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*Blessed*

REMARKS: AMERICAN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS  
APRIL 24, 1989

THANK YOU, BILL, FOR THOSE KIND WORDS. I ALSO WANT TO RECOGNIZE YOUR DEPUTIES AT AP, LOU BOCCARDI AND JIM TOMLINSON, CARDINAL BERNARDIN AND THE DISTINGUISHED MEMBERS OF THE MEDIA HERE TODAY.

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I KNOW THE NEWS BUSINESS IS A SERIOUS AND SOMETIMES DANGEROUS BUSINESS. MARK TWAIN LIKED TO RECALL THAT NAPOLEON ONCE SHOT AT A MAGAZINE EDITOR....

NAPOLEON MISSED HIM, BUT KILLED A PUBLISHER.

AS TWAIN SAID, IT SEEMS HIS AIM WAS BAD, BUT HIS INTENTIONS WERE GOOD.

YOU ALL KNOW JEFFERSON'S TRIBUTE TO THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PRESS: "WERE IT LEFT FOR ME TO DECIDE WHETHER WE SHOULD HAVE A GOVERNMENT WITHOUT NEWSPAPERS, OR NEWSPAPERS WITHOUT A GOVERNMENT, I SHOULD NOT HESITATE A MOMENT TO PREFER THE LATTER."

NOW, DESPITE THE FACT THAT THERE ARE DAYS WHEN I THINK THAT ALL WE REALLY NEED IS A SPORTS PAGE -- BOTH OF US, GOVERNMENT AND THE NEWS MEDIA, NEED ONE ANOTHER, AND OWE EACH OTHER A MEASURE OF RESPECT, HONESTY AND INTEGRITY EQUAL TO THE WORK WE'RE ENGAGED IN.

IT'S BEEN A LITTLE OVER THREE MONTHS SINCE I TOOK THE OATH OF OFFICE, AND I'M VERY PLEASED WITH THE PROGRESS WE'VE MADE IN THAT SHORT TIME.

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I'LL SAY MORE ABOUT THAT SHORTLY -- BUT BEFORE I DO, I'D LIKE TO SPEAK FOR A MOMENT ABOUT MY IMPRESSIONS OF THESE PAST THREE MONTHS.

PEOPLE OFTEN ASK ME WHAT IT'S LIKE -- HOW THE PRESIDENCY COMPARES TO THE EXPECTATIONS YOU BRING TO IT.

I CAN SUM UP THE THING THAT'S MADE THE DEEPEST IMPRESSION ON ME SO FAR, IN ONE WORD: HISTORY.

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YOU CAN'T LIVE IN THE WHITE HOUSE, YOU CAN'T SIT AT THAT DESK IN THE OVAL OFFICE, OR UPSTAIRS IN THE OFFICE I HAVE NEXT DOOR TO THE LINCOLN BEDROOM, WITHOUT CONSTANTLY EXPERIENCING THE HISTORY OF THE PLACE -- WITHOUT THINKING OF THE PRESIDENTS WE ALL KNOW IN A NEW LIGHT.

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I THINK OF WASHINGTON, WORKING TO DEFINE THE PRESIDENCY -- TO MIX POWER AND RESTRAINT IN A WAY THAT CREATED A CHIEF EXECUTIVE CONSISTENT WITH DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT. THIS SUNDAY, I WILL BE IN NEW YORK TO JOIN IN THE CEREMONIES MARKING THE 200TH ANNIVERSARY OF WASHINGTON'S SWEARING-IN. EACH OF THOSE 200 YEARS IS LASTING TESTIMONY TO THE SOLID FOUNDATIONS LAID BY WASHINGTON.

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I THINK OF TEDDY ROOSEVELT: HIS LIMITLESS ENERGY, HIS MENTAL, MORAL AND PHYSICAL TOUGHNESS. I THINK OF HIS DEDICATION TO SERVE HIS NATION -- A DEDICATION INSTILLED IN EARLIEST CHILDHOOD -- HIS LOVE OF NATURE, HIS PASSION FOR REFORM.

I THINK OF HARRY TRUMAN: A MAN WHO SPOKE HIS MIND, A PRACTICAL MAN, PROBLEM-SOLVER. A FIGHTER WHO NEVER GAVE UP -- I LEARNED THAT THE HARD WAY IN 1948, WHEN I PUT \$10 BUCKS ON TOM DEWEY.

THERE'S IKE, DWIGHT EISENHOWER: HERO TO A GENERATION, A MAN WHO DIDN'T SEEK THE SPOTLIGHT, WHO UNDERSTOOD THE VALUE OF QUIET, STEADY LEADERSHIP, AND LED THIS NATION THROUGH A DECADE OF GROWTH, PROSPERITY AND PROGRESS.

AND OF COURSE I THINK OF THE MAN I SERVED FOR EIGHT YEARS, RONALD REAGAN -- HIS COMMITMENT TO HIS BELIEFS, HIS GREAT FAITH IN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- AND THE UNSHAKABLE OPTIMISM HE BROUGHT TO THE JOB.

THE OPPORTUNITIES OPEN TO US TODAY WERE MADE POSSIBLE BY THE PEACE AND PROSPERITY RONALD REAGAN LEFT AS HIS LEGACY.

WE USED TO HEAR A LOT ABOUT THE PRESIDENCY BEING TOO BIG FOR ONE MAN. THAT TALK STOPPED WITH RONALD REAGAN.

DIFFERENT MEN, DIFFERENT METHODS, DIFFERENT CIRCUMSTANCES: PROOF -- AS I SEE IT -- THAT THE PRESIDENCY IS AMPLE ENOUGH TO ACCOMMODATE THE STRENGTHS AND STYLES OF OUR NATION'S RICH POLITICAL HISTORY.

IN THE PAST THREE MONTHS, THESE THOUGHTS HAVE FRAMED MY OWN APPROACH, IN DEALING WITH THE PRESSING PROBLEMS THAT CONFRONT US -- SOME OF THEM DECADES IN THE MAKING -- AND IN WORKING TO PUT THE UNITED STATES ON A STEADY COURSE FOR THE DECADE AHEAD AND THE NEW CENTURY BEYOND IT.

THE FIRST STEP IN EVERY INITIATIVE I'VE UNDERTAKEN IS TO SQUARE OUR ACTIONS WITH ENDURING AMERICAN PRINCIPLES.

WHATEVER THE PROBLEM, WE CAN COUNT ON PUBLIC SUPPORT -- SO LONG AS OUR POLICY AND PRINCIPLES SHARE A COMMON ROOT.

THOSE PRINCIPLES ARE:

FREEDOM: FOR INDIVIDUALS; FOR NATIONS, SELF-DETERMINATION AND DEMOCRACY.

FAIRNESS: EQUAL STANDARDS, EQUAL OPPORTUNITY -- A CHANCE FOR EACH OF US TO ACHIEVE, AND MAKE OUR WAY, ON OUR OWN MERITS.

STRENGTH: IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, STRENGTH OUR ALLIES CAN COUNT ON, AND OUR ADVERSARIES MUST RESPECT. AND AT HOME, STRENGTH AND A SENSE OF SELF-CONFIDENCE IN CARRYING FORWARD OUR NATION'S WORK.

EXCELLENCE -- AS THE UNDERLYING GOAL IN THE COLLECTIVE EFFORTS WE UNDERTAKE, AND ACCOUNTABILITY FOR THE WORK WE DO.

AND IN THE WORKINGS OF GOVERNMENT, A FIRM SENSE OF THE RESPONSIBILITIES AND POWERS OF GOVERNMENT -- AND THE PRIVATE SPHERE THAT LIES BEYOND ITS LIMITS.

MY STARTING POINT HAS BEEN A RESPECT FOR AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS -- FOR CONGRESS, FOR THE DEDICATED CIVIL SERVANTS OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH, FOR STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS, FOR THE CONCEPT OF PUBLIC SERVICE -- AND A FIRM BELIEF IN THE POWERS OF THE PRESIDENCY. EACH HAS ITS ROLE, EACH CAN BE ENLISTED IN THE WORK AT HAND.

THE EMPHASIS IS ON COOPERATION -- NOT CONFRONTATION -- AS THE SUREST ROUTE TO PROGRESS.

I'VE READ MORE THAN A FEW NEWS STORIES -- BEFORE AND AFTER THE ELECTION -- THAT SAID THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS WOULDN'T BE ABLE TO WORK TOGETHER.... THAT THE "BITTER CAMPAIGN" HAD MADE COOPERATION IMPOSSIBLE.

I DIDN'T BELIEVE THAT THEN -- AND WE'RE PROVING IT WRONG NOW.

WHEN I TOOK OFFICE, I TOLD THE CONGRESS THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HADN'T SENT US TO WASHINGTON TO BICKER. THEY SENT US TO GOVERN -- TO WORK TOGETHER TO SOLVE THE URGENT PROBLEMS THAT CONFRONT US, AND TO SHAPE THE LONG-TERM STRATEGIES TO ENSURE PEACE AND PROSPERITY IN THE FUTURE.

I THINK THE WORK WE'VE DONE THESE PAST THREE MONTHS DEMONSTRATES THE VALUE OF TOUGH, PRINCIPLED NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THIS ADMINISTRATION AND THE CONGRESS.

THE BIPARTISAN BUDGET AGREEMENT WE WORKED OUT TEN DAYS AGO IS A KEY EXAMPLE.

THAT AGREEMENT -- AHEAD OF SCHEDULE, ON TARGET WITH GRAMM-RUDMAN, AND WITH MY "NO NEW TAXES" PLEDGE INTACT -- IS A STRONG FIRST STEP TOWARDS DEALING WITH THE DEFICIT PROBLEM, AND KEEPING OUR ECONOMY -- 76 STRAIGHT MONTHS OF EXPANDING, UNINTERRUPTED GROWTH -- ON TRACK. DIFFICULT DECISIONS LIE AHEAD, BUT AN IMPORTANT AGREEMENT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED.

AND OF COURSE THERE IS THE ACCORD WE REACHED ON CENTRAL AMERICA.

THE PEOPLE OF NICARAGUA -- LIKE THEIR NEIGHBORS IN THE REGION, LIKE PEOPLE EVERYWHERE -- DESERVE TO LIVE IN PEACE, WITH FREEDOM. THE UNITED STATES IS NOW SPEAKING WITH ONE VOICE -- AND STANDING BEHIND A PLAN THAT WILL PUT THE SANDINISTAS TO THE TEST. AND THIS UNITY HAS ENCOURAGED LEADERS LIKE PRESIDENT ARIAS TO GIVE STRONG SUPPORT TO U.S. POLICY.

AND IN THREE SHORT MONTHS, WE'VE MADE A GOOD START COMING TO GRIPS WITH ISSUES DEMANDING URGENT ATTENTION -- AND DECISIVE ACTION.

AND WE'VE TAKEN THAT ACTION:

ACTION TO STABILIZE THE TROUBLED SAVINGS AND LOAN SYSTEM. THE REFORM PLAN I SENT TO CONGRESS WILL RESTORE STABILITY, AND PUT THE S&L SYSTEM BACK ON ITS FEET, IN SOUND FISCAL ORDER. MY PLAN GUARANTEES THAT DEPOSITORS WILL BE FULLY PROTECTED.

THE S&L SYSTEM MUST BE REFORMED, SO THAT THE QUESTIONABLE PRACTICES AND OUTRIGHT ILLEGALITIES THAT CAUSED THE CRISIS WILL NOT HAPPEN AGAIN -- AND THOSE S&L OFFICIALS FOUND GUILTY OF CRIMINAL ACTIONS WILL BE PUNISHED FOR THE LOSSES THEY HAVE CAUSED.

LAST WEEK, THE SENATE PASSED MY PLAN, 91 TO 8. I URGE THE HOUSE TO ACT PROMPTLY, AND PASS THIS S&L REFORM BILL WITH ITS CENTRAL PROVISIONS INTACT.

ACTION TO STRENGTHEN ETHICS IN GOVERNMENT. THE ETHICS REFORMS I'VE SENT TO CAPITOL HILL THIS MONTH WILL UPHOLD HONESTY AND INTEGRITY IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE -- AND APPLY AN EVEN-HANDED ETHICS STANDARD ACROSS ALL BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT.

ACTION IN THE WAR ON DRUGS, WHERE WE'RE ADVANCING ON ALL FRONTS -- EDUCATION, TREATMENT, INTERDICTION AND TOUGHER LAW ENFORCEMENT.

THE ANTI-DRUG EFFORT WILL RECEIVE ALMOST ONE BILLION DOLLARS IN ADDITIONAL FUNDING IN 1990 -- A 21% INCREASE IN OUTLAYS OVER WHAT WE'LL SPEND IN 1989.

WE'VE IMPOSED A TEMPORARY BAN ON THE IMPORT OF CERTAIN SEMI-AUTOMATIC RIFLES, WEAPONS ALL TOO OFTEN USED IN DRUG RELATED-KILLINGS. AND WE'RE TACKLING THE DRUG EPIDEMIC IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, A TEST CASE FOR A FULL RANGE OF INNOVATIVE ANTI-DRUG MEASURES.

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OF COURSE, DEALING WITH PROBLEMS THAT DEMAND IMMEDIATE ATTENTION IS ONLY PART OF THE PICTURE. WE NEED TO LOOK TO THE LONG-TERM AS WELL -- TO FOCUS NOW ON THE KIND OF FUTURE WE WANT TO SEE FOR OURSELVES AND OUR NATION. INVESTING IN THAT FUTURE IS HIGH ON OUR NATIONAL AGENDA.

FIRST AND FOREMOST, THAT MEANS IMPROVING EDUCATION. INVESTING IN THE RISING GENERATION IS LONG-RANGE PLANNING AT ITS BEST.

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OUR FUTURE IN THIS TECHNOLOGICAL AGE DEPENDS UPON THE QUALITIES AND CAPABILITIES OF THE AMERICAN WORKER -- AND NOT JUST THE MOST TALENTED AMONG US, BUT EACH INDIVIDUAL MEMBER OF THE WORKFORCE.

THE SEVEN-POINT PROGRAM OF EDUCATION REFORM I SENT TO CONGRESS EARLY THIS MONTH WILL HELP US REWARD EXCELLENCE, REACH OUT TO STUDENTS MOST IN NEED, INCREASE CHOICE, AND INTRODUCE A HEALTHY ELEMENT OF COMPETITION AND ACCOUNTABILITY THAT WILL PROMOTE QUALITY IN OUR SCHOOLS.

PREPARING FOR THE KINDER, GENTLER FUTURE I'VE SPOKEN OF MEANS HELPING AMERICANS COPE WITH THE CHANGING NATURE OF SOCIETY -- HELPING FUNDAMENTAL INSTITUTIONS LIKE THE FAMILY REMAIN STRONG AND PROSPER. THAT'S THE GUIDING AIM OF MY CHILD CARE INITIATIVES, A TAX CREDIT PROPOSAL DESIGNED TO EXPAND THE OPTIONS OF LOW-INCOME FAMILIES -- KEEPING THE ULTIMATE CHOICE OF WHO WILL CARE FOR THEIR CHILDREN IN THEIR HANDS.

PREPARING FOR THE FUTURE MEANS PROTECTING OUR ENVIRONMENT. TEDDY ROOSEVELT PUT IT BEST WHEN HE SAID: "I DO NOT RECOGNIZE THE RIGHT... TO ROB, BY WASTEFUL USE, THE GENERATIONS THAT COME AFTER US." ROOSEVELT SPOKE THOSE WORDS ALMOST EIGHTY YEARS AGO. NOW, LITTLE MORE THAN A DECADE AWAY FROM THE 21ST CENTURY, SAFEGUARDING OUR ENVIRONMENT IS A NATIONAL -- AND INTERNATIONAL -- IMPERATIVE.

WE'VE TAKEN THE FIRST, IMPORTANT STEPS: WE'VE URGED CONGRESS TO ENACT LEGISLATION ENABLING US TO BAN EXPORT OF HAZARDOUS WASTES TO NATIONS WHERE SAFE HANDLING OF THOSE DANGEROUS SUBSTANCES CANNOT BE GUARANTEED. AND IN RESPONSE TO GROWING CONCERN ABOUT GLOBAL WARMING, THE U.S. WILL WORK IN CONCERT WITH OTHER NATIONS TO END THE DISCHARGE OF CFCs INTO THE ATMOSPHERE BY THE YEAR 2000.

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AND IN THE CASE OF THE ALASKAN OIL SPILL, WE HAVE TAKEN STEPS TO ENSURE A STRONG FEDERAL ROLE IN OVERSIGHT OF THE CLEAN-UP EFFORT, AND TO EXPLORE WAYS TO PREVENT SUCH SPILLS IN THE FUTURE.

FINALLY, WE HAVE LAUNCHED AN INITIATIVE TO STRENGTHEN THE INTERNATIONAL STRATEGY ON THIRD WORLD DEBT, WHICH HAS ALREADY RECEIVED BROAD INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FROM BOTH INDUSTRIALIZED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

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WE HAVE SET OUR COURSE WITH THIS POLICY; NOW I WANT TO SEE SUCCESS ON A CASE BY CASE BASIS. I WANT TO SEE AN AGREEMENT WITH MEXICO, WITH VENEZUELA, AND WITH OTHER COUNTRIES AS WELL.

WE HAVE EXAMINED AND I HAVE MADE DECISIONS ON U.S. STRATEGY FOR AFGHANISTAN, POLAND, CENTRAL AMERICA AND OTHER PROBLEMS AND OPPORTUNITIES NEEDING PROMPT ATTENTION.

WITHIN A FEW WEEKS NEARLY ALL OF THE FAR REACHING AND SYSTEMATIC DEFENSE AND FOREIGN POLICY REVIEWS WILL BE COMPLETE. I ALREADY HAVE MADE SOME DECISIONS. OTHERS, INCLUDING ON ARMS CONTROL, WILL BE FORTHCOMING SOON.

WE ARE MAPPING STRATEGIES FOR A PERIOD OF REMARKABLE CHANGE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS -- CHANGE MORE WIDE-RANGING AND RAPID THAN AT ANY TIME IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD.

WHILE WE WILL LEAD, WE ALSO INTEND TO CONSULT AND LISTEN -- TO OUR FRIENDS ABROAD AND TO THE CONGRESS. I'VE MET WITH THE LEADERS OF 34 NATIONS -- RENEWING MY ACQUAINTANCE WITH MANY OF THEM, ESTABLISHING A WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH THE OTHERS. MY SECRETARY OF STATE, JIM BAKER, HAS MET WITH SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER SHEVARDNADZE, AND WILL MEET AGAIN NEXT MONTH IN MOSCOW TO CONTINUE THAT DIALOGUE.

AND, AS WITH THE BIPARTISAN AGREEMENT ON NICARAGUA, I WILL WORK CLOSELY ON INTERNATIONAL MATTERS WITH THE CONGRESS.

LAST MONDAY, WE ANNOUNCED A NEW POLICY TOWARDS POLAND, IN RECOGNITION OF THE POSITIVE CHANGES TAKING PLACE THERE. WE'LL BE WATCHING EVENTS IN POLAND CLOSELY: THE FATE OF SOLIDARITY, THE FOLLOW-THROUGH ON THE FREE ELECTIONS PROMISED BY THE POLISH GOVERNMENT.

FREEDOM IS PROVING A POWERFUL FORCE IN WORLD AFFAIRS -- A FORCE FOR PEACE AND STABILITY.

THE UNITED STATES MUST SEIZE OPPORTUNITIES TO STRENGTHEN AND SUPPORT DEVELOPMENTS THAT ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM -- AND WE WILL.

WE'VE MADE A GOOD START THESE FIRST THREE MONTHS, AND THERE'S MORE TO COME.

THE COMPLETION OF OUR DEFENSE AND FOREIGN POLICY REVIEWS IN LATE MAY, DRAFT LEGISLATION FOR A NEW CLEAN AIR ACT, A NEW STRATEGY TO CURB THE INCREASED USE OF LETHAL WEAPONS BY DRUG DEALERS AND OTHER CRIMINALS AND NEW INITIATIVES TO COMBAT THE PROBLEM OF HOMELESSNESS IN AMERICA -- ALL ARE ON THE NEAR HORIZON. (PAUSE).

YOU KNOW, SOME OF MY TOUGHEST CRITICS AREN'T MEMBERS OF THE MEDIA -- QUITE OFTEN, THEY'RE THE CHILDREN WHO WRITE TO ME AT THE WHITE HOUSE.

I WANT TO SHARE WITH YOU A LETTER FROM A YOUNG FELLOW -- A SEVENTH GRADER FROM TORRANCE, CALIFORNIA. HE WROTE ASKING ME TO TAKE ACTION ON POLLUTION, TOXIC WASTE, SMOG, LITTERING -- A VERY DETAILED LIST OF ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERNS.

HE SAYS IN HIS LETTER: "I AM NOT SAYING YOU'RE DOING A BAD JOB, BUT COULD YOU PUT A LITTLE MORE EFFORT INTO IT?"

NOW, I WANT YOU TO KNOW WHEN THAT LETTER WAS WRITTEN: JANUARY 20, 1989 -- INAUGURATION DAY.

I DON'T KNOW WHETHER I'VE MANAGED TO SATISFY THE YOUNG MAN WHO WROTE THAT LETTER, BUT I CAN SAY I GOT HIS MESSAGE. AS I'VE SAID BEFORE, I AM A PRACTICAL MAN; I LIKE WHAT'S REAL. I'M NOT MUCH FOR THE AIRY AND ABSTRACT. I LIKE WHAT WORKS.

THERE'S A RUNNING DEBATE ON WHAT IT TAKES TO MOVE A NATION FORWARD. SOME SAY IT'S IDEOLOGY THAT MATTERS.

SOME SAY IT'S A QUESTION OF COMPETENCE. OTHERS SAY THAT ISSUES ARE "THE ISSUE"....

BUT THE FACT IS, WHAT IT TAKES TO MOVE A NATION CAN'T BE CAPTURED IN ONE WORD.

IT'S A MATTER OF PRINCIPLES -- AND PERFORMANCE....  
IDEOLOGY -- AND ACTION ON THE ISSUES.

THIS ADMINISTRATION UNDERSTANDS THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE EXPECT ALL OF THESE -- AND SOMETHING MORE.

THEY EXPECT RESULTS.

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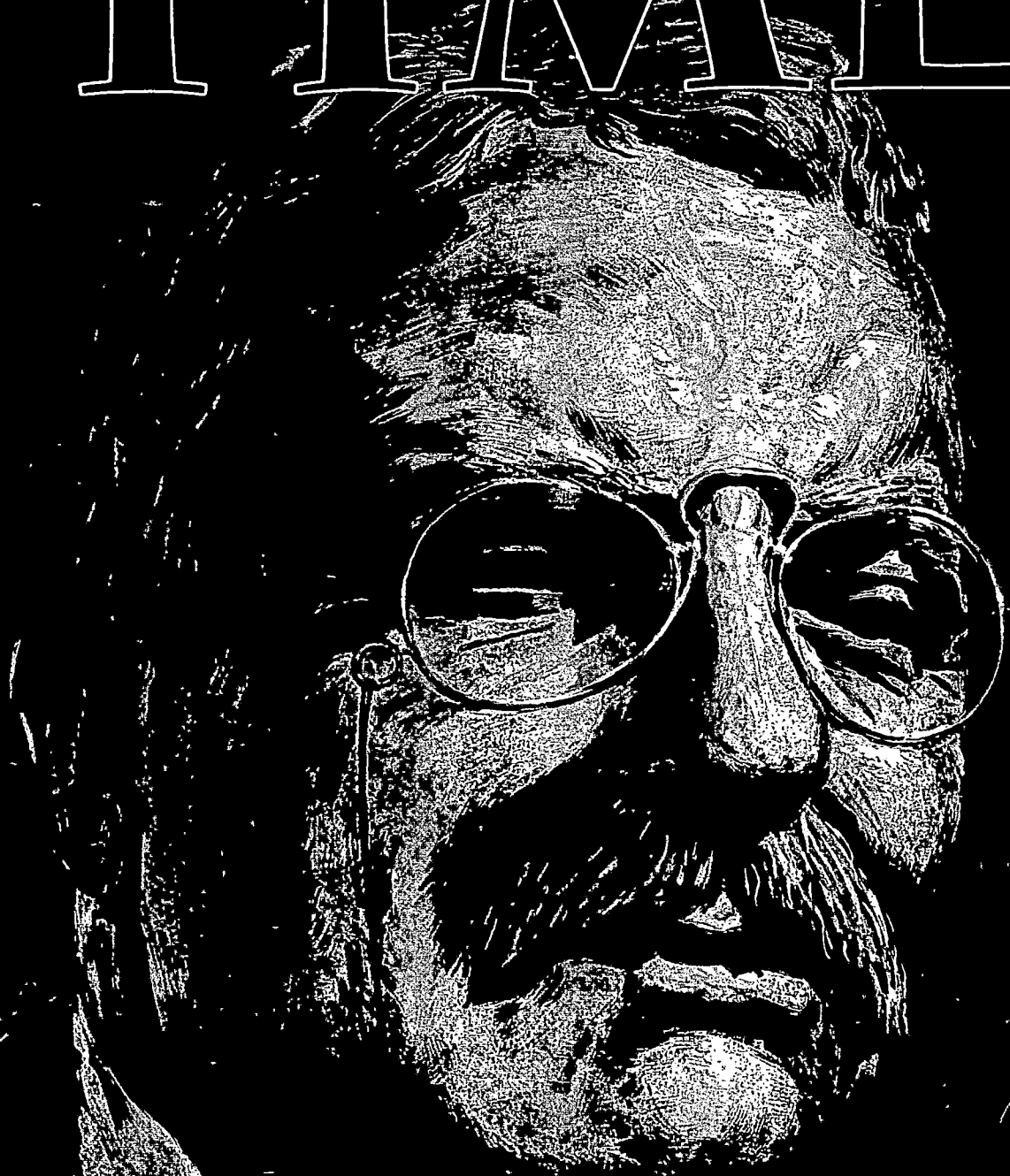
SO WHILE I'M PLEASED WITH ALL WE'VE ACCOMPLISHED IN THESE THREE MONTHS, THERE'S A LONG ROAD AHEAD OF US. I'M OPTIMISTIC -- THAT OUR REFORMS WILL PRODUCE LASTING RESULTS; THAT THE LONG-RANGE PLANNING WE DO TODAY WILL PAY OFF IN THE FUTURE. BUT MOST OF ALL, THIS NATION IS READY TO MOVE FORWARD TO MEET THE CENTRAL CHALLENGES WE FACE: KEEPING AMERICA FREE, PROSPEROUS AND AT PEACE, TOMORROW, AND INTO THE CENTURY AHEAD.

