. Following a sacrificial feast, they stripped themselves naked to don only a loincloth fashioned from the skins of the slain goats. Holding strips of the hides, they ran around the walls of the old Palatine community, striking all those whom they encountered, but especially women, a process that was believed to ensure fertility and safe delivery in childbirth. The feast probably also served as a rustic purification rite to protect animals and crops.

The *Lupercalia* continued to be observed well into the Christian era. Several scholars contend that Pope Gelasius I introduced the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary, commonly called Candlemas (see February 2), in A.D. 494, to counteract the excesses of the pagan *Lupercalia*.

The Saxons called the month of February *Sprout-kale*, from the fact that kale sprouted at that season. They later changed the name to *Sol-monath* in recognition of the returning strength of the sun. Charlemagne used the designation *Hornung*, referring to the shedding of horns by stags. The lucky birthstone often associated with February is the amethyst.

FEBRUARY 1

Victor Herbert's Birthday

Victor Herbert, the composer, conductor, and cellist who is especially known for the operettas with which he brightened the American stage, was born in Dublin, Ireland, on February 1, 1859. He was the son of Edward Herbert, an attorney, and Fanny Lover Herbert. After the death of his father when young Herbert was three, he and his mother went to live for five years near London, in the home of his maternal grandfather, the Irish novelist, actor, painter, and musician Samuel Lover.

After his grandfather introduced him to music, his mother, an accomplished pianist, began giving him piano lessons. So obvious were his musical gifts that his grandfather urged that he be taken to Germany for further training. In 1867, accordingly, he went with his mother to a village on Lake Constance. After his mother met and married a German physician, Carl Schmid, the family moved to Stuttgart, where Victor Herbert received academic training at the gymnasium and studied music at the Stuttgart Conservatory, where he specialized in playing the cello. In addition he studied under Bernhard Cossmann, one of the virtuoso cellists of the century, in Baden-Baden. An eager pupil, Herbert recalled years later, "I had exceptional advantages. . . . My lessons were no fifteen-minute affairs, and then away at something else. I was under the constant eye of my master, and I could not help making rapid progress."

Launched upon a successful musical career, Herbert spent some four years touring Europe, giving solo performances and playing in both small-town and important symphony orchestras, principally in Germany and Austria, and also in France and Italy. Some of the orchestras were conducted by world-renowned musicians, Brahms, Liszt, and Saint-Saëns among them, and the experience provided rigorous training. At one point during this period – in 1882 – he became first cellist with the Eduard Strauss orchestra in Vienna. In 1883 he returned to Stuttgart, where he was engaged by the conductor of the Stuttgart Royal Orchestra, the violinist and composer Max Seifritz. Recognizing young Herbert's abilities in the field of composition, Seifritz gave him lessons in composition and orchestration and encouraged him to begin composing seriously. Herbert's first two works of consequence, a suite and a concerto, were introduced by the Stuttgart orchestra with himself as soloist.

By this time the tall, good-looking, Irish musician reportedly had become typically Teutonic in his mannerisms. He won the heart of Theresa Foerster, prima donna of the Vienna Court Opera, who was appearing in Stuttgart. When she was offered a contract with the Metropolitan Opera Company in New York City, she agreed to accept only on condition that Herbert, by then her fiancé, be employed as cellist with the Metropolitan Opera House orchestra. The young couple was married on August 14, 1886, and sailed for the United States soon afterwards.

From the moment he set foot on American soil until his death almost four decades later, Victor Herbert wholeheartedly embraced his adopted land and influenced and was influenced by its musical heritage. For a number of years, he won fame primarily as a leading cellist with such renowned orchestras as the Theodore Thomas Orchestra and the New York Philharmonic. However, from the late 1880s on, he also attracted increasing notice as a conductor. He served as associate conductor of the Worcester, Massachusetts, Festival, where his oratorio *The Captive* was performed in 1891. In 1893 he became bandmaster of the famous 22nd Regiment Band of the New York

National Guard; in 1898, principal conductor of the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra; and after 1904, director of his own concert assemblage – the immensely popular Victor Herbert's New York Orchestra.

Although eminently successful as an instrumentalist and conductor, Victor Herbert is now best known as a composer. The music he wrote for the concert and operatic stage is scarcely remembered; but the more than 35 works that he created for the light operatic theater teem with stirring marches, lively drinking songs, lilting waltzes, and tender love duets, and the melodies remain popular to the present. In 1893 a Boston light opera company commissioned him to compose what was to be the first in a vast repertory of Herbert operettas: *Prince Ananias*, first performed in New York City on November 20, 1894.