# # #

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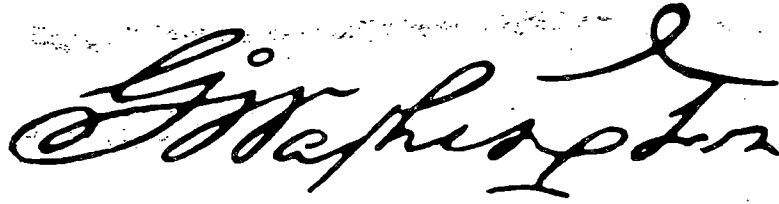


"The White House  
is a bully pulpit"

Theodore  
Roosevelt

# The American Presidents

*I have seen without despondency (even for a moment)  
the hours which America has styled her gloomy ones.*



The Commander in Chief was reconnoitering near White Plains, N.Y., when a courier dashed up, crying: "The British are on the camp, Sir!" The general galloped full tilt back to camp, where he was told that his outposts had been beaten in. He turned to his officers. "Gentlemen," said George Washington, "you will repair to your respective posts and do the best you can."

George Washington always did the best he could—and it was enough to create and sustain a nation. Perhaps he provided the key to his own achievements. "We ought not to look back," he once wrote, "unless it is to derive useful lessons from past errors."

His learning was hard-earned. His father, big "Gus" Washington, a Virginia land speculator and iron-mine owner, died when George was eleven, leaving him with a querulous mother whom he spent much of his life trying to avoid. He had less formal education than any other early American President, picking up enough math to get started as a surveyor and painstakingly copying 110 "Rules of Civility and Decent Behavior." Samples: "Cleanse not your teeth with the tablecloth," and "Labor to keep alive in your breast that little spark of celestial fire called conscience."

There is something not quite pleasant about the young Washington. As a soldier rising to colonel in Virginia's militia, he was forever squabbling with British authorities about "honor" and "preferment," which seemed synonymous in his mind. He was less than modest: "I can truly say and confidently assert that no soldiers were ever under better command," he said, speaking of his own men. But he was also—and always—brave. After his first battle, in which he defeated a French force near Fort Duquesne in the Western wilderness, he reported: "I heard the bullets whistle, and, believe me, there is something charming in the sound." During the woodlands massacre of Britain's General Edward Braddock and his forces, Washington had two horses shot from beneath him, his coat shredded by bullets that not only whistled but pierced. Years later, as the American Commander in Chief at Princeton, he rode to within 30 yards of the British line and (as an aide covered his own face with his hat so as not to see what must surely happen) survived the crossfire between enemy troops and his own.

In 1758, at age 26, he left military service and settled into Mount Vernon, the family estate on the Potomac. There he spent the next 17 years of his life, and there he may be caught in the cameo of repose. By the standards of his day he was immense, standing, as he described himself, "6 ft. high" (though after his death his secretary measured him at 6 ft. 3½ in.), weighing nearly 200 lbs., with huge hands and feet (size 13 boots), chestnut hair and light smallpox scars on the end of his nose. He married 27-year-old Martha Custis, one of the wealthiest widows in America (her inheritance was reckoned at £23,632), who was barely 5 ft. tall and, whenever she wished to speak to him, had to pluck at his coat buttons for attention. Besides farming, Washington served quietly but effectively in the Virginia House of Burgesses where, as a member named Thomas Jefferson noted, he was "in action cool, like a bishop at his prayers."

As his long sojourn neared its end, he was elected to the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, and there, because he was the most experienced officer from a militarily and politically strategic state, he was unanimously named head of the revolutionary army. The date: June 15, 1775.

On the eve of command Washington wrote: "I am now embarked on a tempestuous ocean, from whence, perhaps, no friendly harbor is to be found." Not many privies were to be found either in the Continental encampments outside Boston,

and one of Washington's first acts was to protest that shortage. It was, for him, too often that kind of niggling war. But he learned as he went along, and on the bloodstained road that led to Yorktown, he made some major discoveries: this war went by no Old World book; in the American vastness, mere territorial gains meant little; mobility was the key, and even the fleetness of foot which his men often displayed when things went badly could be an advantage—they could run and live to fight another day. Valley Forge was a nadir best described by a member of the Connecticut Line: "Poor food—hard lodging—cold weather—fatigue—nasty clothes—nasty cookery—vomit half my time—smoked out of my senses—the devil's in it—I can't endure it." But Washington made good use even of those grim days: he turned his ragtags over to the Prussian drillmaster Steuben, who made soldiers of them. And finally, unbelievably, it was all over: George Washington was free to return to "the shadow of my own vine and my own fig tree."

But not for long. He watched restively as the frail coalition of former colonies began to fall apart, and when a call came to go to Philadelphia, he was ready. On May 25, 1787, he was unanimously named president of the Constitutional Convention. For four months, he sat on a low dais, taking almost no part in the debate. But it is entirely possible that there would have been no Constitution had it not been for Washington's presence, and it is almost certain that the Constitution would not have taken the form it did had it not been for the expectation that Washington would be the first President. Wrote Pierce Butler, a Maryland delegate: "Many of the members cast their eyes toward General Washington as President, and shaped their ideas of the powers to be given to a President by their opinions of his virtue." In New York's Federal Hall, on April 30, 1789, after unanimous election, George Washington was sworn in as the first President of the United States.

He was keenly conscious of being the first. "I walk on untrodden ground," he wrote. "There is scarcely any part of my conduct which may not hereafter be drawn into precedent." Thus he set about creating precedents—on everything from Presidential protocol to constitutional meanings. Example: unsure about the requirement that the President have both the "advice" and the "consent" of the Senate on treaties, he appeared before the Senate in person to present a proposed pact with the Creek Indians. After two tedious days of bickering, he left declaring that he would be "damned if he ever went there again." He never did, and to this day Senate advice has taken a back seat to Senate consent.

He was 62, weary and worried about his failing memory when, with great reluctance, he accepted a second term—again by unanimous vote. As at Princeton years before, he was once more caught between hostile firing lines, this time the opposing political forces of Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton and Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson. But Washington endured. At the same time, he performed one of his greatest services to his country: in the explosive aftermath of the French Revolution, he insisted that the U.S. remain neutral and unentangled in Europe's wars. Excepting only the twitch that was the War of 1812, Washington's policy remained America's until 1917.

He left office on March 4, 1797, returning to his beloved Mount Vernon. There, on a December morning in 1799, he awakened Martha to say that he was suffering ague, but he refused to let her summon a servant lest, in getting out of bed, she catch cold herself. He continued to sicken, and in his final seconds he felt his own pulse, silently counting to the beat of faint and fading drums.

*I would rather be shut up in a very modest cottage with my books, my family and a few old friends, dining on simple bacon and letting the world roll by as it liked, than to occupy the most splendid post which any human power can give.*



*We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.*

After 200 years, the words carry pure as a bugle's call. But the bugler stands behind a veil of his own making. Thomas Jefferson defies his biographers. To Henry Adams, his character could be caught only in "the shifting and uncertain flicker of its semi-transparent shadows." Said Merrill Peterson, author of a massive work: "It is a mortifying confession, but he remains for me, finally, an impenetrable man." Even Dumas Malone, who has spent most of his 84 years on a Pulitzer-prizewinning biography, once admitted: "In my youthful presumptuousness I flattered myself that some time I would fully comprehend and encompass him. I do not claim that I have yet done so, and I do not believe that I or any other single person can."

The most public of men, Thomas Jefferson was the most private of persons. He was a member of Virginia's colonial House of Burgesses and of its revolutionary House of Delegates, an alternate delegate to the Second Continental Congress and a delegate to the Continental Congress elected in 1783, wartime Governor of Virginia, Minister to France, the first U.S. Secretary of State, the second Vice President and (for two terms) the third President. He was, in words he composed for his own epitaph, the "father of the University of Virginia," and he was a founder of the American political party system (though he once said: "If I could not go to heaven but with a party, I would not go there at all"). He was the author of treatises that illumined the way on man's long and continuing progress toward freedom: *A Summary View of the Rights of British America*, the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom—and the Declaration of Independence. He left a legacy of 18,000 letters, many of them written with a crippled hand (the result of an injury suffered when, while walking along the Seine with Maria Cosway, a married woman with whom he had a brief and perhaps platonic affair, he exuberantly vaulted a fence and fell). As collected and indexed in the remarkable *Jeffersonian Cyclopaedia* (Funk & Wagnalls, 1900), his writings cover 1,256 subjects, from *abilities* ("Men of high learning and abilities are few in every country") to *zeal* ("I fear that my zeal will make me expose myself to ridicule").

Yet rarely does Thomas Jefferson offer a glimpse of the inner man. Indeed, it seems obvious that he deliberately drew the veil, even destroying the copies—and he did make copies—of his letters to his mother and his wife. Though his pen blazed, his public speaking voice, choked by tension, was guttural and indistinct. Controversial, he dreaded face-to-face confrontations: they gave him migraines. Time after time, he withdrew to the peace and solitude of Monticello in moments of high crisis and drama. In 1774, when he first risked his neck to the King's noose by writing *A Summary View* ("Let not the name of George the Third be a blot in the pages of history"), he set out for Williamsburg to deliver the politically heretical document; but he soon turned back with dysentery, and Peyton Randolph read it for him.

Jefferson was enigmatic even about the Declaration of Independence, though there has never been the slightest doubt that it was written with his heart and soul. When, in 1776, the Continental Congress named a committee of five to write an enunciation of common colonial policy, it was generally assumed that Massachusetts' John Adams would take the lead. But Adams, for perhaps the only time in his life, deferred to another man, declining

to write the Declaration himself. A conversation (recorded by Adams) took place that is still being felt round the world:

*Jefferson:* Why will you not? You ought to do it.

*Adams:* Reasons enough.

*Jefferson:* What can be your reasons?

*Adams:* Reason 1st. You are a Virginian and a Virginian ought to appear at the head of this business. Reason 2nd. I am obnoxious, suspected and unpopular. You are very much otherwise. Reason 3d. You can write ten times better than I can.

*Jefferson:* Well, if you are decided, I will do as well as I can.

Thomas Jefferson did more than that. Between May 17 and June 28, 1776, in a historic explosion of genius, he wrote both a constitution for Virginia and the Declaration of Independence. But then, when the Declaration came under attack from other members of the Continental Congress, Jefferson sat almost mute while Adams defended it thought for thought.

Some years later, the Virginian's great antagonist, Alexander Hamilton, paid a visit to Jefferson, saw three portraits on the wall and asked whom they portrayed. Replied Jefferson: "They are my trinity of the three greatest men the world has ever produced—Sir Francis Bacon, Sir Isaac Newton and John Locke." Hamilton stood bemused for a moment, then asserted: "The greatest man that ever lived was Julius Caesar."

That, at any rate, was the way Jefferson later was fond of telling the story. If the point was that Hamilton was a would-be tyrant or dictator, it was utterly unfair. But if it was meant to illustrate the fact that beyond brilliance, Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton had absolutely nothing in common, it was perfectly to the point.

Jefferson was the son of a Virginia planter and surveyor who died when Tom was a 14-year-old; Hamilton was a West Indies-born bastard. Jefferson's inheritance was an estate of more than 2,000 acres; Hamilton got nothing. Jefferson read Cicero in Latin, Plato in Greek, Montesquieu in French; Hamilton understood finance by instinct. Jefferson stood for individual rights under a loosely knit federal system; Hamilton believed in a strong central Government. Jefferson saw America as the agrarian land of his nativity; Hamilton foresaw it as a commercial power. Both were right, but their quarrel was basic and bitter.

It was fitting in the course of human events that Thomas Jefferson became President of the nation he had done so much to bring into being. (Hamilton, under the Constitutional requirement that the President be a native-born American, was not even eligible.) His Presidency has often been accounted a disappointment; if so, it was mainly one of historical second guessing. During his first term, the Louisiana Territory was purchased; Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, at Jefferson's specific behest, opened the American frontier to the Pacific shores, and a limited war put the Barbary pirates out of business. During his second term, trying to steer clear of both Britain and Napoleonic France, Jefferson mandated an embargo on all foreign commerce by the U.S., thereby pleasing almost no one.

Still, he was urged to run for a third term, and could have had it. But at age 66, he opted to retire to the small mountain crowned by Monticello. One of the highest accolades to the man and his mind came from a Presidential successor, a member of the party fathered by Jefferson. President John F. Kennedy, once playing host to a group of Nobel prizewinners, described his guests as "the most extraordinary collection of talent... that has ever been gathered together at the White House—with the possible exception of when Thomas Jefferson dined alone."

*There were all kinds of things of which I was afraid at first,  
ranging from grizzly bears to "mean" horses and gunfighters;  
but by acting as if I was not afraid I gradually ceased to be afraid.*

## Theodore Roosevelt

Theodore Roosevelt roared into the White House with the exploding vitality, the volcanic optimism, the flaming soul of the new century. He was the man who gave substance to the spirit of America that had been gathering from Concord Bridge to the Oregon Trail, from Gettysburg to "Remember the Maine!" He was the man who was to change the nation, change the world, and not just for the new century. "The world has set its face hopefully toward our democracy," said T.R. Nobody called him Teddy to his face. His eyes would ignite behind the steel-rimmed spectacles, his fists clench, his mustache bristle. His high voice propelled ballistically: "And, oh, my fellow citizens, *each-one-of-you*—carries on your shoulders the burden of doing well for the sake of your own country—and of seeing that this nation does well for the sake of mankind."

Specifically, Theodore Roosevelt, as President, went to work defining what kind of nation America ought to be: Jeffersonian for "genuine faith in democracy and popular government," and Hamiltonian for "the need of the exercise of broad powers by the national Government." He mobilized the American people to help put down robber industrialists and radical labor leaders precisely so he could protect—and project—both U.S. business and U.S. labor as U.S. institutions. "There had been a riot of individualistic materialism," and "malefactors of great wealth," but for doubt there would be faith, for "don't care" there would be dedication, and America for all time would be the land of opportunity to which the golden gates would never snap shut. America would become a new kind of country in which Americans would align "never between section and section, never between creed and creed, and never, thrice never, between class and class, *but—that—the-line-be-drawn—on the line of conduct.*"

He was also the first U.S. President to mobilize the American people to work for the U.S. interest in world peace and order. "Speak softly and carry a big stick, you will go far," he counseled, and the new concept for the new century was deterrence. U.S. armed forces would be deployed with visible strength and efficiency for the first time, not just to win wars, but to discourage other nations from starting wars.

Finally, Theodore Roosevelt was the first U.S. President not only to envision but to enact measures for the conservation of national resources: "I do not recognize the right...to rob, by wasteful use, the generations that come after us." He appealed to the conscience of the nation as he set aside an incredible—at the time—150,000,000 acres of timberland for national use.

It was on October 27, 1858, that this President was born, son of a wealthy merchant-banker, at 28 East 20th Street in New York City. A frail, asthmatic youngster, he exercised so devotedly he was able to box at Harvard, where he graduated Phi Beta Kappa. Always oriented toward public service, he joined Manhattan's 21st District Republican Club and was elected and re-elected as a reform member of the lower house of the New York State legislature. After the death of his first wife, Alice Lee, he headed west to work on the Maltese Cross and Elkhorn cattle ranches in the Badlands beneath the thunderclouds of the Dakota Territory. "Black care rarely sits behind a rider whose pace is fast enough," he explained.

Revitalized, T.R. wed a childhood playmate, Edith Kermit Carow, and they settled into Sagamore Hill, at Oyster Bay, Long Island, which was to be his beloved, trophy-cluttered, lifelong home. He served six years as a reform Civil Service Commissioner under Presidents Harrison and Cleveland. That was followed by two years as police commissioner of New York City,

where he was deeply moved by his constant prowling on the beats through the slums. "I am dealing with the most important and yet most elementary problems of our municipal life," he wrote. "There is nothing of the purple in it. It is grimy."

Appointed by President McKinley in 1897 to serve as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, T.R. argued for war with Spain, not just to liberate Cuba, but to rally the U.S. into the kind of energetic world involvement advocated by Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan, author of *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History*. As colonel of the 1st U.S. Volunteer Cavalry—the "Rough Riders"—he led the famous charge against the Spanish defenses on San Juan Hill and became the national hero of the war. As Governor of New York only months afterward, T.R. sponsored so many reform measures that he was promoted upstairs by standpat Republican bosses to run for Vice President on the ticket headed by William McKinley (whom Roosevelt once described as having the backbone of a chocolate éclair). After McKinley's assassination, he took the oath of office on September 14, 1901—at 42, the youngest President of the U.S. "My ambition," he wrote a friend, "is that, in however small a way, the work I do shall be along the Washington and Lincoln lines."

In domestic affairs, he launched the first successful antitrust suit ever brought by an American President to dissolve a corporate monopoly (the Northern Securities Co.) to safeguard the right of fair competition. In the great anthracite coal strike, his was the first Presidential mediation to protect the public interest in a massive struggle between management and labor. T.R. galvanized press and public in successive drives for the U.S.'s first pure food bill, the right for the Interstate Commerce Commission to regulate fair railroad rates.

In international affairs, T.R. was the first U.S. President to win the Nobel Peace Prize, for his brilliant negotiation of a conclusion to the Russo-Japanese War. He deterred Germany's rampaging Kaiser Wilhelm II from adventures in Venezuela and Morocco and helped hold off the outbreak of World War I. He dug the Panama Canal. In what he considered his greatest service to peace, he sent 16 battleships, all painted white—"the Great White Fleet"—on a year-long, good-will mission around the world. This was the American assurance that the American Dream might be global, and was surely here to stay.

In his personal conduct in the White House T.R.'s example was as significant as his accomplishments. The White House is a "bully pulpit," he said, and he was forever heckling, hectoring, encouraging his fellow citizens to lead more fruitful lives. "When I see a husky man going along with his wife, letting her carry the baby, I know that sort of fellow is no good," said the President. The White House was an arena of family romps and pillow fights, Presidential boxing and judo matches, crag-climbing excursions with foreign diplomats in Rock Creek Park, "the strenuous life" also of verse, biography and natural history. "Theodore...is drunk with himself," said one friend, Henry Adams, and another, Edith Wharton, thought the President lived each moment so intensely and so entirely that each encounter glowed like radium. A third, Oscar Straus, summed up, "He had the quality of vitalizing things," and as T.R. stepped down in favor of his friend William Howard Taft, the U.S.'s morale was soaring to the stars.

On January 6, 1919, after a doomed, third-party, Bull Moose run for the Presidency in 1912, and after passionate advocacy of U.S. entry into World War I, T.R. died, aged 60. "Both life and death are part of the same Great Adventure," said the unforgettable President Theodore Roosevelt.

*I come from the very heart of America.*



Screaming eagle patches on their battle jackets, cocoa-and-linseed-oil camouflage on their faces, the officers and men of the 101st Airborne Division thronged around the Supreme Commander on the afternoon of D-day minus one. Dwight Eisenhower moved about informally and cheerfully, with his war-winning grin, his casual banter: Where are you from? What did you do in civilian life? How many bushels per acre did you raise? One of the paratroopers was licking at the camouflage mixture on his lips. "Does it taste good?" Ike asked. "Damn good," said the paratrooper, laughing.

At the last airfield he visited, Ike watched the paratroops climbing into their planes en route for the highly hazardous—some said murderous—night drop into the marshlands of the Cotentin Peninsula behind Utah Beach. Ike swallowed hard and his eyes blinked hard. "Good luck," he shouted, holding back the tears. He raised his hand and waved. "Good luck, and godspeed."

That morning Ike had visited British soldiers as they loaded into Landing Craft Infantry for their role in the seaborne assault on the Normandy coast. Ike was, as Winston Churchill once remarked, "a creative, constructive and combining genius," and he was commanding a D-day attack force of more than 156,000 British and Canadian as well as American troops, along with a scattering of Free French. "This is an Allied battle," he said. "Men will be praised or blamed for what they do, not for their nationality." In his pockets were three good-luck coins—one American, one British, one French.

In World War II, Supreme Commander Dwight David Eisenhower led Allied forces of approximately 4 million men to one of history's most complete victories with his own brand of welding humanity and sensible coalition building. Ike and his men also knew why they fought in this war. "To preserve his freedom of worship, his equality before the law, his liberty to speak and act as he sees fit, subject only to provisions that he trespass not upon similar rights of others—a Londoner will fight," said Ike. Then he added: "So will a citizen of Abilene." As twice-elected President of the U.S., Ike attempted to unify the nation and lead it through the calm and consolidation he felt the country desperately needed after two wars within less than a decade.

Dwight Eisenhower was born Oct. 14, 1890, in Denison, Texas, and was moved as an infant to Abilene, Kans. His father, a creamery mechanic, and his mother, both members of the River Brethren, a Mennonite sect, raised six boys on an income that rarely exceeded \$100 a month. The family was so poor that Ike had to wear his mother's button-top shoes to school. He and his brothers worked in the Belle Springs Creamery, pulling ice, washing cream cans and firing furnaces, and they held together in their share of neighborhood fights. Ike once took on a bigger boy, Wesley Merrifield, in a drawn battle in a vacant lot at Third and Broadway that lasted an astonishing two hours. Said Wes, who was to become superintendent of grounds and buildings at St. John's Military Academy, Delafield, Wis.: "Ike, I can't lick you." Ike gritted through swollen lips. "Wes, I haven't licked you."

Ike was encouraged by another Abilene friend, Everett E. ("Swede") Hazlett Jr., to take up a service career and, in June 1911, after passing qualifying examinations (he was too old for Annapolis), he entered the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. There he was brought along by Football Trainer Marty Maher as a halfback of All-America potential. Ike once helped bring down Carlisle's immortal Jim Thorpe: "Well, we timed it just right. We gave him the old high-low, the old one-two, just like that. We were sure we'd laid him out for good. But do you know what that Indian did? On the very next play, he took the ball and went right through us for ten yards." But Ike broke his knee in the very next game, against Tufts. His football career was over. He graduated 61st in his class of 164, rated by at least one instructor as "a not

uncommon type."

After Stateside service in World War I and marriage to Denver's vivacious belle, Mamie Doud, Ike was thrown some useful forward passes by his commanding officer in the Canal Zone, Brigadier General Fox Conner. Encouraged to study military history and advanced strategy, Eisenhower was well prepared for the Army's Command and General Staff School: out of his class of 275, he graduated first. As Chief of Staff of the Third Army in the Louisiana maneuvers of 1941, after years of staff service to Douglas MacArthur in Washington and the Philippines, Ike planned movements of 270,000 men. His virtuoso performance was disturbed mainly by General George S. Patton Jr., who led a force of tanks on to a ridge that commanded miles of country behind Ike's lines. Ike declared profanely that Patton *could* not be there. But Patton was.

Throughout World War II, Ike was named by President Roosevelt for the major supreme Allied commands of the Western front. The Allied statesmen were haunted by memories of inter-Allied discord in World War I but, under Ike, the World War II coalition succeeded miraculously. He and his men moved forward from North Africa through Sicily, from Salerno on to Normandy, from the Battle of the Bulge to the approaches to Berlin. There Ike stopped, and his decision is still being debated. Churchill wanted to take Berlin, but Ike, supported by President Roosevelt, let the city fall to the Russians. Eisenhower's reasons: the area around Berlin had already been allotted to the Russians as a zone of occupation, and there was no need for further loss of life. History may say that the halt was the mistake of Ike's wartime career; few of his soldiers, still living, would agree.

Appointed Army Chief of Staff (1945-1948) and Supreme Commander for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (1950-1952), Eisenhower was sought as President by many leading Republicans and Democrats, few if any of whom knew where his affiliations actually lay. Declaring himself a Republican, Ike said: "The path to America's future lies down the middle of the road." In 1952 he defeated conservative Ohio Senator Robert A. Taft for the G.O.P. nomination and liberal Democrat Adlai E. Stevenson for the Presidency. Ike won 442 electoral votes to 89 for Stevenson, 33,936,137 popular votes to Stevenson's 27,314,649. The landslide slogan was I LIKE IKE. In 1956 Ike was re-elected over Stevenson by a somewhat larger margin.

As President, Ike did indeed lead along the middle of the road. In international relations, he fortified the thermonuclear deterrent while exploring coexistence. He settled the Korean War for a draw and resisted demands for U.S. intervention in Indochina. He opposed the British-French landings at Suez—but then, two years afterward, landed U.S. troops in Lebanon to shore up the world's still-shakiest status quo.

In domestic affairs, President Eisenhower declined to take on Wisconsin's Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. He was, he said, determined "never to admit that he has damaged me, upset me or anything else." In fact, he rightly believed that the U.S. would finally recognize McCarthyism for what it was. Ike made Earl Warren of California the Chief Justice and, in 1954, the Supreme Court came out for school integration "with all deliberate speed." When Arkansas' Governor Orval Faubus defied a court decree, Ike sent federal troops to Little Rock. But he still said, "I have very little faith in the ability of law to change the human heart or eliminate prejudice." Ike was criticized for his frequent golf, admired for his painting and contract-bridge expertise. "The vitality of the man!" exclaimed incoming President Kennedy in the spring of 1961. "Ike—as healthy and ruddy and as vital as ever."

On March 28, 1969, after a remarkable aggregate of seven heart attacks, Dwight David Eisenhower—Ike—died. His legacy was immense: victory in war and consolidation in peace.

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 4/21/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: -----

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	BOSKIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

James W. Cicconi  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 20, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DANIEL MCGROARTY *DM*

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *cw*

SUBJECT: AMERICAN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION SPEECH

I. SUMMARY

The attached draft has been prepared for your appearance at the American Newspapers Publishers Association annual convention, April 24, 1989, in Chicago, Illinois.

II. DISCUSSION

The event, which takes place 6 days short of your first 100 days in office, provides an opportunity for you to detail the Administration's accomplishments, and to speak about the principles underlying our policies and initiatives. Your audience will be several hundred publishers, chief executives, and editors from all major North American newspapers.

McGroarty/Blessey  
April 20, 1989  
2:00 pm  
Draft 4

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS  
APRIL 24, 1989

{Thank you for your generous welcome.... Acknowledgements.}

I know the news business is a serious and sometimes dangerous business. Mark Twain liked to recall that Napoleon once shot at a magazine editor....

Napoleon missed him, but killed a publisher.

As Twain said, it seems his aim was bad, but his intentions were good.

You all know Jefferson's tribute to the importance of the press: "Were it left for me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter."

Now, despite the fact that there are days when I think that all we really need is a sports page -- both of us, government and the newsmedia, need one another, and owe each other a measure of respect, honesty and integrity equal to the work we're engaged in.

It's been a little over three months since I took the oath of office, and I'm very pleased with the progress we've made in that short time. I'll say more about that shortly -- but before I do, I'd like to speak for a moment about my impressions of these past three months.

People often ask me what it's like -- how the presidency compares to the expectations you bring to it.

I can sum up the thing that's made the deepest impression on me so far, in one word: history. You can't live in the White House, you can't sit at that desk in the Oval Office, or upstairs in the office I have next door to the Lincoln Bedroom, without constantly experiencing the history of the place -- without thinking of the presidents we all know in a new light.

I think of Washington, the man who would not be king, working to define the presidency -- to mix power and restraint in a way that created a chief executive consistent with democratic government. This Sunday, I will be in New York to join in the ceremonies marking the 200th anniversary of Washington's swearing-in. Each of those 200 years is lasting testimony to the solid foundations laid by Washington.

I think of Teddy Roosevelt: his limitless energy, his mental, moral and physical toughness. I think of his dedication to serve his nation -- a dedication instilled in earliest childhood -- his love of nature, his passion for reform.

I think of Harry Truman: a man who spoke his mind, a practical man, problem-solver. A fighter who never gave up -- I learned that the hard way in 1948, when I put \$10 bucks on Tom Dewey.

There's Ike, Dwight Eisenhower: hero to a generation, a man who didn't seek the spotlight, who understood the value of quiet,

steady leadership, and led this nation through a decade of growth, prosperity and progress.

And of course I think of the man I served for eight years, Ronald Reagan -- his commitment to his beliefs, his great faith in the American people -- and the unshakable optimism he brought to the job. The opportunities open to us today were made possible by the peace and prosperity Ronald Reagan left as his legacy.

We used to hear a lot about the presidency being too big for one man. That talk stopped with Ronald Reagan.

Different men, different methods, different circumstances: proof -- as I see it -- that the presidency is ample enough to accommodate the strengths and styles of our nation's rich political history.

In the past three months, these thoughts have framed my own approach, in dealing with the pressing problems that confront us -- some of them decades in the making -- and in working to put the United States on a steady course for the decade ahead and the new century beyond it.

The first step in every initiative I've undertaken is to square our actions with enduring American principles. Whatever the problem, we can count on public support -- so long as our policy and principles share a common root.

Those principles are:

Freedom: for individuals, freedom of choice; for nations, self-determination and democracy.

Fairness: equal standards, equal opportunity -- a chance for each of us to achieve, and make our way, on our own merits.

Strength: in international affairs, strength our allies can count on, and our adversaries must respect. And at home, strength and a sense of self-confidence in carrying forward our nation's work.

Excellence -- as the underlying goal in the collective efforts we undertake, and accountability for the work we do.

And in the workings of government, a firm sense of the responsibilities and powers of government -- and the private sphere that lies beyond its limits.

My starting point has been a respect for American institutions -- for Congress, for the dedicated civil servants of the executive branch, for state and local governments -- and a firm belief in the powers of the presidency. Each has its role, each can be enlisted in the work at hand. The emphasis is on cooperation -- not confrontation -- as the surest route to progress.

When I took office, I told the Congress that the American people hadn't sent us to Washington to bicker. They sent us to govern -- to work together to solve the urgent problems that confront us, and to shape the long-term strategies to ensure peace and prosperity in the future.

I think the work we've done these past three months demonstrates the value of tough, principled negotiations between this Administration and the Congress.

*Bipartisan Budget Agreement 1*  
*Pres Rem*  
*4/14/89*

*Account T.P.*  
*Intro P.1*  
*Deeds p.1*  
*3080*  
*Remarks*  
*Central Amer.*  
*Bipartisan Agreement*

*F. Forum*  
*Club of*  
*Honorable*  
*3/16/89*  
*cards #10*  
*S&L*  
*from*  
*comments*

The bipartisan budget agreement we worked out ten days ago is a key example. That agreement -- ahead of schedule, on target with Gramm-Rudman, and with my "no new taxes" pledge intact -- is a strong first step towards dealing with the deficit problem, and keeping our economy -- 76 straight months of expanding, uninterrupted growth -- on track.

And of course there is the accord we reached on Central America. The people of Nicaragua -- like their neighbors in the region, like people everywhere -- deserve to live in peace, with freedom. The United States is now speaking with one voice -- and standing behind a plan that will put the Sandinistas to the test.

And in three short months, we've made a good start coming to grips with issues demanding urgent attention -- and decisive action.

And we've taken that action:

Action to stabilize the troubled Savings and Loan system.

The reform plan I sent to Congress will restore stability, and put the S&L system back on its feet, in sound fiscal order. My plan guarantees that depositors will be fully protected. The S&L system must be reformed, so that the questionable practices and outright illegalities that caused the crisis will not happen again -- and those S&L officials found guilty of criminal actions will be punished for the losses they have caused.

Last week, I was pleased to see the Senate came out strong for reform. I urge the House to act promptly, and pass this S&L reform bill with its central provisions intact.

*M.P.*  
*X*  
*M.P.*

Action to strengthen ethics in government. The ethics reforms I've sent to Capitol Hill this month will uphold honesty and integrity in government service -- and apply an even-handed ethics standard across all branches of government.

Action in the war on drugs, where we're advancing on all fronts -- education, treatment, interdiction and tougher law enforcement. The anti-drug effort will receive almost one billion dollars in additional funding in 1990 -- a 21% increase in outlays over what we'll spend in 1989.

We've imposed a temporary ban on the import of certain semi-automatic rifles, weapons all too often used in drug related-killings. And we're tackling the drug epidemic in the District of Columbia, a test case for a full range of innovative anti-drug measures.

Of course, dealing with problems that demand immediate attention is only part of the picture. We need to look to the long-term as well -- to focus now on the kind of future we want to see for ourselves and our nation. Investing in that future is high on our national agenda.

First and foremost, that means improving education. Investing in the rising generation is long-range planning at its best. Our future in this technological age depends upon the qualities and capabilities of the American worker -- and not just the most talented among us, but each individual member of the workforce.

Doc  
River  
7/25/84  
Nelson  
Lund  
Cassidy  
off.

Wk  
5/1/84

April 5, 1989

The seven-point program of education reform I sent to Congress early this month will help us reward excellence in our schools, reach out to students most in need, increase choice, and introduce a healthy element of competition and accountability that will promote quality in our schools.

MR

Foot Shred  
Educ Act  
Excell.

Preparing for the kinder, gentler future I've spoken of means helping Americans cope with the changing nature of society -- helping fundamental institutions like the family remain strong and prosper. That's the guiding aim of my child care initiatives, a tax credit proposal designed to expand the options of low-income families -- keeping the ultimate choice of who will care for their children in their hands.

Account  
Holding  
P116

Preparing for the future means protecting our environment.

Teddy Roosevelt put it best when he said: "I do not recognize the right... to rob, by wasteful use, the generations that come after us." Roosevelt spoke those words almost eighty years ago. Now, little more than a decade away from the 21st Century, safeguarding our environment is a national -- and international -  
- imperative.

We've taken the first, important steps: we've urged Congress to enact legislation enabling us to ban export of hazardous wastes to nations where safe handling of those ~~dangerous substances~~ <sup>kind of wastes</sup> cannot be guaranteed. And in response to growing concern about global warming, we've committed the U.S. to work in concert with other nations to end the discharge of CFCs into the atmosphere by the year 2000.

Donor Mobility  
6559

And in the case of the Alaskan oil spill, we have taken steps to ensure a strong federal role in oversight of the clean-up effort, and to explore ways to prevent such spills in the future.

Finally, we have launched an initiative to strengthen the international strategy on third world debt, which has already received broad international support from both industrialized and developing countries.

We have examined and I have made decisions on U.S. strategy for Afghanistan, Poland, Central America and other problems and opportunities needing prompt attention. Within a few weeks nearly all of the far reaching and systematic defense and foreign policy reviews will be complete. I already have made some decisions. Others, including on arms control, will be forthcoming soon.

We are mapping strategies for a period of remarkable change in international affairs -- change more wide-ranging and rapid than at any time in the post-war period. While we will lead, we also intend to consult and listen -- to our friends abroad and to the Congress. I've met with the leaders of 34 nations -- renewing my acquaintance with many of them, establishing a working relationship with the others. As with the bipartisan agreement on Nicaragua, I will work closely with the Congress.

Last Monday, we announced a new policy towards Poland, in recognition of the positive changes taking place there. We'll be watching events in Poland closely: the fate of Solidarity, the

insert from Cabinet Affairs

insert from NSC

Pres. Remarks in Hamtramck 4/17/87

Pol Speech

follow-through on the free elections promised by the Polish Government. Freedom is proving a powerful force in world affairs -- a force for peace and stability.

The United States must seize opportunities to strengthen and support developments that advance the cause of freedom -- and we will.

We've made a good start these first three months, and there's more to come. The completion of our defense and foreign policy reviews in late May, draft legislation for a new Clean Air Act, a new strategy to curb the increased use of lethal weapons by drug dealers and other criminals and new initiatives to combat the problem of homelessness in America -- all are on the near horizon.

You know, some of my toughest critics aren't members of the media -- quite often, they're the children who write to me at the White House.

I want to share with you a letter from a young man -- an eighth grader from Torrance, California. He wrote asking me to take action on pollution, toxic waste, smog, littering -- a very detailed list of environmental concerns.

He says in his letter: "I am not saying you're doing a bad job, but could you put a little more effort into it?"

Now, I want you to know when that letter was written: January 20, 1989 -- inauguration day.

I don't know whether I've managed to satisfy the young man who wrote that letter, but I can say I got his message. As I've

*Nelson hand*

*JDEK  
BAFF*

said before, I am a practical man; I like what's real. I'm not much for the airy and abstract. I like what works.

There's a running debate on what it takes to move a nation forward. Some say it's ideology that matters. Some say it's a question of competence. Others say that issues are "the issue"....

But the fact is, what it takes to move a nation can't be captured in one word.

It's a matter of principles -- and performance....

Ideology -- and action on the issues.

This Administration understands that the American people expect all of these -- and something more.

They expect results.

So while I'm pleased with all we've accomplished in these three months, there's a long road ahead of us. I'm optimistic -- that our reforms will produce lasting results; that the long-range planning we do today will pay off in the future. But most of all, this nation is ready to move forward to meet the central challenges we face: keeping America free, prosperous and at peace, tomorrow, and into the century ahead.

**ANPA**

American Newspaper Publishers Association

Joseph J. Lorfano  
Manager/Public Information

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Reston, Va.

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Direct (703) 648-1118

McGroarty/Blessey  
April 18, 1989  
5:30 pm  
Draft 1

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS  
APRIL 24, 1989

{Thank you for your generous welcome.... Acknowledgements.}

I know the news business is a serious and sometimes  
dangerous business. Mark Twain liked to recall that Napoleon  
once shot at a magazine editor....

Napoleon missed him, but killed a publisher.

As Twain said, it seems his aim was bad, but his intentions  
were good.

Of course, today things are more civilized -- kinder and  
gentler, if you prefer -- and even though I've taken some tough  
shots from the press myself, I promise I'll hold my fire.

You all know Jefferson's tribute to the importance of the  
press: "Were it left for me to decide whether we should have a  
government without newspapers, or newspapers without a  
government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter."

Now, despite the fact that there are days when I think that  
all we really need is a sports page -- both of us, government and  
the newsmedia, need one another, and owe each other a measure of  
respect, honesty and integrity equal to the work we're engaged  
in.

It's been a little over three months since I took the oath  
of office, and I'm very pleased with the progress we've made in

Note Book plot  
offer to Harry  
Alden 11/11/86

M. M. B.

that short time. I'll say more about that shortly -- but before I do, I'd like to speak for a about my impressions on these past three months.

People often ask me what it's like -- how the presidency compares to the expectations you bring to it.

I can sum up the thing that's made the deepest impression on me so far, in one word: history. You can't live in the White House, you can't sit at that desk in the Oval Office, or upstairs in the small office I have next door to the Lincoln Bedroom, without constantly experiencing the history of the place -- without thinking of the presidents we all know in a new light.

I think of Washington, the man who would not be king, working to define the presidency -- to mix power and restraint in a way that created a chief executive consistent with democratic government. This Sunday, I will be in New York to join in the ceremonies marking the 200th anniversary of Washington's swearing-in. Each of those 200 years is lasting testimony to the solid foundations laid by Washington.

I think of Teddy Roosevelt: his limitless energy, his mental, moral and physical toughness. I think of his dedication to serve his nation -- a dedication instilled in earliest childhood -- his love of nature, his passion for reform.

I think of Harry Truman: a man who spoke his mind, a practical man, problem-solver. A fighter who never gave up -- I learned that the hard way in 1948, when I put \$10 bucks on Tom Dewey.

*Windy 756D  
Adv. 7565  
P. 98*

*Windy 756D  
Adv. 7565*

*The Presidents  
A Return  
History P 364  
The Presidents  
inc. Mag...*

*Trans. of hweh,  
w/Re...  
3/9/89 9:10*

*L.W.H.*

*Hist.*

*Schul.*

There's Ike, Dwight Eisenhower: hero to a generation, a man who didn't seek the spotlight, who understood the value of quiet, steady leadership, and led this nation through a decade of growth, prosperity and progress.

And of course I think of the man I served for eight years, Ronald Reagan -- his commitment to his beliefs, his great faith in the American people -- and the unshakeable optimism he brought to the job.

*IRONS of lunch  
w/ Reagan 3/31/89  
p-10*

We used to hear a lot about the presidency being too big for one man. That talk stopped with Ronald Reagan.

*Lloyd  
Cutler*

Different men, different methods, different circumstances: proof -- as I see it -- that the presidency is ample enough to accomodate the strengths and styles of our nation's rich political history.

In the past three months, these thoughts have framed my own approach -- in dealing with the problems at hand, and working to put the United States on a steady course for the decade ahead, and the new century beyond it.

*Deed*

My starting point has been a respect for American institutions -- for Congress, for the bureaucracy and our dedicated civil servants, for state and local governments. Each has its role, each can be enlisted in the work at hand. The emphasis is on cooperation -- not confrontation -- as the surest route to progress.

And that respect goes beyond the institutions of government, to the critical role of the private sector: our communities, our

churches and volunteer organizations, corporate America -- and of course the media and the indispensable work it does.

I think the work we've done these past three months demonstrates the value of quiet negotiations between this administration and the Congress, as in the accord we reached on Central America, and in the bipartisan budget agreement we worked out ten days ago -- ahead of schedule, on target with Gramm-Rudman, and with my "no new taxes" pledge intact.

*Keom Talk. 2  
P. 2 of intro  
Keom To P  
P. 2*

When I took office, I told the Congress that the American people hadn't sent us to Washington to bicker. They sent us to govern -- to work together to shape policy and solve the problems that confront us.

*Miss. to  
Cong.*

In three short months, we've made a good beginning. What we need now is to build on it -- to build a sense of common purpose into the work of government.

And we've accomplished a great deal -- in dealing with issues that demand immediate attention, and in planning for the longer-term, preparing for the future....

In areas where the need to act was urgent, we've taken action:

In stabilizing our troubled Savings and Loan system. The reform plan I sent to Congress will restore stability, and put the S&L system back on its feet, in sound fiscal order. My plan

*MKG  
Richard*

guarantees that <sup>insured</sup> depositors will be fully protected, and ensures that those S&L officials found guilty of criminal behavior, will be punished to the fullest extent of the law.

*In addition, the overall system will be reformed so that problems such as this will never re-occur. In addition, greater resources will be devoted to the investigation and prosecution of those who have engaged in*

In strengthening ethics in government. The ethics reforms I've sent to Capitol Hill this month will uphold honesty and integrity in government service -- and apply an even-handed ethics standard across all branches of government.

In the war on drugs, where we're advancing on all fronts -- education, treatment, interdiction and tougher law enforcement. We've imposed a temporary ban on the import of automatic military assault weapons, weapons all too often used in drug related-killings. And we're tackling the drug epidemic in the District of Columbia, a test case for a full range of innovative anti-drug measures.

The key in every case is recognizing that reform isn't a one-shot deal. Real reform is persistent and practical, steady and sustained.

We've also put preparing for the future high on our national agenda.

First and foremost, that means improving education. Investing in the rising generation is long-range planning at its best. Our future in this technological age depends upon the qualities and capabilities of the American worker -- and not just the most talented among us, but each individual member of the workforce.

The seven-point plan I sent to Congress early this month will help us reward excellence in our schools, reach out to students most in need, increase choice, and introduce a healthy element of competition that will promote quality in our schools.

Accomp. Tol. 9/12  
p. 22-23

Accomp. T.P.  
p. 12

David Tell  
675-2500

MKG  
"Mike War"

Nelson

Accomp. T.P.  
p. 8-9

Allen

Preparing for the future means protecting our environment.

Teddy Roosevelt put it best when he said: "I do not recognize the right... to rob, by wasteful use, the generations that come after us." Roosevelt spoke those words just <sup>about 80 yrs ago</sup> ~~five (?)~~ years into the ~~present century~~. Now, little more than a decade away from the 21st Century, safeguarding our environment is a national -- and international -- imperative.

We've taken the first, important steps: I've urged Congress ~~to enact legislation~~ enabling us to ban export of hazardous wastes to nations where safe handling of those dangerous substances cannot be guaranteed. And in response to growing concern about global warming, I've committed the U.S. to work in concert with other nations to end the discharge of CFCs into the atmosphere by the year 2000.

And in response to the situation in Valdez, I have taken steps to ensure a strong federal role in the clean-up effort in Prince William Sound, including the commitment of U.S. Army ~~troops and resources~~, and ~~close monitoring by the Coast Guard~~.

Finally, in the international arena, I've met with the leaders of 34 nations -- renewing my acquaintance with many of them, establishing a working relationship with the others. The objective is continuity -- one of the most valuable commodities in international affairs. *→ changing global climate like never before?*

I've also ordered my national security team to conduct a series of systematic defense and foreign policy reviews. Those reviews -- now nearly complete -- will help us map strategy in an

IR Cyclic feeds  
P. 102

Accomp. T.P.  
P. 11-12

Accomp. T.P.  
P. 10

Accomp. T.P.  
Introduction  
P. 2

Accomp. T.P.  
P. 7

BOBA  
P. 138

Bull...  
MKG

Chemical  
MKG

international environment where change is more rapid than at any point in the post-war period.

Last Monday, I announced a new policy towards Poland, in recognition of the positive changes taking place there. We'll be watching events in Poland closely: the fate of Solidarnosc, the follow-through on the free elections promised by the Polish Government.

Pol.  
speech

In this and in other instances, the United States must seize opportunities to strengthen and support developments that advance our international interests -- and we will.

I am pleased with all we've accomplished in these three months. I'm optimistic -- that our reforms will produce lasting results; that the long-range planning we do today will pay off in the future. But most of all, I'm ready to move forward -- to continue to meet the central challenge of government: keeping America free, prosperous and at peace, tomorrow, and into the century ahead.

Mr. William Keating CEO Det. Newsp Age  
 Mr. Louis Baccardi Pres Gen. Man. of AP  
 Mr. James Tomlinson V.P & Sec. Asst. to the Pres. of AP

Chrmm  
 R.P.P.

McGroarty/Blessey  
 April 20, 1989  
 2:00 pm  
 Draft 4

Keating will ask  
 guests from 3x5 cards

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION  
 CHICAGO, ILLINOIS  
 APRIL 24, 1989

Grand Ballroom, Hyatt Regency

Christina  
 (212) 621-1500  
 Tomlinson's sect.

{Thank you for your generous welcome.... Acknowledgements.}

Bill Keating  
 (312) 4000  
 Chrmm

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It's been a little over three months since I took the oath of office, and I'm very pleased with the progress we've made in

Board of Dir. N.P.  
 Head of A.S.N.E

Carl Y. Bernstein  
 Joseph  
 -> invocation

Charles Brumbach  
 Head of Tribune Co.  
 S. Scherber  
 CHICAGO  
 Head of Tribune Co.  
 Chicago Cubs

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People often ask me what it's like -- how the presidency compares to the expectations you bring to it.

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I think of Washington, the man who would not be king, working to define the presidency -- to mix power and restraint in a way that created a chief executive consistent with democratic government. This Sunday, I will be in New York to join in the ceremonies marking the 200th anniversary of Washington's swearing-in. Each of those 200 years is lasting testimony to the solid foundations laid by Washington.

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And of course I think of the man I served for eight years, Ronald Reagan -- his commitment to his beliefs, his great faith in the American people -- and the unshakeable optimism he brought to the job. The opportunities open to us today were made possible by the peace and prosperity Ronald Reagan left as his legacy.

We used to hear a lot about the presidency being too big for one man. That talk stopped with Ronald Reagan.

Different men, different methods, different circumstances: proof -- as I see it -- that the presidency is ample enough to accomodate the strengths and styles of our nation's rich political history.

In the past three months, these thoughts have framed my own approach, in dealing with the pressing problems that confront us -- some of them decades in the making -- and working to put the United States on a steady course for the decade ahead, and the new century beyond it.

The first step in every initiative I've undertaken is to square our actions with enduring American principles. Whatever the problem, we can count on public support -- so long as our policy and principles share a common root.

Those principles are:

Freedom: for individuals, freedom of choice; for nations, self-determination and democracy.

Fairness: equal standards, equal opportunity -- a chance for each of us to achieve, and make our way, on our own merits.

Strength: in international affairs, strength our allies can count on, and our adversaries must respect. And at home, strength and a sense of self-confidence in carrying forward our nation's work.

Excellence -- as the underlying goal in the collective efforts we undertake, and accountability for the work we do.

And in the workings of government, a firm sense of the responsibilities and powers of government -- and the private sphere that lies beyond its limits.

My starting point has been a respect for American institutions -- for Congress, for the dedicated civil servants of the executive branch, for state and local governments -- and a firm belief in the powers of the presidency. Each has its role, each can be enlisted in the work at hand. The emphasis is on cooperation -- not confrontation -- as the surest route to progress.

When I took office, I told the Congress that the American people hadn't sent us to Washington to bicker. They sent us to govern -- to work together to solve the urgent problems that confront us, and to shape the long-term strategies to ensure peace and prosperity in the future.

I think the work we've done these past three months demonstrates the value of tough, principled negotiations between this Administration and the Congress.

The bipartisan budget agreement we worked out ten days ago is a key example. That agreement -- ahead of schedule, on target with Gramm-Rudman, and with my "no new taxes" pledge intact -- is a strong first step towards dealing with the deficit problem, and keeping our economy -- 76 straight months of expanding, uninterrupted growth -- on track.

And of course there is the accord we reached on Central America. The people of Nicaragua -- like their neighbors in the region, like people everywhere -- deserve to live in peace, with freedom. The United States is now speaking with one voice -- and standing behind a plan that will put the Sandinistas to the test.

And in three short months, we've made a good start coming to grips with issues demanding urgent attention -- and decisive action.

And we've taken that action:

To stabilize the troubled Savings and Loan system. The reform plan I sent to Congress will restore stability, and put the S&L system back on its feet, in sound fiscal order. My plan guarantees that depositors will be fully protected -- and ensures that those S&L officials found guilty of criminal behavior will be punished to the fullest extent of the law.

Action: We've introduced guidelines to strengthen ethics in government. The ethics reforms I've sent to Capitol Hill this

month will uphold honesty and integrity in government service -- and apply an even-handed ethics standard across all branches of government.

Action: In the war on drugs, we're advancing on all fronts -- education, treatment, interdiction and tougher law enforcement. And to prove we're serious, the anti-drug effort will receive almost one billion dollars in additional funding in 1990 -- a 21% increase over what we'll spend in 1989.

We've imposed a temporary ban on the import of automatic military assault weapons, weapons all too often used in drug related-killings. And we're tackling the drug epidemic in the District of Columbia, a test case for a full range of innovative anti-drug measures.

Of course, dealing with problems that demand immediate attention is only part of the picture. We need to look to the long-term as well -- to focus now on the kind of future we want to see for ourselves and our nation. Investing in that future is high on our national agenda.

First and foremost, that means improving education. Investing in the rising generation is long-range planning at its best. Our future in this technological age depends upon the qualities and capabilities of the American worker -- and not just the most talented among us, but each individual member of the workforce.

The seven-point plan I sent to Congress early this month will help us reward excellence in our schools, reach out to

students most in need, increase choice, and introduce a healthy element of competition and accountability that will promote quality in our schools.

Preparing for the future means helping Americans cope with the changing nature of society -- helping fundamental institutions like the family remain strong and prosper. That's the guiding aim of my child care initiatives, a tax credit proposal designed to expand the options of low-income families -- keeping the ultimate choice of who will care for their children in their hands.

Preparing for the future means protecting our environment. Teddy Roosevelt put it best when he said: "I do not recognize the right... to rob, by wasteful use, the generations that come after us." Roosevelt spoke those words almost eighty years ago. Now, little more than a decade away from the 21st Century, safeguarding our environment is a national -- and international -- imperative.