There soon followed *The Wizard of the Nile* (1895), *The Serenade* (1897), and *The Fortune Teller* (1898), which launched Herbert on a brilliant career as a Broadway composer. Until the end of the first decade of the 20th century, he poured forth captivating operettas, among them *Babes in Toyland* (1903), *Mlle. Modiste* (1905), *The Red Mill* (1906), and *Naughty Marietta* (1910). All America sang and danced to the catchy and superbly orchestrated tunes from these and other Herbert scores. They included the "March of the Toys," "Toyland," "Gypsy Love Song," "Kiss Me Again," "Every Day Is Ladies' Day with Me," "Ah, Sweet Mystery of Life," "I'm Falling in Love with Someone," and "Italian Street Song." Many listeners shared the view of Andrew Carnegie, the American industrialist and philanthropist, who once commented: "My idea of heaven is to be able to sit and listen to the music of Victor Herbert all I want to."

Unfortunately, the carefree waltz era, into which Herbert had injected his magnetic music, drew to a close with the outbreak of World War I, when public attention turned to more sober aspects of life. Although he continued his musical productivity, the majority of the operettas of his remaining years failed dismally, except for the operetta *Sweethearts* (1913), and a few songs, such as "Thine Alone" (from *Eileen*, 1917) and "A Kiss in the Dark" (*Orange Blossoms*, 1922). He did compose an outstanding score for the motion picture *The Fall of a Nation* (1916) – the first original symphonic work intended for a feature film and thus a milestone in its own right – and several well-received numbers for Broadway's renowned Ziegfeld *Follies* (1918–1924).

In 1913, while dining at Shanley's, a well-known New York restaurant, on Broadway, Herbert happened to hear the orchestra there perform several of his melodies. Convinced that living composers should receive recompense for the use of their copyrighted music, he initiated a suit against Shanley's, which was waged in the courts for four years. Finally, in 1917, the US Supreme Court decided – in Herbert's favor – that copyright owners should be paid royalties for public performances of their works staged for profit. Preceding this legal victory, the composer had already taken, as early as 1914, a decisive step to combat such abuse. He was one of the nine founders (and later director and vice president) of a voluntary, nonprofit organization intended to safeguard and further the interests of lyricists, composers, and publishers – an organization that eventually developed into the powerful American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP). A plaque in Lüchow's Restaurant in New York, dedicated on June 27, 1951, commemorates the dinner there at which Herbert and his associates drafted plans for the society.

The genial Irish-American bon vivant and epicure, who attracted a wide circle of friends, suffered a fatal heart attack in the office of his doctor in New York on May 26, 1924. At the time of his death, in the age of jazz and ragtime of the 1920s, he considered himself part of a bygone era. He had once lamented: "My day is over. They are forgetting poor old Herbert." But his passing marked the demise not of a "has-been" but of a composer whose works merited a place as classics of the American musical theater. As the music critic Deems Taylor wrote in the New York *World* on June 1, 1924, he had "raised light opera music to a degree of harmonic sophistication that it had never before reached."

In memory of Victor Herbert, a bronze bust by sculptor Edmund Thomas Quinn was unveiled in the Mall of New York's Central Park in 1927. The US Post Office issued a commemorative 3-cent stamp with his likeness on May 13, 1940, and the Liberty ship *Victor Herbert* was launched on August 22, 1943. His life was depicted in the Hollywood motion picture *The Great Victor Herbert* (1939), and several of his operettas were filmed. But the greatest and most lasting indication of his impression on American music is the appeal that his operettas have retained to the present day, as evidenced both by new recordings and by revivals of Herbert works on stage and television.

Lincoln Abolishes Slavery: National Freedom Day

February 1, the anniversary of the day in 1865 when Abraham Lincoln signed the document abolishing slavery, is observed by presidential

proclamation as National Freedom Day. The measure (not to be confused with the Emancipation Proclamation issued on January 1, 1863) was passed by Congress on January 31, 1865, and subsequently was ratified by three-fourths of the states to become the 13th Amendment to the Constitution (see December 18). The designation of February 1 as National Freedom Day was authorized by Congress in 1949.

Lutheran Free Church Joins American Lutheran Church

On February 1, 1963, the Lutheran Free Church combined forces with the American Lutheran Church, which was itself the result of a merger of several other groups. For details of both mergers, see January 1, American Lutheran Church Merger Becomes Effective.