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MEMORANDUM  
OF CALL

Previous editions usable

TO:

SEB

YOU WERE CALLED BY-

YOU WERE VISITED BY-

Bill Keating

OF (Organization)

PLEASE PHONE ►

FTS

AUTOVON

312-565-8000

WILL CALL AGAIN

IS WAITING TO SEE YOU

RETURNED YOUR CALL

WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

MESSAGE

Rm 2801

RECEIVED BY

DATE

TIME

4:35

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## American Newspaper Publishers Association

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Offices: The Newspaper Center, 11600 Sunrise Valley Dr., Reston, Va. 22091

(703) 648-1000

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Bangor (Maine) Daily News

Jerry W. Friedheim  
President

January 23, 1989

President George Bush  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Last fall, the American Newspaper Publishers Association invited you to speak at one of the luncheons during our 103rd Annual Convention. Your scheduling officer suggested that we resubmit our invitation after January 20th.

The Convention is being held at the Hyatt Regency in Chicago on April 24-26. This is the global event of the year for the newspaper business--approximately 3,000 newspaper publishers, chief executives and editors will attend. In your capacity as Vice President, you addressed this group in 1981. President Reagan subsequently spoke to this group three times during his term.

We would be most honored if you are able to work our invitation into your calendar and would be happy to provide your office with any additional information you need. ANPA hosts the Tuesday and Wednesday luncheons and the Associated Press sponsors the Monday luncheon. Whichever of these dates best fits your schedule will be fine with us.

Our best wishes to you as you meet the challenges of leading our great country in the months and years ahead.

Sincerely,

*Charles T. Brumback*

Charles T. Brumback  
President and Chief Operating Officer  
Tribune Company

Chairman  
ANPA Convention Arrangements Committee

RECEIVED

JAN 24 1989

SCHEDULING  
OFFICE

*312 575-1121  
Bob  
Ridley  
seen*

XC: ✓ Mr. Tom Fichter



Hearst Corporation

Frank A. Bennack, Jr.  
President and  
Chief Executive Officer

959 Eighth Avenue  
New York NY 10019  
212 649 2120

November 15, 1988

President-Elect George Bush  
Office of the Vice President  
Old Executive Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20501

Dear Mr. Vice President:

Charles Brumback, president and chief executive officer of the Chicago Tribune Company and chairman of next year's Convention of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, has written to ask that you speak at one of the Convention's luncheons next April 24, 25 or 26. I want to join Charles, and your many other friends within the ANPA Board, in urging you to accept that invitation.

As you doubtlessly know, ANPA is the principal organization of newspaper publishers in the U.S. and Canada, with an overwhelming majority of newspaper publishers represented in its membership. I've served as a director of ANPA for a number of years and believe that, as the major newspaper event of the year, the ANPA Convention in Chicago is an excellent opportunity for you to articulate important positions and perspectives of your new Administration. Not only are the nation's newspaper publishers, editors and chief executives represented as members of ANPA, they in fact attend this particular meeting in numbers that exceed all such other gatherings. You and your staff are more than familiar with the meetings, I believe, by virtue of your Keynote Speech at the ANPA Convention in 1981.

All of us join in congratulating you on your impressive victory in the presidential election and wish you every success in the months and years ahead.

As I have written to you in my recent letter, it was wonderful to have you visit my colleagues and me in New York and I hope most sincerely that you will find it possible to schedule the April Convention in Chicago.

All the best always.

Sincerely,



Frank A. Bennack, Jr.

## POLICIES

In the current context, the President is prepared to agree to a one-year freeze on the real growth of the defense budget, but only on condition that:

- The savings must be allocated to his priority initiatives for reducing the scourge of drugs and increasing our long-term economic growth.
- The defense spending level must be part of a comprehensive budget agreement that meets the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings targets without a tax increase and incorporates reforms in the budget process.

Under a freeze on real growth, there would be an increase of \$9.1 billion in budget authority over the 1989 level and an increase of \$1.4 billion in outlays. For the out-years, the President proposes real increases of 1 percent, 1 percent and 2 percent.

The President would like to embrace, even for the short term, the defense budget projections which are in the Reagan budget. Unfortunately, the current economic situation requires defense budget savings. The defense projections for the out-years must be based on perceptions of risk and the national security challenges facing America. They must also be reconciled with the demands of our economy and the state of international relationships. The President's basic task is to assure the national security of the United States. Therefore should conditions change, the President will obviously seek whatever adjustments are necessary to protect our security.

<b>PROPOSED CHANGE</b>				
(In billions of dollars)				
	1989	1990	Dollar Change	Percent Change
Budget Authority .....	290.2	299.3	+9.1	+3.1
Outlays .....	289.8	291.2	+1.4	+0.5

To produce the needed savings to meet this freeze in the defense budget:

- The President has instructed the National Security Council to review our national security policies and defense strategies with a view to ensuring compatibility among our commitments, strategies, capabilities, and resources. The National Security Council will recommend to the President within 90 days options for United States policy.
- The President charges the Secretary of Defense to improve the defense procurement process. The Secretary will develop a plan to implement the spirit as well as the letter of the Packard Commission report and the Goldwater-Nichols Act. The Secretary is charged to make the hard choices to reduce management overhead by eliminating unnecessary layers of bureaucracy, improving the quality of defense personnel at all layers, and eliminating or deferring lower-priority programs. Finally, the Secretary is charged to develop a plan for more efficient acquisition practices, such as streamlining some 40,000 defense regulations and laws, and using more commercial-style competition, off-the-shelf systems and subsystems, and services available in the private sector.
- It is necessary to recognize that many of these problems—such as the miasma of laws and procedures—stem from Congressional micromanagement. These reforms cannot be accomplished unless Congress does its share by streamlining its procedures of oversight

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# THE PRESIDENTS:



## A Reference History



*HENRY F. GRAFF*

EDITOR

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS  
NEW YORK

# George Washington



*Jacob E. Cooke*

**O**N 4 February 1789 the electoral college, entrusted by the newly adopted United States Constitution with the election of a president and vice-president, voted unanimously for George Washington as the new nation's first chief executive. Since Washington was almost universally regarded as the indispensable man, neither his election nor his acceptance of the post was ever in doubt. It was for this reason that the framers adopted Article II of the Constitution, the section providing for, and broadly stipulating, the duties of the president. There was no problem in granting general and undefined powers to an office that most delegates believed would be filled by a man as accomplished and universally admired and respected as Washington.

When official word of his election reached him on 14 April 1789 (a delay due to the slowness with which Congress assembled), Washington reluctantly and unhappily acquiesced in his countrymen's wishes. "I bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life, and to domestic felicity," he confided to his usually matter-of-fact diary, "and with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than I have words to express, set out for New York."

On the long eight-day trip to New York, then the nation's capital, the president-elect

had ample time to reflect on his reservations about satisfactorily filling the office, particularly in view of its predictable problems. Fifty-seven years old, weary of official cares, and in poor health, Washington believed that he had already given too much of his life to public service. Resigned, nevertheless, to rendering the best possible "service to my country in obedience to its call," he realized that a principal contribution would be to diminish promptly the opposition to the new central government that had been revealed in the stormy debates over its ratification, a task that he, more than any other American, was best qualified to accomplish. He was also aware that "the first transactions of a nation, like those of an individual upon his first entrance into life, make the deepest impression, and . . . form the leading traits in its characters." Time has borne him out. The imprint of Washington's two terms in office has been of lasting importance not only in the history of the American presidency but also in the development of a viable national government. Perhaps only he could so successfully have accomplished these goals. Because of temperament, training, and, above all, his prominent status as the architect of American independence, he was the right man, at the right time, in the right job.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON

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with an agenda in mind, thus restricting discussion to issues of his choosing and discouraging the introduction of unrelated subjects. He did not actively participate in cabinet meetings, leaving debate to his ministers, whose opinions he occasionally requested in writing. Once he reached a decision, he expected his heads of departments to carry it out without dissent.

Although he no doubt would have liked unanimity, the president more often than not was obliged to choose from among sharply divided views of his principal ministers, notably those of Hamilton and Jefferson (who, the secretary of state later recalled, were "daily pitted . . . like two cocks"). Knox almost always slavishly sided with the treasury secretary, Jefferson usually disagreed with both, and Randolph steered an erratically independent course which, although closer to that of his fellow Virginian than to Hamilton's and Knox's, prompted Jefferson to describe him as "indecisive" and a "chameleon."

Of greater historical consequence than cabinet dissension was its secure establishment as an advisory body to the president. This was not an inevitable development, for no such function was prescribed by the Constitution. But it was a predictable one for reasons that the first president had set forth at the end of the Philadelphia convention: "The impossibility that one man should . . . perform all the great business of state I take to have been the reason for instituting the great departments, and appointing officers therein to assist the supreme magistrate in discharging the duties of his trust." And such a view has remained the rationale for an extraconstitutional body that has been a major government institution from that day to this.

Many other developments of Washington's presidency established precedents that permanently shaped the structure of the federal government. As Washington himself

put it, "Few who are not philosophical spectators can realize the difficult and delicate part which a man in my situation has to act. . . . I walk on untrodden ground. There is scarcely any part of my conduct which may not hereafter be drawn into precedent." This was because the Constitution provided only the skeleton of a government and because the new government had few established guidelines on which to rely.

Instead of viable precedents, the Confederation bequeathed merely a small number of unpaid clerks, a large debt, worthless paper money, and, in effect, a bankrupt and weak Union. Major problems, old and new, urgently required solutions. North Carolina and Rhode Island, for example, stubbornly remained outside the new Union; citizens of Vermont still schemed with Canada; Great Britain continued to refuse to relinquish its posts in the American West; and there was only a minuscule army and no navy at all. Virtually every effort of the administration to settle these difficulties constituted a precedent, as did its decisions and actions on most other issues, particularly those involving interpretation of the Constitution.

In the process of establishing precedents, Washington proved to be an uncommonly able executive. "In his daily administrative tasks," Leonard D. White, a distinguished authority on American public administration, commented, "he was systematic, orderly, energetic, solicitous of the opinion of others but decisive, intent upon general goals and the consistency of particular actions with them." Washington, in sum, demonstrated his mastery of administrative detail and reserved for himself the final say in major affairs of state.

This did not ordinarily include legislative affairs. Although Congress—despite the virtually unanimous belief in the separation of powers—was initially receptive to presidential direction, Washington was not inclined to offer forceful leadership personally. He

## THOMAS JEFFERSON

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ests. Albert Gallatin of Pennsylvania was the only controversial appointment. His Swiss birth, forensic prowess, and wizardry with treasury figures had combined to make the forty-year-old congressman a Federalist whipping boy. But Jefferson prized Gallatin's abilities, and the new secretary, who had been a sharp critic of Hamilton's fiscal policies, proved to be a force for moderation in the administration. The stability and harmony of this cabinet would never be equaled. In the eight years of Jefferson's presidency, only the part-time office of attorney general changed hands.

The model of executive unity, concentrating all powers of decision in the president, had been established by Washington but had broken down under Adams. Jefferson restored it, but he dominated his administration more surely and completely than Washington had done. To the formal authority of the office, Jefferson added the authority of party leader. He had enormous public prestige as the spokesman of republican principles and national ideals. By some personal magnetism he drew men to him, persuaded them to follow, and inspired their loyalty. His style of leadership was averse to dissension and controversy. He sought to engender amiability and, wherever possible, to grasp "the smooth handle." Business was conducted through day-to-day consultation with the secretaries. The cabinet met infrequently, but when it did, usually on critical foreign problems, Jefferson invariably managed to produce a consensus. He led without having to command; he dominated without ruling.

Jefferson also dominated Congress. In 1801, for the first time, the Republicans controlled both houses of Congress. The Federalists were a shrinking minority, yet they were by no means powerless. Their obstructionist tactics would have proved very damaging if the Republicans had not stuck together. In Republican theory, borrowed

from the Whig theory of the Revolution, Congress was superior to the executive and the executive should not interfere in legislative business. Jefferson honored the theory, at least in official discourse, but he recognized that practically the government demanded presidential leadership if any majority, whether Federalist or Republican, was to carry out its program. Congress could not lead. During the Federalist decade it had performed best under Hamilton's ministerial guidance. The problem had been easier for the Federalists, for they had had no "least government" dogmas to overcome, no deep-seated fears of executive power; and compared to the Republicans, they formed a fairly cohesive body. The Republican majority was a loose coalition of jarring interests, experienced only in opposition and jealous of executive power.

How, then, could the Republican president overcome the "separation of powers" and make Congress an effective instrument for realizing the administration's objectives? The solution was found partly in the personal influence Jefferson commanded and partly in the network of party leadership outside constitutional channels. As the unchallenged head of the Republican party, Jefferson acted with an authority he did not possess—indeed, utterly disclaimed—in his official capacity. His long arm reached out, usually through cabinet officers, to Capitol Hill, where the leaders of both houses were his political lieutenants. Presidential leadership was thus locked into congressional leadership. And despite the weak structural organization of the Republican party in Congress, it was a pervasive functional reality. The president chose a newspaper, the *National Intelligencer*, in the capital as the administration organ; he kept up a steady stream of communication with Congress and party leaders; he turned his house into a kind of social club and spent countless weary hours and a substantial part of his

## THOMAS JEFFERSON

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\$25,000 salary entertaining congressmen. (A widower, he had no "first lady"; Dolley Madison sometimes performed that role, as did Jefferson's elder daughter, Martha, on her visits to the capital.)

✓ The president was not only chief magistrate but chief legislator as well. Nearly all the legislation during eight years originated with the president and his secretaries. Lacking staff support of any kind, Congress depended on executive initiatives and usually followed them. Federalist congressmen complained of the "behind the curtain" or "backstairs" influence of the president. Eventually some Republicans rebelled. But the system of presidential leadership worked with unerring precision during Jefferson's first term. It worked less well once the Republicans, with virtually no opposition to contend against, began to quarrel among themselves, as they did during Jefferson's second term; and it would not work at all under his successor—Madison—who lacked both his public authority and personal magnetism.

During the early months, Jefferson found the task of making appointments to office exceedingly irksome. Not counting military officers, postmasters, and other minor civil functionaries, there were 316 major offices in the gift of the federal executive. They were monopolized by Federalists. Jefferson's preference was to remove as few as possible, with a view to converting the mass of Federalists to the Republican cause. He was repelled by the principle, already reduced to practice in New York and Pennsylvania, of making party affiliation the sole or primary test of public appointment. The politics of spoils and proscription degraded republican government. Nothing more should be asked of civil servants, he said, than that they be honest, able, and loyal to the Constitution. As important as the principle was in the abstract, it was more important in practice because of its obvious fitness

to the attainment of the political harmony and consolidation envisioned in the inaugural address.

Many Republicans, whether from partisan principle or interest, disagreed with this strategy. The Federalist leaders, some said, were incorrigible; any temporizing with them would only disgust the mass of Republicans and jeopardize the administration. Others hungered for the spoils of victory. If the expulsion of Federalists and the appointment of Republicans "should not be the case, for what, in the name of God, have we been contending?" they asked. At the outset, Jefferson held his ground. He limited removals to two classes of officeholders. The first was Adams' "midnight appointments"—indeed, all appointments except judgeships in good behavior made after 12 December 1800, when the president knew he had been defeated. This office-packing by a lame-duck administration was intolerable, and Jefferson considered all these appointments "nullities." The second class included officials found guilty of misconduct. Jefferson especially had in mind federal marshals and attorneys who had forfeited the public trust by their enforcement of the Sedition Act. By January 1802 he counted twenty-one removals of midnight appointments and fifteen removals for misconduct of any kind.

Within a few months partisan pressures from both sides caused the president to modify his patronage policy. The issue came to a head in Connecticut, where the Federalists controlled everything; the Republicans were weak, systematically excluded from the state government, and treated as outcasts of society. Only by federal appointment could they get a political foot in the door. When Jefferson removed a midnight appointment and named a Republican in his place as collector of the port of New Haven, the local merchants and Federalists angrily remonstrated.

# Theodore Roosevelt

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*Richard M. Abrams*

**T**HE administration of Theodore Roosevelt was in some respects the first modern presidency. It is with Roosevelt that the most distinctive twentieth-century characteristics of the executive office emerged as more or less permanent traits. Roosevelt put the presidency and the federal government at the center of peacetime political action. He made the White House a national focus for the social mood and did much to set the moral tone of his times. He exploited the president's powers as commander in chief to initiate a forceful, independent foreign policy, deploying military forces abroad without direct (or any) consultation with Congress. And he extended presidential initiatives in policymaking to the domestic scene on an unprecedented scale, putting forward reform proposals for congressional action and using executive orders to promote major innovative programs.

Not all the traits that Roosevelt brought to the White House were admirable. There was sometimes as much truculence as confidence, as much belligerence as goodwill, and as much bravado as good sense. He set some dubious precedents in his bullying of small nations and in his sometimes casual regard for constitutional and international law. But few would deny his major contributions. Roosevelt went a long way toward

persuading the nation of the legitimacy of federal responsibility for regulating business activities and husbanding the country's natural resources and of the nation's obligation to influence international affairs. Perhaps most significant of all, he attracted to government for the first time in several generations men and women of exceptional intelligence and commitment to the public interest.

Most of the features of the modern presidency would have developed even if William McKinley had not been assassinated and Roosevelt had been left to moulder as an also-ran. By 1900, the predominantly interstate and global character of economic activity had already rendered state governments constitutionally and administratively incapable of overseeing the nation's industrial and financial affairs. Nor had the states proved capable of controlling private exploitation of the public's mineral, timber, water, soil, scenic, and recreational resources. A twenty-year-old governmental vacuum awaited federal attention, which, given the parochial roots of congressional power, only the president could provide. Meanwhile, the competition for empire among the leading industrial and military powers of Europe and Asia challenged the rationale of America's traditional isolationism and forced heavy responsibilities on the country's commander in

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## THEODORE ROOSEVELT

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chief. These developments greatly magnified the importance of the presidency and inevitably drew the attention of the press beyond state and local events to national politics. Later in the century, as film, radio, and television became public media instruments, the presence of the chief executive and his family would become more potent and more influential. But Theodore Roosevelt achieved such stature in advance of the new technology. It may be that Americans generally get the president who most closely mirrors their mood, but it is at least arguable that presidents shape the nation's mood, manners, tastes, and morals somewhat more than they have been shaped by them. This seems especially true of Theodore Roosevelt.

### THE MAN AND HIS TIMES

Roosevelt's personality and political philosophy fitted the imperatives far more than they did the fashions of the times, so that the degree to which his behavior in the White House both hastened and shaped the dramatic growth of presidential power over the next seventy-five years must be seriously considered. Temperamentally, Roosevelt craved attention. It was said of him in jest that when he went to the theater, he envied the star; when he witnessed a wedding, he wished to be the bride; and when he attended a funeral, he resented the corpse. Once in the White House, especially in view of the changed national and international circumstances, he could not fail to focus national attention on the presidency.

Roosevelt believed in a strong "National Government" (his preferred term of reference to the federal administration), and he believed in the forceful use of presidential power. In this, he ran against the strong "Jeffersonian" current in nineteenth-century American politics, which treated power with suspicion, federal power with

especial distrust, and presidential power as a threat to democratic impulses, which, it was long assumed, resided chiefly in the states and the legislatures. But Roosevelt moved strongly within other nineteenth-century currents that put power in a different perspective. The late Victorian era was, after all, the age of Darwinism, which featured an aggressive confidence in the triumph of the fit. Fit for the nineteenth-century American meant both physical and moral superiority, and moral superiority justified—indeed, mandated—vigorous uses of power. It was a major part of the very meaning of *manliness*, an idea of exceptional importance to contemporary males and to Roosevelt in particular.

Very much in the fashion of his times, Roosevelt viewed the world in terms of struggle between good and evil, between the righteous and the unjust, between civilization and barbarism. For the righteous to shrink from power would be to yield the arena to the unworthy. "I believe in a strong executive; I believe in power," he wrote during his last year in office to the British historian George Otto Trevelyan (and obviously for the historical record). "I greatly enjoy the exercise of power," he added. "While President, I have *been* President, emphatically; I have used every ounce of power there was in the office," he told Trevelyan. "I do not believe that any President has ever had as thoroughly good a time as I have had, or has ever enjoyed himself as much."

Roosevelt wrote these words by way of explaining why he had declined to run for another term in office. It was not, he made plain, that he felt burdened or disenchanted. It was rather that his view of the presidency required that there be a specific limit on how long any individual should serve. As president, he sought to use power up to, and beyond, the limits that ordinary law and a cautious interpretation of the Constitution set. He owed, he said, his primary obligation to the nation's welfare. That was true of

## THEODORE ROOSEVELT

officers in other branches of government, but no other agency of government could act with the efficiency and dispatch that the executive office could; neither did they have so much responsibility. When emergencies arose or unique opportunities beckoned, the president should follow the "higher law" of duty if the secondary law of men or states interfered. It did not trouble him that a president might sometimes play the autocrat—all the best presidents had occasionally done so. It was only important that the people know that after four years they would have the opportunity to dismiss an incumbent and that after eight years they would be assured a new president.

There was both arrogance and innocence in this, traits that, as in so many things, made T.R., as he was called, an archetype of his generation. Only someone so sure as he was of his hold on truth and of his faithful dedication to the nation's interests could be so casual in his regard for law and so certain of his calling to carry out a stewardship of the nation. That was the arrogance in the matter. The innocence consisted in the prevailing contemporary view that the difference between truth and error was plain for all godly and right-thinking persons to see, that virtue was a simple matter, and that honesty of purpose and heart was enough to rectify evil and to serve The Good Society. There was innocence, too, in the belief that no autocrat in the White House within four or eight years could do any permanent or substantial damage to the principles and practices of a free, orderly society ostensibly governed by the rule of law. The sufficiency of democratic, electoral institutions was taken for granted. This was, after all, a generation as yet untouched by the example of what modern technology combined with a populist absolutism could do in the service of the totalitarian state, a concept as yet unborn. It was, as even some contemporaries called it, an "age of confidence," when faith often served as truth, or was mistaken for it,

and when values remained as yet unattenuated by pluralistic doubt.

An unquestioning ignorance left Americans at the turn of the century free to assume with certitude the superiority of the "Caucasian race," and, among that race, of Christians; among Christians, of Western civilization; and within that civilization, of the Protestant Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon "races." It was a white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant God that a majority of Americans acknowledged presiding over the universe in the year T.R. entered the White House. Such conceit—or so we would call it today—permitted those with power to assume that laws were to be applied rigidly for the vicious but could be stretched for the virtuous by the stewards of civic order. It permitted one set of principles to guide policy toward large and powerful nations and another toward smaller or underdeveloped countries; one set for whites, another for nonwhites; one set for the wellborn and well-off, and another for the less well endowed. Such parochial assumptions were in no way novel. They were rather characteristic of the village loyalty and outlook, the clannishness of ethnic and class groupings that has dominated much of human history.

Neither was it a matter of class outlook in Western culture. If Roosevelt could write of his conviction "that English rule in India and Egypt like the rule of the French in Algiers or of Russia in Turkestan means a great advance for humanity," he was only affirming what Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels also had once contended. But whereas Marx and Engels saw European imperialism as serving benevolent historical forces "through the vilest of motives," Roosevelt affected a posture of benign obligation; and whereas Marx and Engels saw Western bourgeois domination as a necessary uplifting stage preceding the ultimate uplift of working-class revolution, Roosevelt committed his life's work to preventing just that eventuality. For Roosevelt, the nation-state

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was the finest product of social evolution, replacing the tribe and the clan; and it was to the nation that he insisted all class, ethnic, religious, economic, and provincial interests yield their loyalty.

By so insisting, Roosevelt raised a challenge to the prevailing ethos of the times. The country's rapid industrialization since midcentury had suddenly enriched thousands of Americans who had come from modest and, in some cases, lower-class families. In fact, the wealth of the Rockefellers, Carnegies, Hills, and Harrimans substantially dwarfed the family fortunes enjoyed by the country's older, self-conscious "aristocracy," such patrician families as the Adamases, Schuylers, Peabodys, and Roosevelts. And along with the wealth went power. Theodore Roosevelt grew up in a family and in a social set whose political influence had been displaced by the new men of great wealth, men who were guided by a business, rather than a social, ethic and who lacked a family tradition of public service, a sense of noblesse oblige. These men had "made it" through the squalor of industrial conflict to take command of the levers of government and manipulate them in the hard-bitten style of their own experiences. Above all, these men increasingly exemplified the country's new standard of success, a standard built on the workaday values of industry and finance. The old patrician classes of the country could not compete with the men of new wealth on their own terms. By emphasizing nationalism, patriotism, and the virtues of manly and even martial strenuousness, Roosevelt put forward an alternative standard of success.

### THE YOUNG T.R.

It had been one of Roosevelt's early accomplishments that he had successfully challenged his social set's condescending aloof-

ness by entering the festering New York political scene, against all counsel, without losing his standing in society. "I intended," he said, "to be one of the governing class"; and if the men who then dominated that class were indeed too vulgar and rough for him, then "I supposed I would have to quit, but I certainly would not quit until I had made the effort and found out whether I really was too weak to hold my own in the rough and tumble." Of course, Roosevelt held his own. But more than that, he helped make politics an attractive career once more for well-educated, talented men and women of goodwill. He, as much as anyone in the country, was responsible for making reform respectable, removing from it the stigmas of radicalism on the one hand and of effiteness on the other. He rehabilitated the idea of the patrician in politics.

It is easy—perhaps too easy—to link Theodore Roosevelt's political philosophy and his behavior in the White House to his childhood and his upbringing. There is a strong consistency in his attitude toward duty, character, and power that runs the extent of the sixty-one years he lived. He was born in Manhattan on 27 October 1858, the second child and the older of two sons in a family of four children. His southern-born mother, Martha Bulloch, could well have been a model for the stereotype of the ineffectual Victorian female. His father, Theodore, Sr., appeared (at least in his older son's revering eyes) a paragon of civic and family virtue, a tall, strong, athletically built man of stern moral commitments, active in philanthropy and on the periphery of politics. His devoted son bore the burden of physical frailty and illness, a burden made doubly heavy by the inevitable comparisons he made to his father. Small-boned, soprano-voiced, nearsighted to the point of virtual blindness in one eye, and severely asthmatic, he wrote later as well as in his childhood diaries of the anguish he felt over his in-

THEODORE ROOSEVELT  
CYCLOPEDIA

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FOREWORD BY

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION

ROOSEVELT HOUSE

NEW YORK CITY

perity which can of right be treated as an earnest of future success, and for no other are the rewards of foresight so great, so certain, and so easily foretold. Yet hitherto as a Nation we have tended to live with an eye single to the present, and have permitted the reckless waste and destruction of much of our natural wealth.

The conservation of our natural resources and their proper use constitute the fundamental problem which underlies almost every other problem of our national life. Unless we maintain an adequate material basis for our civilization, we can not maintain the institutions in which we take so great and so just a pride; and to waste and destroy our natural resources means to undermine this material basis. (Before National Editorial Association, Jamestown, Va., June 10, 1907.) *Presidential Addresses and State Papers VI*, 1310-1311.

Optimism is a good characteristic, but if carried to an excess it becomes foolishness. We are prone to speak of the resources of this country as inexhaustible; this is not so. The mineral wealth of the country, the coal, iron, oil, gas, and the like, does not reproduce itself, and therefore is certain to be exhausted ultimately; and wastefulness in dealing with it to-day means that our descendants will feel the exhaustion a generation or two before they otherwise would. But there are certain other forms of waste which could be entirely stopped—the waste of soil by washing, for instance, which is among the most dangerous of all wastes now in progress in the United States, is easily preventable, so that this present enormous loss of fertility is entirely unnecessary. The preservation or replacement of the forests is one of the most important means of preventing this loss. (Seventh Annual Message, Washington, December 3, 1907.) *Mem. Ed. XVII*, 526; *Nat. Ed. XV*, 448.

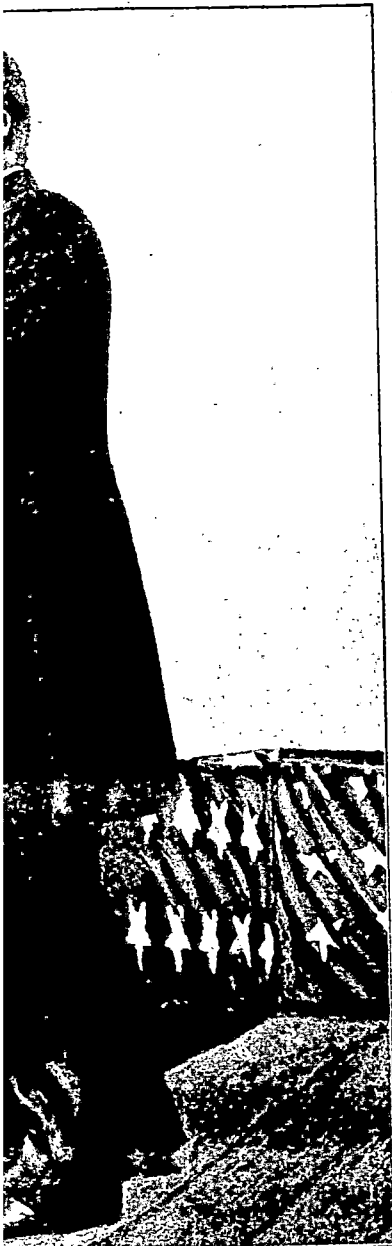
There must be a sound moral standard on public matters; our public men must represent and respond to the aroused conscience of the people. . . . All the great natural resources which are vital to the welfare of the whole people should be kept either in the hands or under the full control of the whole people. This applies to coal, oil, timber, water power, natural gas. Either natural resources of the land should be kept in the hands of the people and their development and use allowed under leasing arrangements (or otherwise); or, where this is not possible, there should be strict governmental control over their use. *Outlook*, April 20, 1912, p. 853.

Conservation means development as much as it does protection. I recognize the right and duty of this generation to develop and use the natural resources of our land; but I do not recognize the right to waste them, or to rob, by wasteful use, the generations that come after us. I ask nothing of the nation except that it so behave as each farmer here behaves with reference to his own children. That farmer is a poor creature who skins the land and leaves it worthless to his children. The farmer is a good farmer who, having enabled the land to support himself and to provide for the education of his children, leaves it to them a little better than he found it himself. I believe the same thing of a nation.

Moreover, I believe that the natural resources must be used for the benefit of all our people, and not monopolized for the benefit of the few, and here again is another case in which I am accused of taking a revolutionary attitude. People forget now that one hundred years ago there were public men of good character who advocated the nation selling its public lands in great quantities, so that the nation could get the most money out of it, and giving it to the men who could cultivate it for their own uses. We took the proper democratic ground that the land should be granted in small sections to the men who were actually to till it and live on it. Now, with the water-power, with the forests, with the mines, we are brought face to face with the fact that there are many people who will go with us in conserving the resources only if they are to be allowed to exploit them for their benefit. That is one of the fundamental reasons why the special interests should be driven out of politics. Of all the questions which can come before this nation, short of the actual preservation of its existence in a great war, there is none which compares in importance with the great central task of leaving this land even a better land for our descendants than it is for us, and training them into a better race to inhabit the land and pass it on. Conservation is a great moral issue, for it involves the patriotic duty of insuring the safety and continuance of the nation. (At Osawatomie, Kan., August 31, 1910.) *Mem. Ed. XIX*, 22; *Nat. Ed. XVII*, 15.

**CONSERVATION—BASIS OF.** We have become great because of the lavish use of our resources and we have just reason to be proud of our growth. But the time has come to inquire seriously what will happen when our forests are gone, when the coal, the iron, the oil, and the gas are exhausted, when the soils have been still further impoverished and washed into the streams, polluting the rivers, denuding the fields,

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Presidential  
Addresses and State  
Papers of  
**Theodore Roosevelt**

PART ONE

*WITH PORTRAIT FRONTISPIECE*

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1970

AT LAYING OF CORNERSTONE OF GATEWAY  
TO YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK, GAR-  
DINER, MONTANA, APRIL 24, 1903

*Mr. Mayor, Mr. Superintendent, and my Fellow-Citizens:*

I wish to thank the people of Montana generally, those of Gardiner and Cinnabar especially, and more especially still all those employed in the Park, whether in civil or military capacity, for my very enjoyable two weeks' holiday.

It is a pleasure now to say a few words to you at the laying of the cornerstone of the beautiful road which is to mark the entrance to this Park. The Yellowstone Park is something absolutely unique in the world, so far as I know. Nowhere else in any civilized country is there to be found such a tract of veritable wonderland made accessible to all visitors, where at the same time not only the scenery of the wilderness, but the wild creatures of the Park are scrupulously preserved; the only change being that these same wild creatures have been so carefully protected as to show a literally astounding tameness. The creation and preservation of such a great natural playground in the interest of our people as a whole is a credit to the nation; but above all a credit to Montana, Wyoming and Idaho. It has been preserved with wise foresight. The scheme of its preservation is noteworthy in its essential democracy. Private game preserves, though they may be handled in such a way as to be not only good things for

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themselves, but good things for the surrounding community, can yet never be more than poor substitutes, from the standpoint of the public, for great national playgrounds such as this Yellowstone Park. This Park was created, and is now administered, for the benefit and enjoyment of the people. The government must continue to appropriate for it especially in the direction of completing and perfecting an excellent system of drive-ways. But already its beauties can be seen with great comfort in a short space of time and at an astounding small cost, and with the sense on the part of every visitor that it is in part his property, that it is the property of Uncle Sam and therefore of all of us. The only way that the people as a whole can secure to themselves and their children the enjoyment in perpetuity of what the Yellowstone Park has to give is by assuming the ownership in the name of the nation and by jealously safeguarding and preserving the scenery, the forests, and the wild creatures. When we have a good system of carriage roads throughout the Park—for of course it would be very unwise to allow either steam or electric roads in the Park—we shall have a region as easy and accessible to travel in as it is already every whit as interesting as any similar territory of the Alps or the Italian Riviera. The geysers, the extraordinary hot springs, the lakes, the mountains, the canyons, and cataracts unite to make this region something not wholly to be paralleled elsewhere on the globe. It must be kept for the benefit and en-

joyment of all of us; and I hope to see a steadily increasing number of our people take advantage of its attractions. At present it is rather singular that a greater number of people come from Europe to see it than come from our own Eastern States. The people near by seem awake to its beauties; and I hope that more and more of our people who dwell far off will appreciate its really marvelous character. Incidentally, I should like to point out that some time people will surely awake to the fact that the Park has special beauties to be seen in winter; and any hardy man who can go through it in that season on skis will enjoy himself as he scarcely could elsewhere.

I wish especially to congratulate the people of Montana, Wyoming, and Idaho, and notably you of Gardiner and Cinnabar and the immediate outskirts of the Park, for the way in which you heartily co-operate with the superintendent to prevent acts of vandalism and destruction. Major Pitcher has explained to me how much he owes to your co-operation and your lively appreciation of the fact that the Park is simply being kept in the interest of all of us, so that every one may have the chance to see its wonders with ease and comfort at the minimum of expense. I have always thought it was a liberal education to any man of the East to come West, and he can combine profit with pleasure if he will incidentally visit this Park, the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, and the Yosemite, and take the sea voyage to Alaska. Major Pitcher reports to me, by the way, that he has received invaluable assistance from

the game wardens of Montana and Wyoming, and that the present game warden of Idaho has also promised his hearty aid.

The preservation of the forests is of course the matter of prime importance in every public reserve of this character. In this region of the Rocky Mountains and the great plains the problem of the water supply is the most important which the home-maker has to face. Congress has not of recent years done anything wiser than in passing the irrigation bill; and nothing is more essential to the preservation of the water supply than the preservation of the forests. Montana has in its water power a source of development which has hardly yet been touched. This water power will be seriously impaired if ample protection is not given the forests. Therefore this Park, like the forest reserves generally, is of the utmost advantage to the country around from the merely utilitarian side. But of course this Park, also because of its peculiar features, is to be preserved as a beautiful natural playground. Here all the wild creatures of the old days are being preserved, and their overflow into the surrounding country means that the people of the surrounding country, so long as they see that the laws are observed by all, will be able to ensure to themselves and to their children and to their children's children much of the old-time pleasure of the hardy life of the wilderness and of the hunter in the wilderness. This pleasure, moreover, can under such conditions be kept for all who have the love of adven-

ture and the hardihood to take advantage of it, with small regard for what their fortune may be. I can not too often repeat that the essential feature in the present management of the Yellowstone Park, as in all similar places, is its essential democracy—it is the preservation of the scenery, of the forests, of the wilderness life and the wilderness game for the people as a whole, instead of leaving the enjoyment thereof to be confined to the very rich who can control private reserves. I have been literally astounded at the enormous quantities of elk and at the number of deer, antelope and mountain sheep which I have seen on their wintering grounds; and the deer and sheep in particular are quite as tame as range stock. A few buffalo are being preserved. I wish very much that the government could somewhere provide for an experimental breeding station of cross-breeds between buffalo and the common cattle. If these cross-breeds could be successfully perpetuated we should have animals which would produce a robe quite as good as the old buffalo robe with which twenty years ago every one was familiar, and animals moreover which would be so hardy that I think they would have a distinct commercial importance. They would, for instance, be admirably suited for Alaska, a territory which I look to see develop astoundingly within the next decade or two, not only because of its furs and fisheries, but because of its agricultural and pastoral possibilities.

collecting tickets and Twain handed him two. "But where is the other passenger?" inquired the perplexed conductor.

"Oh, that's my friend's ticket!" Mark Twain replied in a loud voice. "He is a bit eccentric and likes to ride under the seat!"

## EDITORS

How often we recall, with regret, that Napoleon once shot at a magazine editor and missed him and killed a publisher. But we remember with charity, that his intentions were good.

—Letter to Henry Alden, November 11, 1906

I am not the editor of a newspaper, and shall always try to do right and be good, so that God will not make me one.

—*Galaxy Magazine*, 1870

## EDUCATION

The formal schooling of Samuel Clemens ended at the age of twelve when he was apprenticed to a printer in Hannibal. The education of Mark Twain continued, however, in riverboat cabins and silver mines and lecture halls and publishers' offices, everywhere he went, for the rest of his life. He said, "I never let my schooling interfere with my education."

Soap and education are not as sudden as a massacre, but they are more deadly in the long run.

—"Facts Concerning the Recent Resignation," sketch, 1867

It is noble to teach oneself, but still nobler to teach others—and less trouble.

—"Doctor Van Dyke," speech, 1906

The self-taught man seldom knows anything accurately, and he does not know a tenth as much as he could have known if he had worked under teachers, and besides, he brags, and is the means

# MARK TWAIN

of fooling other thoughtless people into going and doing as he himself has done.

—"Taming the Bicycle," essay, 1917

It is better to support schools than jails.

—"Feeding a Dog on Its Own Tail," speech, 1900

Out of the public school grows the greatness of a nation.

—"Feeding a Dog on Its Own Tail," speech, 1900

All schools, all colleges, have two great functions: to confer, and to conceal valuable knowledge.

—Notebook, 1908

Apparently—like our public-school boy—his "education" consists in learning *things*, not the meaning of them; he is fed upon the husks, not the corn.

—*Following the Equator*, 1897, vol. 2, ch. 25

Everything has its limit—iron ore cannot be educated into gold.

—"What Is Man?" essay, 1906

Education consists mainly in what we have unlearned.

—Notebook, 1898

In the first place God made idiots. This was for practice. Then He made school boards.

—*Following the Equator*, 1897, vol. 2, ch. 25

## ELIOT, GEORGE

I bored through *Middlemarch* the past week . . . and nearly died from the overwork.

—Letter to William Dean Howells, 1885

***INSTANT ALMANAC***  
***of Events, Anniversaries,***  
***Observances, Quotations,***  
***and Birthdays***  
***for Every Day***  
***of the Year***

**Leonard and Thelma Spinrad**

PARKER PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

West Nyack, N. Y.

**The day in history:**

1370—Construction of Bastille began in Paris.

1889—Oklahoma Day marks opening of first section of Oklahoma territory to homesteaders in great land rush.

1915—Germans introduced poison gas at World War I Battle of Ypres, Belgium.

1954—Television broadcasts of Senate hearings on Army charges against Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R., Wis.) began in Washington, D.C.

**The day's birthdays:**

Spain's Queen Isabella I 1451, Madrigal, Spain; writer Henry Fielding 1707, Somerset, England; philosopher Immanuel Kant 1724, Königsberg, Germany; violinist Yehudi Menuhin 1916, New York City; novelist Madame de Staël 1766, Paris; writer Ellen Glasgow 1874, Richmond, Va.; Russia's Lenin 1870, Simbirsk, Russia; politician Alexander Kerensky 1881, Simbirsk, Russia.

**Quotation of the day:**

"The best system is to have one party govern and the other party watch."—Thomas B. Reed, April 22, 1880

"Of all the tasks of government, the most basic is to protect its citizens against violence."—John Foster Dulles, April 22, 1957

—APRIL 23—

St. George, patron saint of England, hero of mythical joust with a dragon, martyred in Palestine in about the 4th century.

*Zodiac sign for the day:* Taurus, the bull.

*Zodiac birthstone for the day:* Diamond, sapphire.

**The day in history:**

1616—William Shakespeare died on his 52nd birthday at Stratford, England.

1896—"Vitascope" process for projecting movies on a theatre screen had its debut at Koster & Bial's Music Hall in New York City.

1970—Gambia became a republic.

**The day's birthdays:**

Artist Joseph Turner 1775, London; President James Buchanan 1791, Franklin County, Penna.; writer William Shakespeare 1564,

April

Stratford, England; physicist Max Planck 1858, Kiel, Germany; composer Sergei Prokofiev 1891, Ekaterinoslav, Russia; writer Vladimir Nabokov 1899, St. Petersburg, Russia; Hollywood's Shirley Temple (Black), Santa Monica, Calif.; General Lucius Clay 1897, Marietta, Ga.

Quotation of the day:

"It is not the neutrals or the lukewarms who make history."—Adolf Hitler, April 23, 1933

"People die, but books never die."—Franklin D. Roosevelt, April 23, 1942

—APRIL 24—

*Zodiac sign for the day:* Taurus, the bull.

*Zodiac birthstone for the day:* Diamond, sapphire.

The day in history:

1704—The *Boston Newsletter*, first regularly issued American newspaper, began publication.

1800—Library of Congress established in Washington, D.C.

1898—Spain declared war on U.S. (see April 25.)

1916—Easter Rebellion in Ireland against British rule, April 24-29.

The day's birthdays:

Writer Anthony Trollope 1815, London; artist Willem de Kooning 1904, Rotterdam; writer Robert Penn Warren 1905, Guthrie, Ky.; actress Shirley MacLaine, Richmond, Va.; actress-singer Barbra Streisand, New York City.

Quotation of the day:

"I do not see why there is not greater enthusiasm for planning, except perhaps for this reason: that the word *planning* does not signify anything very spectacular about it and it takes a good many years to see results from it."—Franklin D. Roosevelt, April 24, 1934

—APRIL 25—

St. Mark, Evangelist-Gospel author of first century and patron of Venice.

*Zodiac sign for the day:* Taurus, the bull.

*Zodiac birthstone for the day:* Diamond, sapphire.

**The day in history:**

1816—Lord Byron left England, never to see it again.

1898—U.S. declared war on Spain, declaring that state of war had existed since April 21.

1915—Anzac Day marks landing of Australian and New Zealand troops in vain invasion of Gallipoli near Dardanelles in World War I.

1945—U.S. & U.S.S.R. troops in World War II met at the Elbe River in Germany.

1945—Conference to form a United Nations Organization opened in San Francisco.

**The day's birthdays:**

Statesman Oliver Cromwell 1599, Huntingdon, England; inventor Guglielmo Marconi 1874, Bologna, Italy; singer Ella Fitzgerald, Newport News, Va.; William of Orange 1533, Dillenburg, Germany.

**Quotation of the day:**

"We believe that the just standing of all nations is the health and security of all."—Thomas Jefferson, April 25, 1812

—APRIL 26—

Confederate Memorial Day, observed in some Southern states.

*Zodiac sign for the day:* Taurus, the bull.

*Zodiac birthstone for the day:* Diamond, sapphire.

**The day in history:**

1951—Associated Press correspondent William Oatis arrested as spy in communist Czechoslovakia; he spent two years in prison.

1954—Nationwide test of Salk anti-polio vaccine began in U.S.

1964—Tanganyika and Zanzibar merged in republic later named Tanzania.

**The day's birthdays:**

Artist-naturalist John James Audubon 1785, Les Cayes, Santo Domingo; ballet master Michel Fokine 1880, St. Petersburg, Russia; painter Eugene Delacroix 1798, Charenton-St. Maurice, France; Korea's President Syngman Rhee 1875, Waanghai, Korea; entertainer Carol Burnett, San Antonio, Texas.

**Quotation of the day:**

"... I was always, as I still am, trying to fashion a piece of literature out of the life next at hand."—William Dean Howells, April 26, 1903

## —APRIL 27—

*Zodiac sign for the day:* Taurus, the bull.

*Zodiac birthstone for the day:* Diamond, sapphire.

**The day in history:**

1521—Explorer Ferdinand Magellan was killed in the Philippines.

1817—Rush-Bagot Agreement between U.S. and Canada provided for maintenance of unfortified border (ratified by U.S. Senate April 16, 1818).

1865—Steamer *Sultana*, loaded with Union prisoners from Confederate prison at Andersonville, Ga., exploded in Mississippi River at Helena, Ark., killing 1450.

1937—U.S. Social Security System made first benefit payments.

1960—Togo became an independent African nation.

1961—Sierra Leone became free in British Commonwealth.

1967—Heavyweight-boxing champion Cassius Clay (Muhammad Ali) refused to be inducted into U.S. armed forces.

1969—Charles de Gaulle quit as President of France after defeat of his program in a national referendum.

**The day's birthdays:**

Inventor Samuel F.B. Morse 1791, Charlestown, Mass.; philosopher Herbert Spencer 1820, Derby, England; President Ulysses S. Grant 1822, Pt. Pleasant, Ohio.

**Quotation of the day:**

"If you were to make little fishes talk, they would talk like whales."—Oliver Goldsmith, April 27, 1773

"...in freeing peoples, perishing and oppressed, our country's blessing will also come; for profit follows righteousness."—Albert J. Beveridge, April 27, 1898

## —APRIL 28—

*Zodiac sign for the day:* Taurus, the bull.

*Zodiac birthstone for the day:* Diamond, sapphire.

**The day in history:**

1788—Maryland became seventh state to ratify Constitution.

1789—Fletcher Christian led mutiny by the crew of H.M.S. *Bounty* against Captain Bligh in the Pacific.

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Howells, April 26, 1903

**APRIL 22 — Saturday**

112th Day — Remaining, 253

**APRIL FEST.** Apr 22. Purpose: Celebrate spring. Craft booths, street entertainment and carnival. Sponsor: Chamber of Commerce, 108 S Anderson St, Elwood, IN 46036.

**ARBOR DAY ANNIVERSARY.** Apr 22. Nebraska. First observance of Arbor Day was in this state, Apr 10, 1872. Now observed on many different dates in different states and countries.

**ARTWORKS! A FESTIVAL OF SIGHTS, SOUNDS, AND IMAGES.** Apr 22-May 21. St. Petersburg, FL. Purpose: To promote a deeper understanding and awareness of the arts in the St. Petersburg area. Info from: Jill Strickland, St. Petersburg Area Chamber of Commerce, PO Box 1371, St. Petersburg, FL 33731.

**BRAZIL: DISCOVERY OF BRAZIL DAY.** Apr 22. Commemorates discovery by Pedro Alvarez Cabral, 1500.

**BROWN'S CROSSING SPRING CRAFTSMAN FAIR.** Apr 22-23. Milledgeville, GA. Arts and crafts sale. Info from: Carole Sirmans, 400 Brown's Crossing Rd, NW, Milledgeville, GA 31061.

**CANADA: KIWANIS MUSIC FESTIVAL—EDMONTON.** Apr 22-May 7. Edmonton, Alta. Over 15,000 children compete in a number of categories—piano, band, choral, orchestral—for music scholarships. Info from: Alberta Tourism, 10025 Jasper Avenue, Edmonton, Alta, Canada T5J 3Z3.

**DOWN HOME MUSIC WEEKEND.** Apr 22. Mountain View, AR. Organized and impromptu music on courthouse square and throughout the town. Info from: Stone County Council on Tourism, Box 253, Mountain View, AR 72560.

**DOWNTOWN FESTIVAL OF THE ARTS.** Apr 22-23. Stranahan Park south to New River, Ft Lauderdale, FL. Celebration of cultural and applied arts. Info from: Ft Lauderdale Parks & Recreation, 301 N Andrews Ave, Ft Lauderdale, FL 33302.

**EARTH DAY: ANNIVERSARY.** Apr 22. First observed Apr 22, 1970, with message "Give Earth a Chance" and attention to reclaiming the purity of the air, water and living environment. Special 10th anniversary observance on Apr 22, 1980, with assistance from US Environmental Protection Agency. Although there is, reportedly, no continuing organization for observance, it is expected that there will be observance in many places on this date each year. Note: "Earth" days have been observed by many groups and on various dates. The vernal equinox has been chosen by some for this observance. Info from: Environmental Protection Agency, Office of Public Awareness, 401 M St, SW, Washington, DC 20460.

**GIRL SCOUT LEADER'S DAY.** Apr 22. Purpose: To recognize the people who make Girl Scouting possible for girls. An opportunity for girls involved in Girl Scouting to honor their troop leaders. Sponsor: Girl Scouts of the USA, Karen J. Arthur, Media Services, 830 Third Ave, New York, NY 10022.

**HISTORIC VIRGINIA GARDEN WEEK.** Apr 22-30. Lorton, VA. Gunston Hall's 550 acres on the Potomac River include nature trails, deer park, pastures, graveyard and formal boxwood gardens, which center on a boxwood walk between trees planted more than 200 years ago by the American Revolutionary statesman George Mason. The house, with its period furnishings, is an important and beautiful example of 18th-century American architecture. Info from: Special Events, Gunston Hall, Lorton, VA 22079.

**LENIN, NIKOLAI: BIRTH ANNIVERSARY.** Apr 22. Russian socialist and revolutionary leader (real name: Vladimir Ilyitch Ulyanov), ideological follower of Karl Marx. Born at Simbirst, on the Volga, Apr 22, 1870 (New Style) (Apr 10, 1870, Old Style). Leader of the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917. Lenin died at Gorky, near Moscow, on Jan 21, 1924. His embalmed body, in a glass coffin at the Lenin Mausoleum, has been viewed by millions of visitors to Moscow's Red Square.

**OKLAHOMA DAY.** Apr 22. Oklahoma.

**POLK COUNTY RAMP TRAMP FESTIVAL.** Apr 22-23. Polk County 4-H camp in Greasy Creek Community near Benton, TN. A tribute to the ramp, a wild onionlike plant that grows only in the Appalachian Mountains, bluegrass music and feast of the ramps. Info from: Don Ledford, Box 189, Benton, TN 37307.

**TEXAS WILDFLOWER DAY.** Apr 22. Purpose: Celebration of efforts to preserve/conservate beautiful Texas wildflowers. Carroll Abbott Memorial Symposium, exhibits and awards. Annually, the fourth Saturday in Apr. Info from: Dr Robert E. Collier, Dean, Box 22675, TWU Station, Denton, TX 76204.

**BIRTHDAYS TODAY**

**Eddie Albert**, actor, born at Rock Island, IL, Apr 22, 1908.

**Glen Campbell**, singer, born at Billstown, AR, Apr 22, 1935.

**Paul Carrack**, singer, born Sheffield, England, Apr 22, 1951.

**Peter Frampton**, singer, songwriter, born at Beckenham, England, Apr 22, 1950.

**Yehudi Menuhin**, violinist, born at New York, NY, Apr 22, 1916.

**Jack Nicholson**, actor, producer, born at Neptune, NJ, Apr 22, 1936.

**APRIL 23 — Sunday**

113th Day — Remaining, 252

**BIG SUR INTERNATIONAL MARATHON.** Apr 23. Monterey, CA. 2000+ marathoners experience the challenge and thrill of running along the breathtaking central California coast from Pfeiffer Big Sur State Park to Carmel. Info from: Monterey Peninsula Chamber of Commerce, and Vis/Conv Bur, PO Box 1770, 380 Alvarado, Monterey, CA 93942.