FEBRUARY 2

Candlemas, or The Feast of the Presentation of the Lord

Candlemas, or the Feast of the Presentation of the Lord, sometimes also referred to as the Feast of the Purification of Mary, is observed on February 2 by the Roman Catholic, Episcopalian, Lutheran, and most Eastern Orthodox churches. Those Eastern Orthodox churches that still adhere to the Old Style or Julian calendar, however, celebrate the feast 13 days later on February 15. The feast is in celebration of the occasion when Mary, as required by Jewish law, went to the temple in Jerusalem – both to be purified 40 days after giving birth to a son and to present that son, Jesus, to God. The event is described in the second chapter of Luke.

At the time, Simeon, a holy man living in Jerusalem, had been longing for the appearance of the Messiah and, as the King James version of the Bible relates (Luke 2:26–34):

> . . . it was revealed unto him by the Holy [Spirit], that he should not see death, before he had seen the Lord's Christ. And he came by the Spirit into the temple: and when the parents brought in the child Jesus, to do for him after the custom of the law, then took he him up in his arms, and blessed God, and said, Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace according to thy word: For mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people; a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel. And Joseph and . . . [Mary] marveled at those things which were spoken of him; And Simeon blessed them. . . .

The biblical account goes on to relate that Anna, a prophetess living in the Temple, "coming in that instant gave thanks likewise unto the Lord, and spake of him to all them that looked for redemption in Jerusalem."

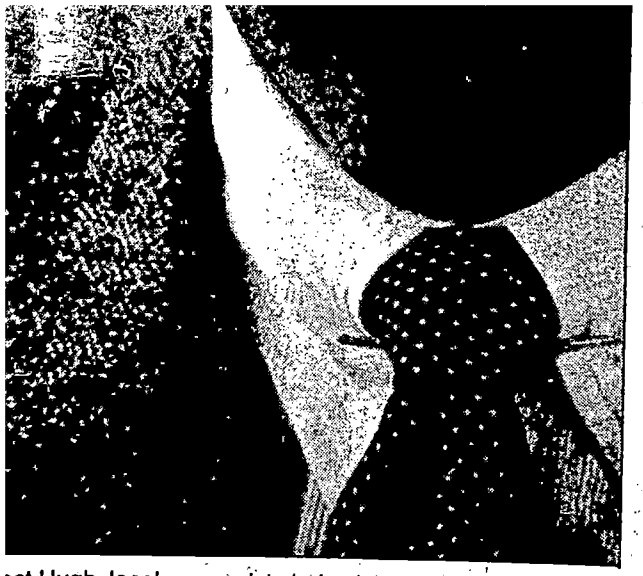
For Roman Catholics, February 2 is a feast rich in ceremony. The candles and tapers that will be used in the churches during the year are customarily blessed by the clergy, an act symbolic of Simeon's reference to the "light to lighten the Gentiles." After the blessing, the clergy and congregation (or a smaller representative group) march with lighted candles through the church in solemn procession, to the accompaniment of organ and choir music. The procession represents the entry of Christ, the Light of the World, into the Temple in Jerusalem. In Rome, the pope, after officiating at the traditional candle-blessing ceremony, is himself carried in procession with like symbolism.

Episcopalians generally celebrate February 2, unless the feast falls on a Sunday, in which case its observance is transferred to either the following day or any open day during the following week. Only some Episcopalian churches still practice the pre-Reformation ceremonies of the blessing of the candles and the procession, whereas all use the propers – the set lessons, Collect, and psalms – found in the Book of Common Prayer. The Collect for the day, for example, aptly expresses the spirit of the Feast of the Presentation of the Lord:

> Almighty and everliving God, we humbly beseech thy Majesty, that, as thy only-begotten Son was this day presented in the temple in substance of our flesh, so we may be presented unto thee with pure and clean hearts, by the same thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Lutherans note the day as a feast of the Lord in their church calendar and generally observe it when it falls on a Sunday, rarely when it falls on a weekday. The feast is seldom marked by any special ceremonials, although a few individual congregations may at least march in procession with candles. Most churches use the lessons and Collect, specified in Lutheran hymn books, that reflect the emphasis of the day.

Church historians are of the opinion that the feast was celebrated in very early times – the fourth century or earlier – by Christians in the East. Some scholars contend that it was deliberately introduced to counteract and provide a substitute for the excesses of the Roman *Lupercalia* celebrated in mid-February. For many years the celebration was on February 14: since Jesus originally was supposed to have been born on the day of the Epiphany, this occasion, set for 40 days later, was appropriately called *Quadragesima de Epiphania.*



ect Hugh Jacobsen resists being labeled "fashionable."

uses when describing the triumphs of others.