**BOOK DAY AND LOVER'S DAY.** Apr 23. Barcelona, Spain. Saint George's Day and the anniversary of the death of Spanish writer Miguel de Cervantes have been observed with special ceremonies in the Palacio de la Disputacion and throughout the city since 1714. Book stands are set up in the plazas and on street corners. The gift of a rose and a book to someone dear is especially appropriate and especially prized on this day.

**BUCHANAN, JAMES: BIRTH ANNIVERSARY.** Apr 23. The 15th president of the US, born at Cove Gap, PA, on Apr 23, 1791, was the only president who never married. He served one term in office, Mar 4, 1857-Mar 3, 1861, and died at Lancaster, PA, on June 1, 1868.

**CANADA-UNITED STATES GOODWILL WEEK.** Apr 23-29. Purpose: To bring about a better understanding of the American and Canadian ways of life. Always the full week including April 28 (anniversary of the signing of the Rush-Bagot agreement). Sponsor: Kiwanis Internatl, Program Development Dept, 3636 Woodview Trace, Indianapolis, IN 46268.

**CERVANTES SAAVEDRA, MIGUEL DE: DEATH ANNIVERSARY.** Apr 23. Spanish poet, playwright and novelist died in his 69th year, at Madrid, on Apr 23, 1616 (also the day of William Shakespeare's death). The exact date of Cervante's birth at Alcalá de Henares is unknown, but he was baptized Oct 9, 1547, and some believe he was born on Michaelmas, Sept 29. As soldier and tax collector, Cervantes traveled widely. He spent more than five years in prisons in Spain, Italy and North Africa. His greatest creation was Don Quixote, the immortal Knight of La Mancha whose profession was chivalry. Riding his nag, Rozinante, and accompanied by Squire Sancho Panza, Don

Quixote tilts at windmills of the mind in the world's best-known novel. Nearly a thousand editions of *Don Quixote* (a best-seller since its first appearance in 1605) have been published, and, next to the Bible, it has been translated into more languages than any other book.

**GRANGE WEEK.** Apr 23-29. Purpose: National and state recognition for Grange's contribution to rural/urban America. Celebrated at National Headquarters in Washington, DC, and in all states with local, county, and state granges. Info from: Mary R. Buffington, Lecturer, The Natl Grange, RD 1, Box R719, Chadds Ford, PA 19317.

**INTERNATIONAL BRIDGE, TUNNEL AND TURNPIKE ASSOCIATION WORKSHOP.** Apr 23-25. Hyatt Regency, Dearborn, MI. Info from: Internatl Bridge, Tunnel & Turnpike Assn, Neil D. Schuster, 2120 L St NW, Washington, DC 20037.

**NATIONAL WEEK OF THE OCEAN '89.** Apr 23-29. Purpose: To involve all in the celebration of the influence of the ocean on our lives—its historic, cultural, commercial and recreational significance and its bountiful resources of food, water and energy. Info from: Cynthia Hancock, Week of the Ocean, Inc, Box 179, Ft Lauderdale, FL 33302.

**NATIONAL YWCA WEEK.** Apr 23-29. Purpose: To promote the YWCA of the USA nationally. Annually, last full week in Apr. Sponsor: YWCA of the USA, Jane Pinkerton, Dir Communications/PR Div, 726 Broadway, New York, NY 10003.

**PEPPERCORN CEREMONY.** Apr 23. St. George. Commemorates the payment of one peppercorn in 1816 to the governor of Bermuda for rental of Old State House by the Masonic Lodge.

**PROFESSIONAL SECRETARIES WEEK.** Apr 23-29. Purpose: Acknowledgment of the contributions of all secretaries to the vital roles of business, industry, education, government and the professions. Annually, last full week from Sunday-Saturday in April. Sponsor: Professional Secretaries Internatl, 301 E Armour Blvd, Kansas City, MO 64111.

**READING IS FUN WEEK.** Apr 23-29. Purpose: To highlight the importance of reading. Sponsor: Reading Is Fundamental, Inc, 600 Maryland Ave SW, Rm 500, Washington, DC 20560.

**ST. GEORGE: FEAST DAY.** Apr 23. Martyr and patron saint of England, who died Apr 23, A.D. 303. He was hero of George and the Dragon legend. Story says his faith helped him slay vicious dragon that demanded daily live sacrifice when king's daughter became intended victim.

**SHAKESPEARE, WILLIAM: BIRTH ANNIVERSARY.** Apr 23. England's most famous, most revered and perhaps least known poet and playwright. He was born at Stratford-on-Avon, Apr 23, 1564, baptized three days later and died there on his birthday, Apr 23, 1616. Author of at least 36 plays and 154 sonnets. Virtually every "fact" about Shakespeare, from the spelling of his name to the authorship of the plays bearing his name, has been the subject of controversy and challenge. His epitaph: "Good frend for Jesus sake forbear, To digg the dust enclosed here. Blesse be ye man that spares thes stones, And curst be he that moves my bones."

**SPACE MILESTONE: SOYUZ 10 (USSR).** Apr 23. Cosmonauts V.A. Shatalov, A.S. Yeliseyev, N.N. Rukavishnikov docked Apr 24 with *Salyut 1* orbital space station. Return Earth landing in Kazakhstan, Apr 24. Launched Apr 23, 1971.

April 1989	S	M	T	W	T	F	S
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	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
	30						

**TURKEY: NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND CHILDREN'S DAY.** Apr 23. Commemorates Grand National Assembly's inauguration on Apr 23, 1923.

**BIRTHDAYS TODAY**

- Valerie Bertinelli**, actress, born at Wilmington, DE, Apr 23, 1960.
- Shirley Temple Black**, former actress, ambassador, born at Santa Monica, CA, Apr 23, 1928.
- Sandra Dee**, actress, born at Bayonne, NJ, Apr 23, 1942.
- Joyce Dewitt**, actress, born at Wheeling, WV, Apr 23, 1949.
- Phil Esposito**, hockey player, born at Sault Ste. Marie, Ont, Canada, Apr 23, 1942.
- Halston (Roy Halston Frowick)**, fashion designer, born at Des Moines, IA, Apr 23, 1932.
- Lee Majors**, actor, born at Wyandotte, MI, Apr 23, 1940.
- Bernadette Devlin McAliskey**, political activist, born at Cookstown, Northern Ireland, Apr 23, 1947.
- Roy Orbison**, singer, musician, born at Wink, TX, Apr 23, 1936.
- Steve Symms**, US Senator (R, Idaho) born at Nampa, ID, Apr 23, 1938.
- Herve Villechaize**, actor, born at Paris, France, Apr 23, 1943.



**APRIL 24 — Monday**

114th Day — Remaining, 251

**AMERICAN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION: CONVENTION.** Apr 24-26. Chicago, IL. Purpose: To review through a three-day program of speakers, panels and discussion sessions those matters that bear upon present and future operations of newspaper publishing. Info from: ANPA, William Schabacker, PR Mgr, The Newspaper Ctr, Box 17407, Dulles Intl Airport, Washington, DC 20041.

**ARMENIAN MARTYRS DAY.** Apr 24. Commemorates the massacre of Armenians under the Ottoman Turks in 1915. Also called Armenian Liberation Day. In 1985 an international controversy concerning this event was revived when it was reported that Adolph Hitler, in a speech at Obersalzberg on Aug 22, 1939, said, "Who today remembers the Armenian extermination?" in an apparent justification of genocide.

**BULLDOG BEAUTY CONTEST.** Apr 24. Nollen Plaza, Des Moines, IA. Purpose: To pick the "most beautiful bulldog" from a world-class field of 50 hairy hopefuls. Winner reigns as mascot of the Drake Relays. Sponsor: Midland Financial Savings & Loan, 606 Walnut/Financial Ctr, Des Moines, IA 50309.

**CARTWRIGHT, EDMUND: BIRTH ANNIVERSARY.** Apr 24. English cleric and inventor (developed the power loom and other weaving inventions) was born at Nottinghamshire, England, Apr 24, 1743. He died at Hastings, Sussex, England, Oct 30, 1823.

**CONFEDERATE MEMORIAL DAY.** Apr 24. Alabama and Mississippi (Last Monday in Apr). Observed on other dates in some states: April 26 in Florida and Georgia, May 10 in North Carolina and South Carolina, last Monday in May in Virginia.

**CONSUMER PROTECTION WEEK.** Apr 24-28. Purpose: To protect consumers against fraud and misrepresentation of products and services. Info from: US Postal Service, Communications Dept, 475 L'Enfant Plaza, Washington, DC 20260.

**FAST DAY.** Apr 24. New Hampshire. Dates from the days of "public humiliation, fasting and prayer" proclaimed by royal governors during the 17th-century settlement of New England. (Fourth Monday in Apr.)

**LIBRARY OF CONGRESS ANNIVERSARY.** Apr 24. Congress approved, on Apr 24, 1800, an act providing "for the purchase of such books as may be necessary for the use of Congress . . . and for fitting up a suitable apartment for containing them." Thus began one of the world's greatest libraries.

**NEWFOUNDLAND: ST. GEORGE'S DAY.** Apr 24. Holiday observed in Newfoundland on Monday nearest Feast Day (Apr 23) of St. George.

**PANIOLO SKI MEET.** Apr 24. Big Island, HI. If the snow falls on cue, there will be a meet on the 14,000-ft Mauna Kea. Info from: Hawaii Visitors Bureau, 2270 Kalekale Ave, Honolulu, HI 96815.

**RUNNING OF THE RODENTS.** Apr 24-26. Purpose: To celebrate the pre-finals "Rat Race" that occurs each year, to develop community spirit and kick off the Kentucky Derby festivities. Sponsor: Spalding Univ, Ms Siobhan Reidy, PR Dir, 851 S Fourth St, Louisville, KY 40203.

**SPACE MILESTONE: CHINA 1 (PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA).** Apr 24. China becomes fifth nation to orbit satellite with its own rocket. Broadcast Chinese song "Tang Fang Hung" ("The East Is Red") and telemetric signals. Apr 24, 1970.

**THOMAS, ROBERT BAILEY: BIRTH ANNIVERSARY.** Apr 24. Founder and editor of *The Farmer's Almanac* (first issue for 1793) was born at Grafton, MA, Apr 24, 1766. Thomas died May 19, 1846, while working on the 1847 edition.

**TROLLOPE, ANTHONY: BIRTH ANNIVERSARY.** Apr 24. English novelist, born at London, Apr 24, 1815. Died there Dec 6, 1882. "Of all the needs a book has," he wrote in his autobiography, "the chief need is that it be readable."

**WARREN, ROBERT PENN: BIRTHDAY.** Apr 24. American poet, novelist, essayist and critic. He was named America's first official poet laureate by the Librarian of Congress on Feb 26, 1986. The position of poet laureate was established in the US, by law, on Dec 20, 1985. It was a new title for the consultant in poetry at the Library of Congress. Robert Penn Warren was born at Guthrie, KY on Apr 24, 1905.

**BIRTHDAYS TODAY**

**Vince Ferragamo**, former professional football player, born at Torrance, CA, Apr 24, 1954.

**Jill Ireland**, actress, born at London, England, Apr 24, 1936.

**Stanley J. Kauffmann**, critic, born at New York, NY, Apr 24, 1916.

**Shirley MacLaine**, author, actress, born at Richmond, VA, Apr 24, 1934.

**Barbra Streisand**, actress, singer, born at New York, NY, Apr 24, 1942.

**Rudy Tomjanovich**, basketball player, born at Hamtramck, MI, Apr 24, 1948.



**APRIL 25 — Tuesday**

115th Day — Remaining, 250

**ANZAC DAY.** Apr 25. Australia, New Zealand and Western Samoa. Memorial day and veterans' observance, especially to mark World War I Anzac landing at Gallipoli, on Apr 25, 1915 (ANZAC: Australia and New Zealand Army Corps).

**BRENNAN, WILLIAM J., JR: BIRTHDAY.** Apr 25. Associate justice of Supreme Court of the United States, appointed by President Eisenhower on Oct 15, 1956. (Oath of Office, Oct 16, 1956.) Justice Brennan was born at Newark, NJ, on Apr 25, 1906.

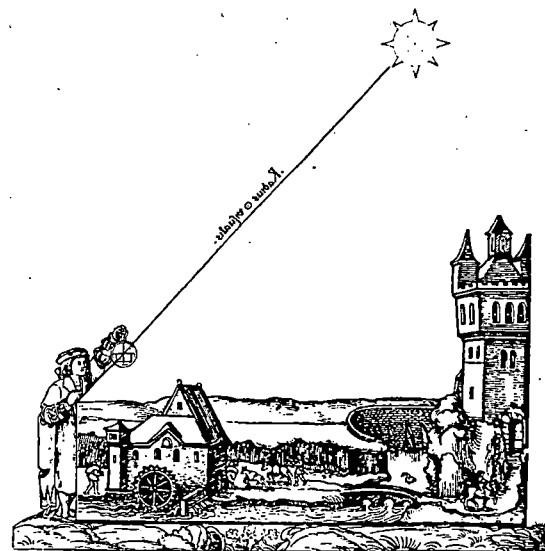
**FREDERICKSBURG DAY.** Apr 25. Purpose: To fund (state-wide) one historic garden restoration in Virginia per year. Spring tour of historic homes and gardens. Info from: Visitor's Ctr, 706 Caroline St, Fredericksburg, VA 22401.

**MACAU: ANNIVERSARY OF THE PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION.** Apr 25. Macau. Marks the anniversary of the 1974 revolution.

**MARCONI, GUGLIELMO: BIRTH ANNIVERSARY.** Apr 25. Inventor of wireless telegraphy (1895) born at Bologna, Italy, on this date, 1874. Died at Rome, July 20, 1937.

**MURROW, ED: BIRTH ANNIVERSARY.** Apr 25. American journalist and radio/television news broadcaster. Born Egbert Roscoe Murrow, at Greensboro, NC, on Apr 25, 1908, Murrow became one of the world's most influential reporters during World War II and was called "the most important broadcaster of our time." Murrow was noted for his courage in telling what he saw and what he believed. In 1958 he called attention to the conflict between "public interest and the corporate interest." He said: "One of the basic troubles with radio and television news is that both instruments have grown up as an incompatible combination of show business, advertising and news." Murrow was chief of the US Information Agency, 1961-1964. He died of lung cancer at Pawling, NY, on Apr 27, 1965.

**PORTUGAL'S DAY.** Apr 25. Portugal. Public holiday.



**WALDSEEMULLER, MARTIN: REMEMBRANCE DAY.**

Apr 25. Though little is known about the German geographer and mapmaker, Martin Waldseemuller, it was he who gave America its name. In a book entitled *Cosmographiae Introductio*, published on Apr 25, 1507, Waldseemuller wrote: "Inasmuch as both Europe and Asia received their names from women, I see no reason why any one should justly object to calling this part Amerige, i.e., the land of Amerigo, or America, after Amerigo, its discoverer, a man of great ability." Believing it was the Italian navigator and merchant Amerigo Vespucci (See also: "Vespucci, Amerigo: Birth Anniversary" [Mar 9]) who had discovered the new continent, Waldseemuller sought to honor Vespucci by placing his name on the map. He did so—on his map of the world, also published in 1507, and the name caught on. First applied only to the South American continent, it soon was used for both the American continents. Waldseemuller did not learn about the voyage of Christopher Columbus until several years later. Of the thousand copies of his map that were printed only one is known to have survived. Waldseemuller probably was born at Radolfzell, Germany, about 1470. He died at St. Die, France, about 1517-1520. This obscure scholar now called the "godfather of America" had the distinction of naming the new world of the Western hemisphere.

# Apr ★ ★ Chase's Annual Events ★ ★ 1989

## BIRTHDAYS TODAY

**William J. Brennan, Jr.**, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the US, born at Newark, NJ, Apr 25, 1906.  
**David Corzine**, pro basketball player, born at Arlington Heights, IL, Apr 25, 1956.  
**Ella Fitzgerald**, singer, born at Newport News, VA, Apr 25, 1918.  
**Meadowlark Lemon**, basketball player, born at Lexington, SC, Apr 25, 1932.  
**Anthony Lukas**, author, journalist, born at New York City, NY, Apr 25, 1933.  
**Paul Mazursky**, director, born at Brooklyn, NY, Apr 25, 1930.  
**Al Pacino**, actor, born at East Harlem, NY, Apr 25, 1940.  
**Talia Shire**, actress, born at Jamaica, NY, Apr 25, 1946.



## APRIL 26 — Wednesday

116th Day — Remaining, 249

**AUDUBON, JOHN JAMES: BIRTH ANNIVERSARY.** Apr 26. American artist and naturalist, born Haiti, Apr 26, 1785. Died Jan 27, 1851.

**CHAMPAGNE AND CANDLELIGHT TOUR.** Apr 26. Ash Lawn-Highland, Charlottesville, VA. House and gardens illuminated with 2,000 candles—period music is performed. Info from: Ash Lawn-Highland, Rt 6, Box 37, Charlottesville, VA 22901.

**CHERNOBYL NUCLEAR REACTOR DISASTER ANNIVERSARY.** Apr 26. At 1:23 A.M., local time, on Saturday, April 26, 1986, an explosion occurred at the Soviet Union's Chernobyl atomic power station at Pripjat in the Ukraine. The resulting fire burned for days, sending radioactive material into the atmosphere. It was the world's worst nuclear reactor accident. Wild rumors about the number of dead circulated as 100,000 persons were evacuated from a 300-square-mile area around the plant. Three months after the explosion 31 persons (including six firefighters) were reported to have died, and thousands of others had been exposed to dangerous levels of radiation. Estimates project an additional 1,000 cancer cases would occur in the 12 European community nations as a result of this disaster. The plant was encased in a concrete tomb in an effort to prevent the still-hot reactor from overheating again and to minimize further release of radiation. Unauthorized experiments by plant personnel and poor training were blamed for the accident, and top officials were dismissed or penalized. The accident created worldwide concern about the dangers of nuclear reactors. (Note: A total of 382 nuclear reactors, in 26 countries, were in operation at the end of 1985, and 118 more were scheduled to be completed by 1990.)

**CONFEDERATE MEMORIAL DAY.** Apr 26. Florida and Georgia. See also: Confederate Memorial Day entries for May 10, for the last Monday in April and for the last Monday in May. "Confederate Memorial Day" (Apr 24, May 10 and May 29).

**GUERNICA MASSACRE: ANNIVERSARY.** Apr 26. Late in the afternoon of Monday, Apr 26, 1937, the ancient Basque town of Guernica, in northern Spain, was attacked without warning by German-made airplanes. Three hours of intensive bombing left the town in flames. Citizens who fled to the fields and ditches around Guernica were machine-gunned from the air. This atrocity inspired Pablo Picasso's mural *Guernica*. Responsibility for the bombing was never officially established, but the suffering and anger of the victims and their survivors are still evident at anniversary demonstrations.

**April  
1989**

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	9	10	11	12	13	14
	16	17	18	19	20	21
	23	24	25	26	27	28
	30					29

**HESS, RUDOLF: BIRTH ANNIVERSARY.** Apr 26. One of the most bizarre figures of World War II Germany, Walter Richard Rudolf Hess was born at Alexandria, Egypt, on Apr 26, 1894. He was a close friend, confidant and personal secretary to Adolph Hitler who had dictated much of *Mein Kampf* to Hess while both were prisoners at Landsberg Prison. Third in command in Nazi Germany, Hess surprised the world on May 10, 1941, by flying alone to Scotland and parachuting from his plane on what he called a "mission of humanity"—offering peace to Britain if she would join Germany in attacking the Soviet Union. He was immediately taken prisoner of war. At the Nuremberg Trials (1946), after questions about his sanity, he was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment at Spandau Allied War Crimes Prison in Berlin. Outliving all other prisoners there he was the only inmate from 1955 until he succeeded (in his fourth attempt) in committing suicide (as had Hitler, Josef Goebbels, Heinrich Himmler and Hermann Goring before him). He died at age 93, on Aug 17, 1987.

**HUG AN AUSTRALIAN DAY.** Apr 26. To show our great appreciation for all the love and support the Aussies have given us over the years. Info from: G'day Soc, Thomas Roy, 437 SW End Ave, Lancaster, PA 17603.

**ITALY: FESTIVAL PIANISTICO INTERNAZIONALE DI BRESCIA E BERGAMO.** Apr 26-Jun 21. Brescia-Bergamo, Italy. Dates are approximate. Info from: Festival Pianistico Internazionale, c/o Teatro Grande, I-25121, Brescia-Bergamo, Italy.

**LOOS, ANITA: BIRTH ANNIVERSARY.** Apr 26. American author and playwright, born at Sisson, CA, on Apr 26, 1893. She is best remembered for her book *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes*, published in 1925. Loos, a brunette, died at New York City, on Aug 18, 1981.

**OLMSTED, FREDERICK LAW: BIRTH ANNIVERSARY.** Apr 26. American landscape architect, who participated in design of Yosemite National Park, New York City's Central Park and parks for Boston, Hartford and Louisville, was born at Hartford, CT, Apr 26, 1822, and died at Waverly, MA, Aug 28, 1903.

**PROFESSIONAL SECRETARIES DAY.** Apr 26. Wednesday of Secretaries Week. Sponsor: Professional Secretaries International, 301 E Armour Blvd, Kansas City, MO 64111.

**RICHTER SCALE DAY.** Apr 26. A day to recognize the importance of Charles Francis Richter's research and his work in development of the earthquake magnitude scale that is known as the Richter scale. Richter, an American author, physicist and seismologist, was born on Apr 26, 1900, near Hamilton, OH. An Earthquake Awareness Week was observed in recognition of his work. Richter died at Pasadena, CA, on Sept 30, 1985.

**TANZANIA: UNION DAY.** Apr 26. Celebrates union between mainland Tanzania (formerly Tanganyika) and the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, in 1964.

**WORLD YWCA DAY.** Apr 26. Purpose: To increase awareness of the WORLD YWCA, of which the YWCA of the USA is one of 82 member nations. Annually, last Wednesday in Apr. Sponsor: YWCA of the USA, Jane Pinkerton, Dir, Communications/PR Div, 726, New York, NY 10003.



## BIRTHDAYS TODAY

**Carol Burnett**, actress, born at San Antonio, TX, Apr 26, 1936.  
**Duane Eddy**, musician, born at Corning, NY, Apr 26, 1938.  
**Bambi Linn**, dancer, born at Brooklyn, NY, Apr 26, 1926.  
**Bobby Rydell**, singer, born at Philadelphia, PA, Apr 26, 1942.  
**Gary Wright**, musician, born at Englewood, NJ, Apr 26, 1943.