Beyond calling him a fashionable "residential" architect, defining the Jacobsen style is difficult, which may be one reason why he often is invited to talk about his work, such as tonight's illustrated lecture in the Hirshhorn Museum sponsored by Smithsonian Resident Associates.

The event marks publication of the A.I.A. monograph about him, the first of a series of studies about architects and the first such book produced by the 133-year-old professional society headquartered in Washington.

Mr. Jacobsen resists being labeled "fashionable." "I don't know any doctors and lawyers who have survived it," he says. He adds, "You get typecast in this business, like Lassie."

Perhaps to avoid being typed, his

the Egyptian pyramids from an interesting angle in an airplane.

Mr. Jacobsen is an architect's architect whose relatively minor styling details became popular on a wide scale.

"He's responsible for a lot of things we take for granted. He saw products in the marketplace no one else saw. He put Lightolier [lighting systems] on the map," declares an enthusiastic John Hoke, A.I.A.'s publisher.

The special touches cited by Mr. Hoke and known as the architect's hallmarks include white "egg-crate" cube bookshelves, "practically invisible bolts of chrome not brass," and the cylindrical can lights that march across Washington home fronts like the brooms in Walt Disney's "Fantasia."

see **HOMES**, *page E2*



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of Ronald Reagan."

The "Frontline" formula seems to work like this:

■ Step 1: Hire, as the program's correspondent, a historian who isn't biased.

Garry Wills has the perfect credentials.

Mr. Wills has published books ("Nixon Agonistes" and "Reagan's America") blasting both of the recent two elected Republican presidents, without playing favorites.

That takes care of "fairness," but how about "balance?"

■ Step 2: "Frontline" balances the broadcast by giving air time to spokesmen from both sides of the political spectrum.

First former Democratic House Speaker Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill bashes the president with low blows from the left. Then Conservative Caucus Chairman Howard Phillips blindsides Mr. Reagan from the right.

"No doubt about it," says Mr. O'Neill, "he's the least knowledgeable man about the facts of government of any president I've ever known. He never did his homework."

"I don't think there's been any

see **REAGAN**, *page E5*

ls races past the Reagan
ı's triumphs in nuclear
ın and U.S-Soviet detente.



Photo courtesy Leo Nadeau

From left: Joe Reichert, George Bush and Leo Nadeau in 1944

Bush's war buddies gather for the Inaugural salute

By Diana West
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

When Joe Reichert cast his ballot for George Bush in 1988, he had no idea he was voting for the same George Bush he flew with, mission after mission, through the winter of 1944.

"Not that I had forgotten him, I just never associated the two together," says Mr. Reichert, the radioman who joined Mr. Bush's TBM Avenger crew in the last year of World War II.

"Jan. 3 was the first I heard it was my ex-pilot," he says, explaining that a military historian, acting for the Presidential Inaugural Committee, contacted him at his home in Nassau, N.Y., to verify his identity as a member of Mr. Bush's three-man crew, and invite him to this week's inauguration.

Today, at Blair House, the boy-pilot Mr. Reichert remembers and the president-elect he voted into office will finally be reconciled at a reception Mr. Bush is holding for members of his squadron and the crew of the USS Finback, the submarine that rescued Mr. Bush after he was shot down by Japanese fire on

see **BUDDY**, *page E5*

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Staff Howard Baker and former Attorney General Edwin Meese, nearly every bouquet tossed at Mr. Reagan contains at least one poison nettle.

For instance, former White House aide Lyn Nofziger calls Mr. Reagan "the best political candidate I've ever known. . . . Not that he's the smartest. . . ."

"For the winner, Jimmy Carter, the presidency became an impossible job," Mr. Wills says.

Rising oil prices, inflation, the Iran-hostage crisis, and the "rescue mission that failed dismally" weren't Mr. Carter's fault. He was dealt a bad hand.

Once in office, Mr. Reagan had the fabulous good fortune of being

of the Reagan presidency, says author Richard Neustadt, the assassination attempt fused "the Mr. Nice Guy of all those Reagan movies . . . into reality, because reality [was] acting like the movies. And thereafter," Mr. Neustadt adds, "he's a larger-than-life figure."

■ Step 4: Script these spiteful ingredients into a 90-minute psycho-

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Mrs. Sadat has praise for Carson

BEVERLY HILLS, Calif. The wife of slain Egyptian President Anwar Sadat made an unannounced appearance at a fund-raiser honoring talk-show host Johnny Carson, praising the comedian and calling for peace.

Jihan Sadat praised Carson as "an American who is a household name throughout the world, a man who has humorously chided us for our shortcomings and brought laughter into our lives."

The star-studded dinner was held to raise money for scholarships in Mr. Carson's name to Hebrew University of Jerusalem, publicist Lee Solters said.

"Our goal must be books and brotherhood. We must pledge that there will be no more war, widows and no more war orphans and no more war veterans," said Mrs. Sadat, a longtime supporter of the university. "We can carry out that pledge through higher education, for knowledge is a giant step toward understanding, and understanding leads to peace."

Mr. Carson, host of NBC-TV's "The Tonight Show" for 26 years, was named recipient of Hebrew University's Scopus Award for his humanitarian efforts and excellence in his chosen profession.

He told the audience that a large telescope was being built in Hawaii and quipped: "Even with that telescope, I still wouldn't be able to see why Hebrew University is honoring this gentile."

But he added: "When I heard that more than 1,000 scholarships would come from this evening, I knew this was something I wanted to be a part of."

Singer Steve Lawrence served as the master of ceremonies at the Beverly Hilton Hotel. Guests included Mr. Carson's longtime sidekick, Ed McMahon.

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

BUDDY

From page E1

Sept. 7, 1944.

"Some pilots you *have* to fly with, some pilots you *want* to fly with," says Mr. Reichert, now retired from New York Telephone Company. "He was one of the ones I'd fly with any time. Cool as a cucumber."

Fellow crew member Leo Nadeau of San Diego agrees. "He seemed to keep everything under control," the former turret-gunner says. Mr. Nadeau, who flew with Mr. Bush from September 1943 to December 1944, remembers his pilot's fortitude in such predicaments as a white-knuckle landing in Manila Bay: The plane was still carrying four 500-pound depth charges that they weren't able to drop before crash-landing in the water.

"As we were paddling away, we heard them explode," he recalls. "We felt the pressure through the bottom of the raft."

The plane — one of four aircraft Mr. Bush dubbed 'The Barbara' after his then-secret fiancee — was lost, but a destroyer picked up the

■ "Now I like to feel I'm part of his present life, too."

three-man crew shortly. Mr. Bush was not always so fortunate.

On a bombing run against a Japanese radio communications center, Mr. Bush's plane was hit by enemy fire and engulfed in flames. Mr. Bush completed his mission, winning the Distinguished Flying Cross. He bailed out over the water, but his two crew members were lost.

One of the men lost was Lt. Ted White, a friend of Mr. Bush who was on the mission as an observer.

"I was scrubbed at the last minute because the lieutenant wanted to go," recalls Mr. Nadeau. "I've never stopped thinking about it: Why me?"

Mr. Nadeau, who flew subsequent missions with Mr. Bush, continues. "I guess I feel like I'm part of his past life, and now I like to feel I'm part of his present life, too."

For two hours after being shot down, 20-year-old George Bush bobbed along the Pacific Ocean about 600 miles south of Japan. Overhead, a pair of fighter planes spotted him and led the USS Finback to his position.

"It was kind of like fishing somebody out of the swimming pool," says retired Cmdr. W. E. Edwards of Bay St. Louis, Miss., who filmed the rescue of Mr. Bush and the four other downed aviators the Finback picked up. "He comes walking down the deck and looks right into the camera — a beautiful full face. You can tell he hasn't changed all that much."

With five extra bodies and no extra bunks aboard, the Finback put the aviators to work, rotating their shifts to make full use of available bunk space. Mr. Bush, assigned to then-Ensignsir!' And he never did it again."

Cmdr. Edwards lost track of Mr. Bush until watching the television news one evening in 1965 when he recognized then-candidate Bush running for Congress from Texas. After contacting him, Cmdr. Edwards sent his film to Mr. Bush, who eventually had the CIA lab restore its faded color.

Gerald Redmond, then a lieutenant on the Finback, remembers Mr. Bush as being "very quiet and fairly subdued after losing two crewmen."

"We had him [and the other aviators] almost a month before we took [them] back to Midway, so he got a taste of submarine life," says Mr. Redmond, one of a handful of men who kept in touch with Mr. Bush. Mr. Redmond now makes his home in Hope Sound, Fla., where Mr. Bush's mother lives.