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# THE ALMANAC OF DATES

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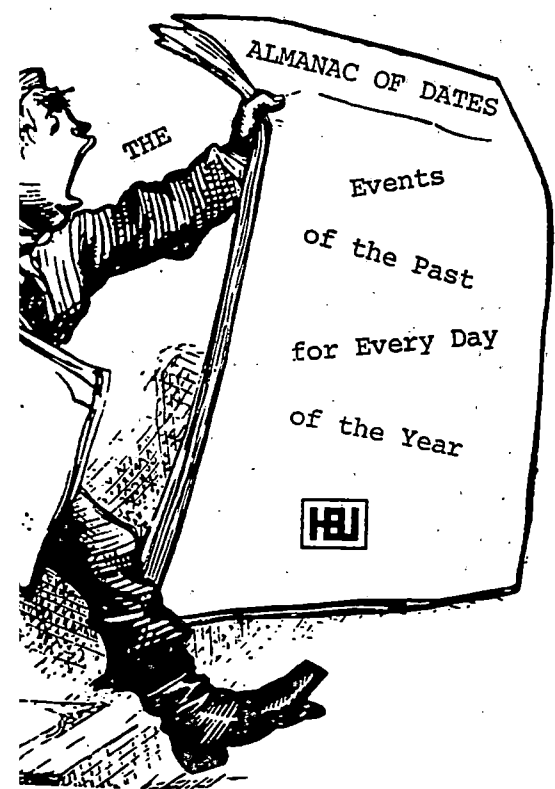
EVENTS OF THE PAST FOR  
EVERY DAY OF THE YEAR

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LINDA MILLGATE

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Harcourt Brace Jovanovich      New York and London



th II of England born  
 s, England's Poet Laureate, died  
 he penitentiary at Columbus, Ohio  
 rescue, soldier-playwright, died  
St. Paul damaged off Korea  
 the treaty giving sovereignty to  
 West Germany  
 thur, playwright, died  
 ared the new capital city of  
 Brazil  
 position opened at Seattle,  
 Washington  
 own, died  
 's World's Fair opened for the  
 second season  
 electric project begun on the  
 Acheloos River, Greece  
 Russian communications satellite,  
 launched  
 of England left Los Angeles to  
 break the transcontinental run  
 record  
 ay celebration at Riobamba,  
 Ecuador  
 alier, Haiti's president for life,  
 died  
 Good Friday  
 2030, 2041, 2052 Easter  
 2058, 2069 Quasimodo or Low  
 Sunday

ebraska  
 onrad of Parzham  
 heodore of Sykeon  
 Pope, died  
 ed Emperor of the Eastern Roman  
 mpire  
 f the Bastille, Paris fortress  
 id prison, begun  
 stance, reuniting the Roman  
 atholic Church after the Great  
 schism, ended  
 of Spain, backer of Columbus,  
 orn  
 le Cabral landed in Brazil and  
 aimed it for Portugal  
 Loyala, founder of the Society  
 of Jesus (Jesuits), elected its  
 first general  
 English novelist, born

1711 Eleazar Wheelock, founder of Moor's Indian  
 Charity School (now Dartmouth  
 College), born  
 1774 New York Tea Party  
 1793 U.S. declared neutrality in the war between  
 Britain and France  
 1796 French-Austrian battle at Mondovi, Italy  
 1827 Thomas Rowlandson, English artist, died  
 1832 Julius S. Morton, originator of Arbor Day, born  
 1834 St. Helena Island became English crown property  
 1861 Robert E. Lee left home to take charge of  
 Virginia's troops  
 1864 "In God We Trust" became the U.S. motto  
 1870 Lenin, Russian revolutionary, born (national  
 holiday)  
 1879 Assassination attempt failed on King Umberto of  
 Italy  
The Forward, world's largest Jewish daily  
 newspaper, first published  
 1884 Colchester, England, rocked by an earthquake  
 1886 Abram Joseph Ryan, "Poet of the Confederacy,"  
 died  
 1889 Oklahoma Territory land rush for homesteaders  
 (state holiday)  
 1891 Blanco Encalada exploded in Caldera Bay  
 1892 First U.S. anatomy school, Wistar Institute,  
 incorporated  
 1904 Robert J. Oppenheimer, physicist, born  
 1908 Eddie Albert, actor, born  
 1915 Second battle of Ypres began and gas was first  
 used as a weapon  
 1916 Yehudi Menuhin, violinist, born  
 1928 Keech, in a White-Triplex car, set a land  
 speed record of 207.552 mph  
 1929 Japan's Toyo Kuni Maru wrecked on Rocky Cape  
 Erino  
 1930 Naval reduction treaty of London signed by U.S.,  
 Britain, France, Italy, and Japan  
 1964 New York World's Fair opened for the first  
 season  
 1969 Bermuda Peppercorn Ceremony in St. George held  
 1970 Intelstat III F7, communications satellite,  
 launched  
 1971 Start of Summer (Holiday in Iceland)  
Soyuz 10, Russian manned space orbiter, launched  
 2011, 2095 Good Friday  
 1962, 1973, 1984, 2057, 2068 Easter  
 1906, 1979, 1990, 2001, 2063, 2074, 2085, 2096 Quasimodo  
 or Low Sunday

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April 23rd  
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Beginning of a two-day fair at Dover, England

- Start of a week-long fair at Lincoln, England  
 Day of Shepherds in Bulgaria  
 Fair at one time at Guilford, Surry, England
- 290 AD St. George executed (Feast Day; patron of England  
 and Portugal, soldiers and Boy  
 Scouts; invoked against skin  
 diseases)
- 997 St. Adalbert of Prague died (Feast Day)  
 1014 King Brian Boru of Ireland defeated the Danes  
 near Dublin
- 1016 Ethelred the Unready, King of England, died  
 1349 King Edward III of England began the Order of  
 the Garter
- 1445 King Henry VI of England married Margaret of  
 Anjou
- 1616 William Shakespeare, English playwright, died  
 Cervantes, Spanish author, died ("Don Quixote")
- 1661 Charles II crowned King of England, "The Merry  
 Monarch"
- 1723 Mrs. Hannah Snellborn, a deserting soldier,  
 wounded as a sailor
- 1731 William Williams, signer of the Declaration of  
 Independence, born
- 1775 J. M. W. Turner, English artist, born  
 1791 James Buchanan, 15th U.S. President, born  
 1823 Delaware and Hudson Company chartered for  
 canals and railroads
- 1838 Great Western steamship completed her maiden  
 voyage (Bristol, England to New  
 York)
- 1850 William Wordsworth, poet, died  
 1859 First issue of The Rocky Mountain News published  
 (Denver, Colorado)
- 1860 Stuart's expedition reached the middle of  
 Australia
- 1861 Robert E. Lee took command of Virginia's troops  
 "Maryland, My Maryland," state song, written
- 1879 Talbot Mundy, novelist, born  
 1884 France given the right to purchase the Congo  
 Free State
- 1896 First public showing of a motion picture (New  
 York City)
- 1910 International Exhibition, Brussels, Belgium  
 opened
- 1911 Burman, in a Benz automobile, set a land speed  
 record of 141.732 mph
- 1921 Warren Spahn, baseball pitcher, born  
 1925 Royal Commission of English food prices made  
 its report
- 1928 Shirley Temple, actress-diplomat, born  
 1941 Greece surrendered to Italy and Germany  
 British ship Rajputana torpedoed
- 1946 Ed Head pitched a no-hitter and Brooklyn beat  
 Boston 5-0

week-long fair at Lincoln, England  
 roads in Bulgaria  
 time at Guilford, Surry, England  
 executed (Feast Day; patron of England  
 and Portugal, soldiers and Boy  
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 Benz automobile, set a land speed  
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 the first of English food prices made  
 a report  
 actress-diplomat, born  
 moved to Italy and Germany  
 Japanese torpedoed  
 a no-hitter and Brooklyn beat  
 Boston 5-0

Mussolini's body stolen from a pauper's grave  
 in Milan  
 1964 Ken Johnson pitched a no-hitter but lost the  
 game on errors (Cincinnati 1,  
 Houston 0)  
 1965 Molniya I, Russian communications satellite,  
 launched  
 1943, 2038 Good Friday  
 1905, 1916, 2000, 2079 Easter  
 1911, 1922, 1933, 2006, 2017, 2028, 2090 Quasimodo or  
 Low Sunday

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April 24th  
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Arbor Day in Maine  
 Procession of Epitaph (Cyprus)  
 Feast of St. Ivo (patron of St. Ives, England)  
 753 BC Beginning of the Roman Era  
 624 AD St. Mellitus died (Feast Day)  
 709 or  
 710 St. Wilfrid died  
 858 Nicholas I "the Great" elected Pope  
 1505 Amerigo Vespucci, Italian mapmaker, became a  
 citizen of Spain  
 1546 English Navy Board chartered by King Henry VIII  
 1547 Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, defeated the  
 Protestants at Muhlberg  
 1576 St. Vincent de Paul, French founder of Lazarite  
 Missionaries and Sisters of  
 Charity, born  
 1585 Felice Peretti elected Pope (Sixtus V; rebuilt  
 Lateran Palace)  
 1629 Peace signed between England and France  
 1704 Boston News Letter, first regular American  
 newspaper, founded  
 1743 Edmund Cartwright, inventor of the power loom,  
 born  
 1766 Robert Bailey Thomas, founder of Farmers'  
Almanac, born  
 1792 "La Marseillaise," French national anthem,  
 composed by Claude P. Rouget  
 de Lisle  
 1800 Library of Congress established  
 1827 Baltimore and Ohio Railroad incorporated  
 1832 Erie Railroad Company incorporated by New York  
 legislature  
 1854 Emperor Francis Joseph of Austro-Hungary  
 married Elizabeth of Wittelsbach  
 1868 St. Euphrasia Pelletier died (Feast Day)  
 1877 Russia declared war on Turkey  
 1890 General Federation of Womens' Clubs organized  
 1895 Joshua Slocum sailed alone from Boston in a 36-  
 foot boat to circle the globe

- 1898 Spain declared war on the U.S. (Spanish-American War)
- 1904 Willem de Kooning, artist, born
- 1905 Robert Penn Warren, author, born
- 1916 Ireland's Easter Rebellion began
- 1934 Shirley McLaine, actress, born
- 1947 Willa Cather, novelist-poet, died
- 1965 Military coup in Santo Domingo
- 1968 Mauritius joined the United Nations
- 1970 Start of Captain Cook Festival at Kailua-Kona, Hawaii
- Beethoven's Bicentennial Birthday Celebration in Luxembourg
- 1972 San Marco 3, U.S.-Italian satellite, launched
- 2011, 2095 Easter
- 1927, 1938, 1949, 1960, 2022, 2033, 2044 Quasimodo or Low Sunday

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April 25th  
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- Our Lady of Coromoto in Venezuela
- Feast of St. Mark the Evangelist (patron of Venice, Italy, lawyers, and glaziers)
- Ancient Romans invoked Robigus, Spirit of Mildew, to spare the corn
- Anzac Day - Australians honor their war dead
- 404 BC Later Peloponnesian war ended with Athens' surrender to Sparta
- 799 AD Pope Leo III kidnapped
- 1142 St. William of Monte Vergine died (Feast Day)
- 1214 St. Louis XI, King of France, born
- 1284 King Edward II of England, first to be named Prince of Wales, born
- 1342 Pope Benedict XII, 3rd Avignon Pope, died
- 1482 Margaret of Anjou, wife of King Henry VI of England, died
- 1533 William the Silent, governing prince of the Spanish Netherlands, born
- 1599 Oliver Cromwell, English soldier-statesman, born
- 1607 Dutch defeated Spanish fleet at Gibraltar Bay
- 1661 Alcoholic beverage sellers first licensed in England
- 1719 First edition of Daniel Defoe's Robinson Crusoe was published
- 1792 First person, a highwayman, executed by guillotine (Paris)
- "La Marseillaise," French national anthem, first sung
- 1805 Lewis and Clark reached the junction of the Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers
- 1809 Ratisbonne (or Regensburg) captured by Napoleon

d war on the U.S. (Spanish-American War)  
ning, artist, born  
arren, author, born  
ter Rebellion began  
ne, actress, born  
novelist-poet, died  
in Santo Domingo  
ed the United Nations  
in Cook Festival at Kailua-Kona, Hawaii  
centennial Birthday Celebration  
n Luxembourg  
S.-Italian satellite, launched  
2022, 2033, 2044 Quasimodo or  
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dnapped  
Monte Vergine died (Feast Day)  
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of England, first to be named  
ince of Wales, born  
II, 3rd Avignon Pope, died  
ou, wife of King Henry VI of  
gland, died  
ent, governing prince of the  
anish Netherlands, born  
, English soldier-statesman, born  
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egensberg) captured by Napoleon

1819 Independent Order of Odd Fellows founded  
(Baltimore)  
1859 Digging of the Suez Canal began  
1862 New Orleans surrendered to Admiral Farragut  
1864 du Hauron applied for a French patent for a  
motion picture machine  
1866 First Decoration Day celebrated (Columbia,  
Mississippi)  
1873 Walter de la Mare, English poet and novelist,  
born  
Howard R. Garis, creator of Uncle Wiggily,  
born  
1874 Guglielmo Marconi, wireless inventor, born  
1896 Royal Victorian Order instituted in England  
1904 George Schreiber, Belgian artist, born  
1915 Allies landed at Gallipoli  
1918 Ella Fitzgerald, "First Lady of Song," born  
Chinese ship Kiang-Kwan in a collision off  
Hankow  
1926 Riza Khan Pahlavi crowned Shah of Iran  
1932 New Shakespeare Memorial Theater opened at  
Stratford-on-Avon (England)  
1934 2 1/2-mile bridge completed connecting Venice  
with Italy  
1935 Oregon's capitol destroyed by fire  
1945 U.S. and Russian troops met at the Elbe River,  
Germany  
United Nations Conference on International  
Organization opened at San  
Francisco  
1946 Naperville, Illinois, train wreck  
1959 St. Lawrence Seaway opened  
1960 Lar, Iran rocked by an earthquake  
1962 Ranger IV landed on the moon  
1968 Cosmos 218, Russian satellite, launched  
1943, 2038 Easter  
1954, 1965, 1976, 2049, 2055, 2060 Quasimodo or Low  
Sunday

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April 26th  
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Feast of St. Cletus, the third Pope  
121 AD Marcus Aurelius, Roman Emperor, born (or 6th,  
or 21st depending on which  
authority you read)  
757 Pope Stephen III died  
1228 Conrad IV, King of Germany, born  
1396 St. Stephen of Perm died (Feast Day)  
1521 Magellan killed by the natives on Mactan Island  
1564 William Shakespeare, poet-playwright, baptized  
1573 Maria de' Medici, Queen of France, born  
1607 Jamestown solonists sighted Virginia

- 1689 Peter the Great, Czar of Russia, clipped the  
beards and moustaches off his court
- 1718 Esek Hopkins, first Commodore of the U.S. Navy,  
born
- 1731 Daniel Defoe, novelist, died
- 1768 First art exhibit at England's Royal Academy  
opened
- 1771 Vassalboro and Winslow, Maine, incorporated
- 1782 Marie Amelie Therese, wife of King Louis  
Philippe of France, born
- 1785 John James Audubon, artist-naturalist, born
- 1798 Eugene Delacroix, French artist, born
- 1803 Meteorite rain fell on L'Aigle, France
- 1812 Alfred Krupp, German metallurgist, born
- 1822 Frederick Law Olmstead, landscape architect,  
born
- 1872 Mt. Vesuvius volcano erupted suddenly
- 1875 Syngman Rhee, Korean statesman, born
- 1882 Charles Darwin, naturalist, buried in West-  
minster Abbey
- 1893 Anita Loos, author, born
- 1907 Tercentenary Exposition of Jamestown, Virginia  
opened
- 1913 Wisconsin state flag adopted  
International Exposition, Ghent, Belgium,  
opened
- 1915 Italy declared war on Austro-Hungarian Empire
- 1923 George VI, King of England, married Lady  
Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon
- 1949 Transjordan changed its name to Jordan
- 1951 William N. Oatis, Associated Press correspon-  
dent, arrested in Czechoslovakia  
as a spy
- 1952 U.S. destroyer Hobson and carrier Wasp collided  
in the Atlantic
- 1954 Geneva Conference on Far Eastern Affairs opened
- 1957 Opening of Jamestown, Virginia's, 350th  
Anniversary Festival
- 1962 Ariel I satellite launched
- 1964 Tanzania (Tanganyika-Zanzibar) joined the United  
Nations (Union Day)
- 1908, 1981, 1987, 1992, 2071, 2076, 2082 Quasimodo or  
Low Sunday

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April 27th

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- Feast of St. Maughold  
Feast of St. Peter Canisius  
Feast of St. Toribio of Lima
- 1124 AD King Alexander I of Scotland died
- 1172 King Henry II of England left Ireland
- 1278 St. Zita died (Feast Day; patron of maidservants  
and housekeepers)

*More Than An Almanac*

# ILLINOIS FACTS

*A Comprehensive look  
at Illinois today County by County*



*Flying the Colors*

by  
JOHN CLEMENTS

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# ILLINOIS TODAY

## ILLINOIS TODAY

Chicago ... Chicago ... a toddling town ... and a hometown to such diverse slices of Americana as Mrs. O'Leary's cow, Al Capone, a chewing gum king named Wrigley ... the City With Big Shoulders and a bold outlook that birthed the black bottom dance and sent the rest of the country scurrying to the dance floor. And just as the nation's third largest city offers itself to America as an amalgam of culture, creativity and confidence, so does the state of Illinois present itself as a rich, intricately woven tapestry of attitude, activity and achievement as it sits astride the heartland of America. Illinois is America in microcosm, rich in its people, land, occupations, climate and opportunities. It's a state of the giant city and its wealth of activities and diversions; but it's a state, too, of quiet pastoral settings, magnificent rivers, waving fields of grain and forested lands where gentle wildlife and serene stream banks encourage thoughts of yesterday and visions of tomorrow. From the windy shores of Lake Michigan to the tented carpet of vegetation beneath the vast Shawnee National Forest, Illinois offers serenity to the sophisticate and opportunity to the interested. Illinois' nickname, The Prairie State, belies its real place in the American panorama. While truly a rich and tremendously productive agricultural state helping feed a nation from those prairies, Illinois stands tall, too, in its position in a number of areas of industry. Chicago is a veritable beehive of activity, with important contributions in the fields of communications, finance and corporate and retail activity. The Windy City is a major resort and convention city, offering some of the finest restaurants, theaters and cultural attractions in the world. It's a city rich in history, glamor and tradition. Other major cities such as Springfield, the state capital, Decatur, Champaign-Urbana, Peoria, Rock Island, Moline, Joliet, Kankakee, Rockford and East St. Louis join hands with Chicago to offer a huge helping of urban development and opportunity. Yet, more than 80 percent of the state is in productive farmland. Illinois ranks in the top five nationally in the value of crops marketed and second in the value of crops exported. While greatness and stature to some means a vast, vibrant city with its almost endless opportunities, to others it's a getaway to one of Illinois' 67 state parks, 21 conservation areas, 23 historic sites or four state forests. The Prairie State is a vital link in the nation's transportation system, too, thanks to its strategic location and an early emphasis on travel. Chicago is a major rail crossroads, and 19 interstate highway routes crisscross the state, providing access to the nation's major cities and markets. Offering a picturesque counterpoint to Illinois' quiltwork of fields and farms is an artist's palette of rivers, lakes and streams which provide not only sustenance for crops, but succor for those seeking natural beauty and peace and quiet. In addition to the mighty Mississippi, which forms Illinois' western border, the state's southern boundary has been carved by the Wabash and Ohio rivers. Via the Great Lakes, Illinois has water connections to Canada, the St. Lawrence Seaway, the Atlantic Ocean and Europe. Aside from its abundant water supply, Illinois boasts a broad supply of other natural resources. No state has larger reserves of bituminous coal, and crude oil, natural gas, fluorspar and clay are also important resources in Illinois. The Land of Lincoln is famous, too, for the production of native sons, not the least of whom was the nation's 16th president. Other native Illinoisians who have

contributed greatly to the American way of life include Carl Sandburg, Ernest Hemingway, Stephen Douglas, Ronald Reagan, Ulysses S. Grant, Adlai Stevenson II, Richard Daley, Walt Disney, Frank Lloyd Wright and Jack Benny. It is, perhaps, Lincoln himself, though, who best exemplifies that which is Illinois. Lincoln, like his home state, arose from simple beginnings to greatness. Through the efforts of hard work, vision and opportunity, both pushed themselves to the very vanguard of notable achievement in America.

## THE LAND

Illinois is known as the Prairie State, but, in terms of topography, the phrase is something of a misnomer. Although Illinois' 55,645 square miles are generally flat, only the northern and eastern portions of the state are true bluestem-covered prairie. The west and south are more hilly and feature an oak-hickory forest cover. From north to south, Illinois measures 385 miles, while the state's maximum east-west dimension is 220 miles. Located near the confluence of major lines of drainage, Illinois has the lowest overall elevation of the north central states (600). Elevation varies from a high of 1,241 feet at Charles Mound in Jo Daviess County to a low of 268 feet at the convergence of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers at Cairo, in the state's southern tip. With differences between high and low elevations as great as 800 feet, the southern portion of the state features Illinois' greatest relief. In central Illinois, relief is as little as 30 feet. Overall, local relief is less than 200 feet across most of the state. Water greatly defines the state, with river borders totaling 880 miles and the Illinois shoreline of Lake Michigan extending for 63 miles. The Mississippi River makes up the entire western border of the state (570 border miles), while the southeastern border is composed of the Wabash River (180 border miles) and the Ohio River (130 border miles). A small portion of Illinois is west of the Mississippi River, as 14,000 acres of Randolph County form a large oxbow cutoff above the point where the Kaskaskia River formerly joined the Mississippi. The estimated surface area of Illinois' rivers and streams totals 256,500 miles. Also, Illinois has approximately 50,000 acres of wetlands and marshes. Most of the state is typified by broad, relatively uneroded till plains. Its eastern sections feature grass covered stretches of rolling prairie and level to gently undulating plain, with glacial drift that varies in thickness, while its southern sections are typified by relatively shallow valleys and streams with low gradients. The western portions of the state have steeper, walled valleys. Illinois' prairie lands are the result of the advances and retreats of glaciers leaving thick accumulations of glacial deposits that filled in deep bedrock valleys. The overall effect of the glaciers (which began more than one million years ago and ended about 14,000 years ago) was to plane off prominent relief features and to deposit over most of the state a thick blanket of pebbly clay, sands and gravel, lake-bed silts and sands, and windblown deposits (loess). Most of the soils on Illinois' uplands are formed in loess. In fact, most of Illinois is covered by a layer of loess varying from 20 to 60 inches in depth. Nearly all of Illinois is a plain of glacial deposits that have filled in old valleys and leveled off high knobs. Only the unglaciated areas in the southern, southwestern and northwestern parts of Illinois, as well as in the bluff areas near major river valleys, are exceptions to this pattern. Western and southern Illinois demonstrate the better developed drainage patterns and ravine

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born) and Illinois surged from 11th to the fourth largest state in the Union. Those high levels of European influx evidence themselves today among the state's very strong ethnic categorizations. In 1980, Illinois reflected a population comprised, in part, by 1,135,212 Germans, 650,009 English, 489,307 Irish, 470,517 Polish, 322,914 Italian and 117,784 Swedish residents. Between 1970 and 1980, more than 360,000 residents were added to the six suburban counties around Chicago (DuPage, Grundy, Kankakee, Lake, McHenry and Will) while the city of Chicago lost 383,000 persons either to Cook County or to its neighboring six counties. Cook County lost more than 271,000 persons. In the 1970 to 1980 span, Brown, Carroll, Ford, Greene, Iroquois, La Salle, Lee, Logan, Madison, Pike, Rock Island, St. Clair, Stark and Vermilion counties reflected lower populations, but no rural southern or southeastern counties in the state lost population. Half of the largest 70 cities in Illinois reported population declines between 1970 and 1980. Of the 10 largest cities, five reflected lower populations and only three grew by more than 10 percent. Some 17 of those 20 cities which grew by more than 10 percent were suburbs around Chicago and three were university towns. Non-White (primarily Black) populations within Illinois are highly concentrated in urban areas, university towns and a few medium-sized cities. Percentages in 1980 ranged from 33 in Cook and Pulaski counties to less than two percent in more than half of the state's 102 counties.

**VOTER PARTICIPATION** On November 8, 1988, Prairie State voters continued their long tradition of supporting winning presidential candidates by casting 51 percent of their votes for Vice President George Herbert Walker Bush (Republican) and 49 percent for Governor Michael Dukakis (Democrat). In so doing, the state's 24 electoral votes were added to the Republican tally for the sixth successive time. In the Illinois general primary, held March 15, 1988, 43 percent of the state's registered voters cast ballots with 63 percent selecting Democratic races and 37 percent voting in GOP contests. Because of a wide number of historical, cultural and political factors within the Prairie State, conventional perceptions of Illinois' political character have been stereotyped. In a very general perception, residents of northern sectors of the state are perceived to be liberal-progressive Democrats while those in southern, or downstate, regions are traditionally pegged as conservative Republicans. Presidential voting patterns for the seven contests prior to the 1988 general election refute that broad stereotyped north-south generalization. Focusing on the 1960 election reveals that Richard M. Nixon (Republican) actually carried far more geographic territory but John F. Kennedy (Democrat) claimed Illinois' electoral vote by winning Cook, Rock Island and seven counties in central and southern Illinois. In 1964, Democrat Lyndon B. Johnson (Democrat) swept the state, carrying 82 of its 102 counties to crush Republican challenger Barry Goldwater. In 1968, 10 urban counties went for Hubert H. Humphrey (Democrat) while the balance of the state voted heavily for Richard M. Nixon (Republican) in a GOP victory. Four years later in 1972, even Cook and Rock Island counties voted for Republican Richard M. Nixon as Jackson was the sole Prairie State county to vote for Democrat George McGovern. In 1976, Republicans claimed every northern county with the exception of Cook and Rock Island. That year Democrats, in a dramatic reversal of widespread

perception, solidly swept more than 60 percent of south-central and southern Illinois. In the 1980 race, Ronald Reagan (Republican) bested incumbent Jimmy Carter (Democrat) in 99 counties but won by a margin of just 379,000 votes statewide. In 1984, incumbent Ronald Reagan soundly defeated Democrat Walter Mondale, winning in all but six of the state's 102 counties. Illinois is presently represented in the United States Senate by two Democrats, Alan J. Dixon and Paul Simon. In the 100th Congress, the Prairie State's delegation was comprised of 13 Democrats and nine Republicans. Illinois' popular governor, James R. Thompson (Republican), was serving his fourth successive term during 1988, having been re-elected in November 1986. The state's attorney general, Neil F. Hartigan, is a Democrat as are State Controller Roland W. Burris and State Treasurer Jerry Cosentino. Secretary of State Jim Edgar is a Republican. Within the state's 85th General Assembly, Democrats held 31 senate seats and Republicans, 28 seats. In the state house of representatives, Democrats dominated by 67 seats to 49 GOP seats.

## THE ECONOMY

The Prairie State's economy has reflected measured, steady growth from early 1984 through mid 1988. At the ebb of the nationwide recession, Illinois was plagued by a statewide 1983 unemployment level of about 11.5 percent within an atmosphere characterized by numerous plant closings and severely diminished construction activity. However, by June 1988, unemployment had declined to 6.6 percent. State economists forecast the addition of some 92,000 new jobs through the course of 1988. Such expansion would mark the fifth successive year of employment gains. Throughout 1987 and early 1988, consumer purchases drove the economic uptrend with retail sales growing by a robust nine percent. The Illinois housing market also grew by a healthy 10 percent from a year earlier. Pressures on the dollar's valuation abroad were expected to generate increased exports in all sectors of the state's economy with an attendant increase in Prairie State productivity expected to fuel the economic expansion for the balance of 1988 and well into 1989. Several significant labor contracts were slated for negotiation during 1988. Industries with large negotiations included automotive, electrical equipment, farm equipment, mining, railroads, rubber and trucking. Because of a greater spirit of labor-management cooperation which developed during the recessionary downturn, few of the negotiations were anticipated to be lengthy or to cause notable interruptions of the state's strengthening economic outlook. A strong volume of construction contracts signed during the closing months of 1987 was expected to yield solid gains within that industry throughout 1988. Construction contracts in 1987 rose by more than 11 percent over those of 1986. In July 1988, contracts for future construction activities within the state totaled \$863 million. Illinois, ranked fourth nationally by the measure of personal income, forecast the personal income composite to reach \$200 billion during 1988. Per capita income, ranked ninth, was expected to rise to \$17,070. Average hourly wage for production workers in July 1988 was \$11.11 compared with a national hourly average of \$10.18. The Illinois wage rate represented a 2.3 percent increase from the \$10.86 in effect one year earlier. Additionally, average weekly hours worked in Illinois have remained over 40 for two years with the July 1988 mean of 41.6 hours. Inflation in the Chicago area was expected to

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farmers produced 347,000 turkeys in fiscal 1986, up 24 percent. Illinois mink production is located primarily in the state's northeastern segment with the heaviest concentration in Kane, Lake and McHenry counties. Illinois ranks seventh in the nation in its mink pelt production and contributed nearly five percent of the total domestic pelt supply during 1986. Production of 189,000 mink pelts represented two percent growth from the 1985 level. Illinois slaughter plants produced just over two billion pounds of red meat in 1986, ranking fifth in the nation and supplying five percent of the domestic red meat production. That year the state also produced five percent of the country's veal with some 46 million pounds.