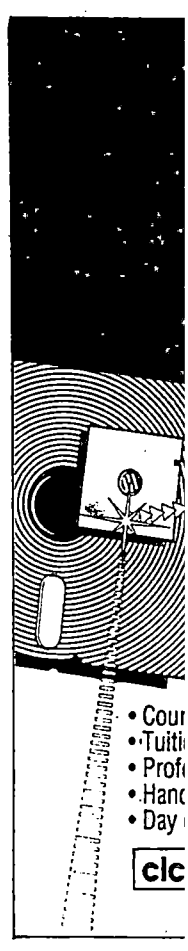
Submarine life included sinking a couple of Japanese ships, something Mr. Bush and the other aviators listened to excitedly with earphones. Other than that, Mr. Redmond describes life aboard the Finback "like living in a Pullman car. You eat well, and there's air conditioning."

"He fit right in with the crew," recalls John Graham, a retired electrical engineer who then served as an electrician's mate. Mr. Graham, a member of Submarine Veterans of World War II, says Mr. Bush always sends a telegram to the group's annual convention. "He's very con-

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The broadcast begins and ends with it.

According to Mr. Wills, Mr. Reagan played the same role as president — "light and likable, often patriotic" — that he had perfected in Hollywood.

A mere actor, Mr. Reagan "reaped the political benefits of any of his administration's successes," says Mr. Wills.

Why bother, when the mechanism at work was only blind luck?

In fact, throughout the entire 90 minutes, only once is the president credited with shaping a critical policy.

"Reagan's singlemindedness [about supporting the Nicaraguan resistance fighters]," says Mr. Wills, "led his advisers into [the] 'damaging' Iran-Contra 'scandal.' "

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■ "He was one of the ones I'd fly with any time."

scious of the Finback crew."

As will be much of the country by the end of a week of media exposure. Cmdr. Edwards, for instance, will soon be seen live on CNN and "Good Morning America." "And Ted Koppel sometime else," he adds.

But that's what comes of fishing an American president out of the deep, even if he is only a scared, wet kid at the time. "Who'd ever think an aviator we'd pick up would become president of the United States?" says Mr. Graham."

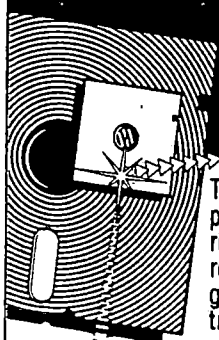
"Everybody enjoyed him," says Dean Spratlin, the Finback's second-in-command. "He had a good sense of humor, a lot of poise. He wasn't in a leadership position with us, but you could tell he was not an ordinary guy."

"I'm going to have to tell him at the reception, I won't be able to call him George any more," Cmdr. Edwards says with a laugh. "I'll have to call him, 'Mr. President.' "

At last count, 17 members of the squadron will be coming to Washington this week, riding a float of their own in Friday's Inaugural parade. Thirteen other members and three widows of members of the Finback crew also will attend, among them, Mrs. William Connally.

"Bill was one of the two fellows who rescued George Bush, and the rest is history," says Mrs. Connally, who lives in Arlington, Mass. "I lost Bill eight years ago," she says. "I just wish he were here to see this."

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Norfolk, Virginia)

For Immediate Release January 31, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE CREW OF THE USS AMERICA
AND NAVAL SHIPYARD WORKERS

Aboard USS America
Norfolk, Virginia

11:01 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all. (Applause.) Thank you very much. Thank you so much for that welcome. Thank you all. Excuse the cough here. Admiral Dunlevy, thank you very much, sir, for that welcome to America, and that -- thank all of you for that response. Admiral Troste, and to our Secretary of the Navy, and all involved in this wonderful day, I say thank you. I want to single out to members of Congress who are here, many members of the Armed Services Committee and others who have been strong backers, have a strong military for this country, and I'm delighted to see them here. I'm pleased to be on one of the greatest ships in the world, with a crew that knows the meaning of the words, "my ship, my country," the crew of the America.

You know, as an old carrier pilot, today is a very special day for me -- the Admiral touching on that. I can't help thinking of the carrier I once sailed on, the USS San Jacinto -- namesake of which is right next door here. Carriers weren't as big in those days. Technology was very different. Narrow deck, slower planes, strictly visual contact with the LSO, the landing signal officer. No electronics, but some things stayed the same. And Admiral Dunlevy touched on it, and I've, as Vice President, had a chance to visit the fleet, and you can't help but sense that same spirit of camaraderie, devotion to duty, patriotism, service to country. We knew then, in those days, just as you know now, how much we owed to the men and women in the bases, in the shipyards. And from the day of Revolutionary-era sloops to the most modern supercarriers, none have written a prouder chapter in the history of the United States Navy than the Norfolk Naval Base. All over the world, those who love the sea and the ships that sail on it know that Norfolk, or Hampton Roads, if you will, stands for excellence. A national treasure -- and let me just say to all assembled, we are going to keep it that way. (Applause.)

My visit today is the final stop on what you might call an inaugural trip. For the past several days I've been visiting with the men and women who are my colleagues in service to our nation -- from senior appointments in the administration to rank and file civil servants. Most are outstanding. Most do a superb job. But still you might say, with no disrespect to others, that I've saved for last those whose service demands the most -- and I mean you, the men and women who keep our ships and guard our shores, the men and women who serve with the Armed Forces of the United States.

In the months ahead I'll be talking a great deal of time to talk about service -- not service that is compelled, but service that is given freely and openly, the service of the strong heart and the questing soul.

I will speak about those who give their time and love to their communities, to help those who cannot fully help themselves. Long ago it was written that the quality of mercy is not strained,

and I will speak of those who dedicate a portion of their lives to mercy for humanity.

And I'll speak about you, for in a way that every American knows, and every man, woman and child in our land salutes, you stand here today setting an example for our nation's standard of service. And let me start right now by recognizing one of your own -- your Sailor of the Year -- Aviation Ordinanceman 1st Class Joseph Robinson. Joseph was awarded this honor for two reasons. First for his contributions to the running of this ship. But Joseph has also been recognized for his contributions to his community where he helped establish a Neighborhood Watch -- called it a watch program and devoted over 100 hours to its success.

Now, Joseph is right here, and if you'll come forward, sir, I'd be proud to shake your hand and present you with a letter of commendation. Congratulations. (Applause.)

(The letter is presented.) (Applause.)

What a wonderful example for us all. All of you keep the peace on the frontiers of freedom around the world. And in every corner of the globe, millions recognize you and the flag you carry is their symbol of hope. And yes, wherever you go, you take America and all it represents with you, and you do it with a pride and dedication that few have ever matched.

I know some say that it's just a job. But when a sailor must put to sea for six months or more at a time, and come home to find that a child who could barely crawl, can walk and say a few words, that's more than a job -- that is service and more importantly, sacrifice.

When a soldier spends long hours on cold night's sentry duty at the DMZ or at Checkpoint Charlie in Berlin, he's not just filling a job but he's answering the call of service.

And the mechanic who inspects the plane's engine or ship's power plant one last time and makes double and triple sure that every screw, every hose, every weld is as it should be -- that mechanic is dedicating himself or herself not simply to a job but to a concept of service to country that is the highest in the world.

Around the world, others have seen and know what your dedication to service means.

You remember, maybe, last year the Soviet Union's top military man at the time, Marshal Akhromeyev, visited the United States. He spent a day on a carrier not unlike yours, as it went through exercises in these waters, and he visited installations across our nation. And he saw much of the amazing weaponry and machinery in our arsenal, and when he finally came to visit the White House, he let it be known that he was impressed. And what most impressed him was not our miraculous technology or incredible firepower, but the enlisted men and women that he had met on these tours. He couldn't believe that we gave our enlisted men and women jobs that only officers would be permitted to handle in his own military. He couldn't believe the obvious dedication of America's enlisted men and women to their jobs. Their knowledge of the machinery they handled, and their readiness and ability to answer questions. In short, he couldn't believe your dedication to service.

I know you've heard it from your parents. Those of you who are married have heard it from your husbands or wives and from your children. But it goes from everyone across the country, let me just say that we are all very, very proud of you and of the job you're doing.

In the years ahead, I want to make sure that those who build our ships, planes, and weapons live up to the standards of

service and dedication and duty that this crew and this base has set.

I've been inside a submerged submarine while depth charges were going off all around it. And I know what it's like to hear the vessel strain and shake and pray to God that the people in charge of buying and building cared as much about the vessel as you do.

And I believe that the overwhelming majority of procurement officers and defense contractors do care that much. And I am determined to make sure that every single one of them does.

My message to them will be just this simple: Don't think it's just anyone out there. Think it's your son or daughter -- and remember that their lives depend on the things you make. And if you're not ready to care that much and work that hard, you are not ready to do business with the United States government. (Applause.)

Let me give you an example -- cost overruns. Overruns didn't start yesterday. The first dry dock ever build for our Navy is still operating, I am told, not far from here in this yard. And it was finished more than a century and a half ago. And the actual final cost was three times the original estimate.

But even if overruns are not new, they are still wrong -- and hurt the national security, particularly when budgets are tight. We want tighter controls and higher standards in weapons procurement, and we will get tighter controls and higher standards in weapons procurement. You deserve the very best equipment and weapons. You are getting them most of the time now, and we're determined that you will get them all of the time.

And one other thing. I am determined to expand the national consensus that is necessary for proper support for our nation's defense. I'll do this because the first bulwark of our national defense is our national will. And if our will is ruptured, our ship of state cannot sail, or at least sail safely. I firmly believe that the vital first step to broadening our national consensus on defense is to wring the last drop of waste and mismanagement out of the way we buy our weapons. And that's what we intend to do.

It's what you might call my bond to you. When a family sends a son or husband to sea or to boot camp or to flight school to defend our nation, they are making a sacrifice -- and it is a great and noble sacrifice. Think of all the good all those sacrifices added up to --together and what they have meant around the world in the last few years.

When the record of our time is finally written, I hope it will be the story of the final triumph of peace and freedom throughout the globe -- the story of the sunrise in the day of mankind's age-old aspirations. And on that day, who were the heroes, generations to come will ask? Who drove the chariots of fire across the sky? Who brought the day to the earth? And the answer will be you. During the next four years I will not be just your Commander-in-Chief, but your friend. And together we will work to spin the gossamer thread of human dreams into a sturdy fabric of peace that will last for generations to come.

Thank you for your incredible service to this, the greatest, freest and most wonderful country on the face of the earth. God bless you all.

END 11:15 A.M. EST

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Trip of the President
to Norfolk, Virginia

Tuesday, January 31, 1989

FACT SHEET

PREVIOUS VISITS TO NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

First of the Bush Administration

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

Norfolk is a city with a population of approximately 287,000 people. It is located in Norfolk County, Virginia. Norfolk is a commercial and industrial city located at the mouth of the James River in Southeast Virginia. Norfolk along with the cities of Portsmouth and Newport News make up the port of Hampton Roads.

Norfolk is approximately 205 miles southeast of Washington, D.C. It is primarily a Navy City and Shipping Center. Norfolk is the home of Norfolk Naval Base and Air Station, the largest naval installation in the United States.

Norfolk is also the district headquarters for the Coast Guard. Other industries make up Norfolk's economy. The various industries manufacture and process beverages, candy, dairy products, canvas products, lumber products, chemicals, and boats. The city also has shipyards, foundries, and an automobile assembly plant.

Norfolk is the home of Old Dominion University, Virginia Wesleyan College, and Norfolk State College.

NORFOLK NAVAL BASE AND AIR STATION

Norfolk Naval Base and Air Station is the largest naval installation in the United States. It also serves as the headquarters for the Atlantic Fleet and the Fifth Naval District command.

USS AMERICA, CV-66, AIRCRAFT CARRIER

The USS America was commissioned in Norfolk, Virginia on January 23, 1965. The Ship's Captain is Captain J.J. Coonan, Jr. Airwing Group One is assigned to the USS America. Over 5,000 people serve aboard the America.

ADDRESS TO THE CREW OF THE USS AMERICA AND BASE PERSONNEL

The President will arrive the USS America Aircraft Carrier and make remarks. He will then present the "Sailor of the Year" award. Upon conclusion of the presentation, The President will join the Captain of the Ship for Lunch in the Crew's Mess. After Lunch, The President will participate in the re-enlistment ceremony of 26 sailors.

VIRGINIA POLITICAL PROFILE

Governor: Gerald L. Baliles (D) (Elected 1985)

U.S. Senators: Paul S. Trible, Jr. (R)
John W. Warner (R)

U.S. House of Representatives:

1. Herbert H. Bateman (R)
2. Owen B. Pickett (D)
3. Thomas J. Bliley, Jr. (R)
4. Norman Sisisky (D)
5. Dan Daniel (D)
6. James R. Olin (D)
7. D. French Slaughter (R)
8. Stan Parris (R)
9. Frederick C. Boucher (D)
10. Frank R. Wolf (R)

State Legislature:

Senate :	9 Republicans	31 Democrats
House:	33 Republicans	65 Democrats