The Prairie State ranks second within the nation's pork industry, contributing 20 billion pounds in 1986. Lamb and mutton production of 35 million pounds garnered an eighth place ranking in the domestic market. Data from the 1986 Farm Cost and Returns Survey (FCRS) revealed that the typical Illinois farmer was 50 years old and operated a total of 350 acres of which 142 were owned. Average gross farm income approximated \$84,000 with operating expenses of \$64,000 and average net income of \$20,000. Additionally, average non-farm income was determined to be \$21,000. The FCRS showed total average farm assets of \$300,000 with debt of \$81,000, yielding a total net worth of \$219,000. The typical operator reported spending 76 percent of gross income for operating costs and an additional 10 percent for interest expenses on debt. FCRS findings indicated that about 12 percent of all Illinois farms could be classified as stressed. Generally, these farmers were younger than those with more favorable financial circumstances and operated fewer acres. These stressed operations showed average gross farm income of \$50,000 with operating expenses of \$69,000, resulting in a net loss of \$19,000. Assets totaled \$242,000 with debt of \$164,000. One common positive factor was non-farm income averaging \$32,000. In 1986, Illinois was the nation's second largest exporter of agricultural products with an aggregate of \$2.1 billion, or some 8.2 percent of the total United States farm commodities exported. Illinois during 1986 was once again the foremost exporter of soybeans and was second in feed grains and related products. Soybean exports totaled \$1.1 billion and feed grains yielded export receipts of \$814 million. Of the composite domestic export of soybeans and feed grains, Illinois contributed 18.2 and 17.3 percent, respectively. Illinois ranked eighth in the export of hides and skins (\$48.1 million) and eighth in live animals and meat (\$47.3 million). Wheat produced export receipts of \$73.1 million. In 1986, only California outsold Illinois in exported agricultural products as the Prairie State moved from third place to second place ahead of Iowa. The Erosion and Sediment Control Program and Standards law was enacted by the Illinois General Assembly in 1977. The Illinois Department of Agriculture (IDOA) subsequently developed incremented standards adopted by the state's 98 Soil and Water Conservation Districts (SWCSs) for the purpose of reducing soil erosion to "T", or tolerable, soil loss by the year 2000. Data from the National Resource Inventory (NRI), conducted by the U.S. Department of Agriculture in 1982, revealed that within Illinois some 200 million tons of soil (or 6.3 tons per acre) are annually eroded on 33 million acres. NRI findings showed that about 11 million acres—or 35 percent of the rural acreage of the Prairie State—exceed "T", the tolerable soil loss of five tons per acre

annually. Data provided by each SWCD revealed that the cost for long-term conservation practices to meet "T" by 2000 is estimated to be some \$1 billion. About 8,756 staff years are required to provide technical assistance to landowners in order to reduce soil erosion. The prominent national position of Prairie State agriculture and the fact that agriculture remains one of the state's foremost industries reinforce the need for conserving soil resources. Prudent soil conservation can increase productivity, lower production expenses, trim crop losses and bolster income for farm operators. Managing soil erosion can reduce sedimentation and extend reservoir capacity, reduce water treatment costs, enhance water quality, protect fish and wildlife habitat, extend recreational opportunities, reduce highway maintenance, flooding and navigational channel maintenance, and improve the general health of all residents.

**BUSINESS** Located in the heart of the midwest and served by vibrant networks of finance, research, transportation and communication, Illinois is one of the nation's foremost business centers. In 1987, nearly 18,000 companies operated plants throughout the Prairie State, generating a gross output in excess of \$45 billion. Major businesses concentrated within Illinois are primary and secondary metals; farm and industrial equipment; electronic appliances, components and equipment; food processing; banking and securities; advertising and public relations; agriculture; and transportation. Illinois ranks first among all states in the production of appliances, railroad equipment, radios and televisions, canned and frozen food items, tools and dies, and cosmetics and drugs. With virtually everything from small parts to bulldozers manufactured within the state, Illinois can provide nearly any sub-assembly or finished product. Cook County is ranked second in the country and Chicago is first among major metropolitan centers in terms of industrial purchasing power. Illinois businesses purchased an average of \$64 billion in materials in recent years, about six percent of all such purchases nationwide. Of the top 50 retail concerns within the United States, eight are headquartered in or near Chicago: Sears-Roebuck, Montgomery Ward, McDonald's, City Products, Walgreen, Jewel Companies, Marshall Field and National Tea. Illinois ranks sixth nationally in the percentage of retail sales. Chicago, where nearly three percent of all American retail sales are made, is the third ranking Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) in that category. Commonwealth Edison, serving the Chicago area, is the nation's sixth largest utility with assets of \$20 billion and more than 16,000 employees. Six of America's largest transportation companies are headquartered in the Chicago metropolis: United Air Lines, Santa Fe Industries, Allied Van Lines, Illinois Central Gulf Railroad, Chicago-Northwestern Transportation and Chicago-Milwaukee-St. Paul Pacific Railroad. A total of 50 of the *Fortune 500* companies are situated in Illinois, ranking the state second nationally. Illinois ranks third in the number of foreign countries represented within its boundaries. Only Washington, D.C. and New York City have more foreign consulates and international trade offices than the 60 countries so represented in Chicago. The state's status as a world financial center continues to grow annually. Illinois has more than 1,250 banks which control almost six percent of the nation's total banking assets. Augmenting this strong commercial financial base are some 270 savings and loan institutions and the world headquarters of more than 60 insurance companies. Together, these

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institutions provide the diversity and strength to supply the billions of dollars in resources required to finance industrial and commercial development projects. Chicago is also home to the Midwest Stock Exchange, the Chicago Board of Options and more than 50 international banks which maintain branches or service offices in the city. Illinois is a manufacturing leader with an annual value added by manufacture approximating \$55 billion. More than half of Illinois' 18,000 plants are located in Cook County and the Chicago area contains 75 percent of the state's manufacturing plants. There are some 3,300 plants producing non-electrical machinery, Illinois' foremost manufactured product. Food processing is the state's second largest production activity with about \$7.6 billion of annual value added by manufacture. Illinois ranks first in terms of value added in sugar and confectionery products, fats and oils, railroad equipment and commercial printing. Illinois ranks second in the production of grain mill products, periodicals, books, bakery goods, soaps and cleansers, paints, nuts and bolts, engines, farm machinery, construction machinery, electrical lighting and wiring products, electrical distributing equipment, photographic equipment and musical instruments. The state ranks third in value added in business forms, bookbinding, miscellaneous plastic products, metal cans, forgings and stampings, metalworking machinery, and watches and clocks. Among the Prairie State's largest industrial concerns are Abbott Laboratories, Alberto-Culver, Amoco, Baxter Travenol, Bell & Howell, Borg-Warner, Brunswick, Caterpillar, Dean Foods, Deere, FMC, Gould, IC Industries, Inland Steel, International Harvester, Kraft, Morton-Thiokol, Motorola, Navistar, Outboard Marine, Quaker Oats, Sara Lee, Square D, A. E. Staley, USG, Wm. Wrigley and Zenith. .. nah ...

Illinois ranks seventh in the nation in the total number of research labs located within its borders. Included among such labs are ones operated by Amoco, Bell Telephone, Dart-Kraft, General Electric, Nalco Chemical and Universal Oil Products. Some 30 percent of Illinois' 629 industrial research laboratories are in Chicago with Des Plaines, Oak Brook, Rockford and Skokie also ranking high in concentrations of research facilities. Fermilab employs about 1,000 scientists and research technicians from throughout the world and is the nation's largest high-energy physics research center. Argonne National Laboratory employs more than 1,500 scientists and is operated for the United States Department of Energy by the University of Chicago. Specialties at Argonne are nuclear reactor research and applications of nuclear power for peaceful uses. Northwestern University and the city of Evanston have recently established a research park to house high technology industries. Illinois also is home to vast medical technology. Four of the nation's largest health care products concerns are headquartered within Illinois and more than 350 manufacturers of medical products are situated in the state. Illinois is a leader in production of surgical and dental products, and ranks sixth in the number of scientists and engineers with a total of 170,900. The Illinois Resource Network (IRN) is a statewide computerized information service capable of putting inquirers in touch with state experts in virtually hundreds of areas of expertise. More than 6,500 Illinois university faculty members and research laboratory scientists are profiled in the IRN—professionals from disciplines of technology, science, medicine, humanities, arts and agriculture.

The University of Illinois ranked fifth nationally in terms of its total contributions from businesses with some \$31 million during 1985. Only Stanford, Cornell, Minnesota and M.I.T. ranked higher. Transportation is a vast Prairie State business. With 10 interstate highways traversing various sectors of the state, overnight trucking deliveries can readily reach Kansas City to the west and Indianapolis to the east. Second day truck deliveries extend to Atlanta, Dallas, Denver, Minneapolis and Pittsburg. Some 23,000 truck lines operate within Illinois.

The Port of Chicago, with docks along the Lake Michigan shoreline and extending six miles inland along the Calumet River, offers shippers loading and unloading facilities at more than 75 terminals. Twelve other port districts are located throughout the state on the Illinois, Kaskaskia, Mississippi, Ohio and Wabash rivers. The nation's largest rail gateway is Chicago. Some 300 miles southwest of Chicago—in East St. Louis—is another huge railway hub. Through these two rail gateways more than 30 rail carriers provide rapid, efficient transportation throughout the state, the nation and Canada. Illinois boasts approximately 1,100 airports, landing areas and heliports. Thus, virtually every city in the state with a population of more than 30,000 is served by either a business jet airport or a commercial airline. More than 50 million travelers pass through Chicago's O'Hare International Airport every year. Illinois ranks fourth nationally in its wholesale trade. More than 37,000 Illinois facilities and some 414,000 workers comprise the state's wholesale and distribution network. Illinois' centralized locale and abundant transportation facilities have allowed the state to become a major artery for warehousing and distribution regionally, nationally and internationally. Some 295 Fortune 500 companies operate regional and national distribution centers within Illinois. For 1987, Illinois' gross state product was estimated to be \$230 billion, up six percent from the previous year. The major nonagricultural components within that composite were finance, insurance and real estate, \$46.8 billion; manufacturing, \$45.2 billion; services, \$34.7 billion; transportation, communication and utilities, \$23.4 billion; government services, \$22.4 billion; retail trade, \$20.4 billion; wholesale trade, \$19.7 billion; and mining, \$3.7 billion. Beyond traditional sources of financing for expenses associated with plant locations, relocations and expansions, the state offers a broad range of public assistance initiatives. At the local level, these plans include industrial revenue bonds, tax increment financing and special service area programs. At the state level, Illinois offers some 15 programs which extend direct grants and greatly reduced loans to businesses of all natures and sizes. Illinois' Enterprise Zone program stimulates businesses and industrial growth within depressed areas of communities and encourages neighborhood revitalization through tax incentives, targeted assistance and relaxed government controls. The Department of Commerce and Community Affairs (DCCA) has authorized 68 enterprise zones statewide. This program emphasizes a creative coalition of state and local governments, business, labor and community action groups to encourage economic growth. A five percent state sales tax exemption is permitted on all building materials to be utilized within a specified enterprise zone. For a business making an enterprise zone investment that either creates 200 full-time job equivalents or retains 2,000 existing jobs, a five percent state sales tax exemption is available on repair and replacement parts for

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local governments in 1987 totaling \$1.7 billion. **MUNICIPAL RETAILERS' OCCUPATION TAX** A local one percent sales tax is the largest source of state-collected local funds. In 1987, a net of \$683.4 million from \$693.9 million collected was returned to the 1,249 municipalities which levied the tax. **COUNTY RETAILERS' OCCUPATION TAX** The one percent county sales tax imposed by all 102 counties netted \$39.3 million in 1987 after the state deducted a two percent administration fee. **MUNICIPAL HOTEL TAX** The city of Chicago's one percent tax on gross hotel receipts brought the city \$4.3 million in 1987 after the state deducted a four percent collection fee. **MASS TRANSIT DISTRICT TAXES** The Regional Transportation Authority (RTA) imposes a general sales tax which incorporates a retailers' occupation tax, a service occupation tax, and a use tax on tangible property sales as defined by the state sales taxes. **COUNTY SUPPLEMENTARY SALES TAX** Eighty-five counties took advantage of a new law in 1987 which allowed all counties except Cook to impose an additional 0.25 percent county sales tax on the same base as the state sales tax. The new taxes collected totaled \$65.1 million, of which \$63.8 million was returned to the counties, along with \$421,094 in interest. **WATER COMMISSION TAX** In 1986, DuPage County took advantage of a new law which authorizes county water commissions to impose a 0.25 percent sales tax, which netted the county \$13.6 million in 1987 after the state deducted a two percent collection fee. **REPLACEMENT TAXES** The 1970 Illinois Constitution directed the legislature to abolish corporate personal property taxes and to replace the revenue lost to units of local government and school districts. Replacement taxes were imposed in 1979 at the rate of 2.5 percent on corporate income, 1.5 percent on partnership income, and 0.8 percent on the invested capital of public utilities. **AUTOMOBILE RENTING TAXES** By the end of fiscal year 1987, a total of 251 municipal and three county governments had imposed new taxes on automobile renting occupations and use of up to one percent. **MOTOR FUEL TAX** In 1987, the portion of the 13-cent-per-gallon motor fuel tax collected for local governments amounted to \$333.6 million.

**INSURANCE** Illinois ranks first in the United States in the number of property/casualty companies and fourth in the number of domiciled life/accident and health companies. In 1987, total companies licensed in Illinois included 859 property/casualty and 888 life/accident and health companies which generated consolidated premium volume of some \$19.2 billion. During 1987, the Illinois insurance industry employed 82,503 people in full-time and part-time positions with a payroll of more than \$2 billion. In addition, the Illinois Department of Insurance issued 75,603 new and renewal producer licenses. Reports indicate that increases in health care costs outstripped premium increases so that group accident and health carriers experienced large losses during 1987. As a result, rate increases of 30 percent or more were common. In 1987, the growth in the number of companies licensed to do life or health insurance business in the Prairie State slowed to two percent. Despite losses, health maintenance organizations (HMOs) continued to grow in enrollment from 1,462,000 in 1986 to 1,676,164 in 1987. In general, HMOs in the Chicago area continued to experience a precipitous drop in net earnings. In 1987, 168 domestic, 709 foreign and 11 alien life insurance companies were licensed to do business in the state. The

property and casualty insurance industry in Illinois during 1987 continued to be plagued by the impact of prior years' under-reserving for losses. The correction of deficient loss reserves by direct writers carried over to reinsurers and often caused an even greater impact on their financial conditions. Passed in 1986, the state's new Farm Mutual Act permits territorial growth, authorizes farm mutuals to offer new and updated products, contains incentives for responsible surplus accumulations and grants additional regulatory powers to the Department of Insurance. In 1987, 295 domestic, 542 foreign and 22 alien property and casualty companies were licensed to do business in Illinois. Significant insurance legislation enacted by Illinois state government during 1987 included a law that prohibits the refusal or non-renewal of automobile insurance solely because of a physical handicap; a law that prevents insurance companies from increasing their premium rates for renewal of personal lines automobile policies solely because the insurer had been convicted of no more than one offense for speeding less than 10 miles per hour over the posted speed limit, and where no claim for recovery of damages or loss had been paid by the insurer because of such offense. Effective on July 20, 1987, Senate Bill 1115 amended the Health Maintenance Organization Act to strengthen state regulation of HMOs. The act: 1) created the Illinois HMO Guaranty Association to protect enrollees of health care plans against failure of an HMO to meet its contractual obligations; 2) imposed new and/or stricter financial and corporate standards on HMOs; 3) added new consumer protection provisions concerning enrollee and physical complaints, advertisements, coverage issues, improper claim procedures and unfair trade practices; and 4) set up an order of priority for liquidating HMO assets and placed HMOs under the same statutory provisions concerning rehabilitation and liquidation as insurance companies.

## RECREATION

Illinois boasts an impressive diversity of recreational, natural, historic, educational and cultural attractions to provide fascinating leisure experiences for the state's residents and 30 million annual pleasure and business travelers. Chicago's Field Museum of Natural History, Museum of Science and Industry, Shedd Aquarium (the world's largest), Adler Planetarium, and the Lincoln Park and Brookfield zoos rank among the state's many leisure attractions. All of Illinois' major cities maintain symphony orchestras and community theater groups, and Chicago has the internationally acclaimed Chicago Symphony and Chicago Lyric Opera. The Windy City's 5,000-seat Auditorium Theatre plays host to the Bolshoi ballet and the best of folk, classical, rock and country performers. The Krannert Center for the Performing Arts at the University of Illinois campus in Urbana is one of the nation's most respected theater and concert complexes. Chicago theater includes Shakespeare, Japanese Kabuki, Broadway cast dramas and musicals and an array of local, special-focus theater companies. The Art Institute of Chicago houses a vast collection of French impressionism as well as major works by da Vinci, Goya, Rembrandt and Van Gogh. Abraham Lincoln's adult home and tomb in Springfield are among the state's top historic sites and are visited annually by thousands. The homes of Ulysses S. Grant (Galena) and Ronald Reagan (Dixon) also draw large crowds. A total of 48 state maintained historic sites span the width and length of the Prairie State.

More than 100 state parks, fish and wildlife and conservation areas provide welcome relief to visitors, fishermen, hunters and tourists. Illinois is a state of diverse, unique festivals. Illinois has carefully encouraged and preserved its many ethnic communities and most of them host annual art, food and cultural festivals. Chicago has more than 5,000 restaurants representing the cuisines of virtually every nation on earth. Cities and townships throughout Illinois host thousands of dining guests at annual apple, beef, deer, pork, pumpkin and sweet corn festivals.

**PROFESSIONAL SPORTS** Illinois, especially Chicago, has a rich and successful professional sports tradition. The Prairie State is represented by teams in nearly every major sports league in the country. Although most Illinoisians cheer for Chicago teams, many residents, especially in southwestern Illinois, are dedicated fans of the St. Louis teams just across the Mississippi River. As a result, Illinois enjoys an exciting rivalry between the two cities' teams in football, baseball and hockey. **BASEBALL** Chicago is one of only two American cities to have teams in both the American and National leagues. Among the oldest professional sports teams in the world, the Chicago Cubs play their home games in Wrigley Field, recognized as one of the finest stadiums in the major leagues. The Cubs won the National League Eastern Division title in 1984. A charter member of the American League, the Chicago White Sox play their home games in Comiskey Park, the oldest facility in the major leagues. The Sox won the American League Western Division title in 1983. Illinois is represented in the Class A Midwest League by three teams: an affiliate of the Chicago Cubs, the Peoria Chiefs play their home games at Meinan Field; the Springfield Cardinals, a farm team of the St. Louis Cardinals, play their home games at Lanhier Ballpark; and a Montreal Expos affiliate, the Rockford Expos play their home games at Marinelli Field. **BASKETBALL** Members of the Central Division of the National Basketball Association's Eastern Conference, the Chicago Bulls are one of the NBA's longest-standing members. The Bulls play their home games in Chicago Stadium. **FOOTBALL** Nicknamed the "Monsters of the Midway," the Chicago Bears are one of the oldest and most respected members of the National Football League and play their home games at Soldier Field. **HOCKEY** The Chicago Black Hawks are one of the oldest franchises in the National Hockey League and virtually an annual competitor in that league's playoffs. Members of the Campbell Conference's Norris Division, the Black Hawks' home ice is Chicago Stadium. A minor league team, the Peoria Rivermen are members of the International Hockey League and play their home games in the Peoria Civic Center. **SOCCER** The Chicago Sting team is a member of the Major Indoor Soccer League and plays home games in Chicago Stadium.

**HISTORIC PLACES** Illinois offers a number of historic sites according more than two million annual visitors glimpses into the state's colorful past. Historians in the Land of Lincoln have not neglected their most famous native son, and the life and times of the nation's 16th president may be traced at a number of locations, including the Lincoln Log Cabin Complex in Lerna, Lincoln's Tomb and the Lincoln-Herndon Law Offices in Springfield and the Lincoln Trail Monument near Lawrenceville. The Lincoln Collection of the Illinois

State Historical Library is the second largest of its kind, surpassed only by the Library of Congress. A presidential library, it contains more than 1,400 Lincoln manuscripts as well as the largest collection of writings by his wife, Mary Todd Lincoln, and sons, Robert, Tad and Willie. A number of artifacts belonging to the Lincoln family are displayed in the Lincoln Room of the Historical Library. The Old State Capitol in Springfield, restored to its original nineteenth century condition, is the site of activities such as naturalization ceremonies and "Mr. Lincoln's World," an interpretive program offering visitors guided tours with actors dressed in period costumes portraying characters from the 1850s. Visitors may experience the state's "Wild West" heritage at such locations as the Wild Bill Hickock Memorial in Troy Grove, Ft. Defiance near Cairo, the Ft. Kaskaskia Complex near Chester, Fort de Chartres in Prairie du Rocher, and the Lewis and Clark Memorial near Hartford. A number of eighteenth century courthouses—in Metamora, Postville, Mt. Pulaski and Cohokia Mounds—have been restored to their original appearances and afford a view of some of the finest architectural achievements of the era. Other structures maintained by the Illinois Historical Preservation Agency include Hoffman Tower in Lyons; the Carl Sandburg Home in Galesburg; the David Davis Mansion in Bloomington; the Dana-Thomas House in Springfield; and the Galena Complex in Galena which includes the U. S. Grant Home, the Elihu Washburne House and Old Market House.

**PUBLIC RECREATION AREAS** The Illinois state park system includes 67 state parks, 62 nature preserves, 23 state historic sites, 21 conservation areas, 17 fish and wildlife areas and four state forests. For each of the last 14 years, Illinois has received national recognition as one of the leading states for its outstanding park services through the Gold Medal Awards program sponsored by the National Sports Foundation in association with the National Recreation and Parks Foundation. Illinois also has the distinction of providing one of the nation's finest delivery systems of recreation services for handicapped persons. Illinois has approximately 6,000 local park sites. Its park and recreation districts, together with the state parks, are caretakers of more than 470,000 acres of land and 78,000 acres of water. Areas and facilities operated by Illinois park, forest preserve and conservation districts include 2,365 campsites, 759 ice rinks (indoor/outdoor), 313 areas for boating on rivers and streams, 300 swimming pools, 235 areas for boating on lakes and ponds, 228 fishing areas, 184 recreation centers, 99 bicycle trails (covering 225 miles), 97 nature trails (extending over 219 miles), 70 beaches, 52 horseback trails, 26 boat marinas, nine ski slopes and five airports. These districts also operate museums, zoos, natural areas, nature centers, gardens, playgrounds and tennis courts, along with a wide range of other leisure activities and programs. The Shawnee National Forest spreads across the state's southern counties and encompasses a total of 261,357 acres. Within the boundaries of Shawnee are 17 developed recreation sites offering tent and trailer camping. Most of the campsites feature drinking water, restroom facilities, tables, beaches and cooking grills. All campsites are surrounded by beautiful natural scenery including soaring rock formations, rushing streams and quiet ponds. Within Shawnee's confines are seven large lakes (Crab Orchard, Cedar, Devil's Kitchen, Egypt, Kinkaid, Murphysboro and Little Grassy) which

Walter Payton, now retired, will be there.

lost game played there last week → new stadium. This park was quite an institution.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

March 31, 1989

For Immediate Release

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
IN LUNCHEON WITH REPORTERS

The East Room

12:45 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Well, first, let me just say, welcome to Washington. And I've been traveling some, but I like this much better -- you all coming here. And we're delighted that you are here.

We've got a broad cross section of both print and broadcast journalists here, and what I really want to do is to take your questions. I'm delighted that you heard from our drug czar, Bill Bennett, this morning, and Roger Porter, as well. And I'll be glad to follow on to any subjects that you have taken up with them. Our Chief of Staff John Sununu came over here with me -- hey, you don't get off that easy, Joe. You haven't heard my speech. (Laughter.)

No, I'm not going to spend a lot of time, but I do want to indicate that certain important things have taken place at the outset. We went up with a good budget agreement -- we hope we'll get an agreement -- a good budget proposal. We've thrown an idea, a plan out there for the savings and loans, and I think that is an important thing to have happen. We've introduced a child care initiative in keeping with the philosophical approach that I talked about in the campaign -- parental choice. We've done that one.

We've made a vigorous start in the narcotics area, and I want to congratulate Bill Bennett, who really -- antinarcotics area -- hit the ground running. And he has to formulate under the law a specific plan. But we're not going to wait for that to move forward in various ways.

Next week, we'll be sending up new legislation on ethics and education. The ethics guidelines will enable us to sustain an honesty and integrity in public service. I've been talking some about my belief in public service -- those not that are in and out on the political basis, but those who serve in a career basis. And I -- though we have no legislation on that, I want to keep saying how important I think that is.

We've made -- we recognize that the major problem facing us is the budget deficit. And Dick Darman is doing a very good job -- nobody declared our budget dead on arrival, which pleased me very, very much. Nobody has annointed it, either, in every possible way. (Laughter.) But nevertheless, we are making progress.

We're -- on the national security-foreign affairs side, we're going to have a vigorous week next week with President Mubarak here, Prime Minister Shamir here. And then we're going to have several of the Central Americans up here very soon. You've seen our new approach, you might say, on Nicaragua, where we are working with the Congress, we're together with Congress.

One of my regrets is that we were sending two signals. We'd have one signal out of the Executive Branch and then another signal coming out of Capitol Hill. And I think that now we've laid that to rest and we're going to do what we can to move forward -- help move forward the democracy that I believe the people of

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Nicaragua want and the democracy that they've been denied.

So we've got a big agenda there with forthcoming meetings on Europe, on the NATO summit coming up at the end of May, and then, of course, we'll have a big meeting in Paris in July.

So we're going to -- the agenda is full. We're moving forward on our national security reviews. I remain optimistic about working with the Soviets, but I've said and I'll repeat to you all, I'm not going to precipitously move just to be -- just to have some meeting going on out there. There's a lot happening and when I come forward with a proposal, I want it to be sound; I want it to have the full support of the NATO Alliance; and I want it to have a credibility, and instant credibility that shows our commitment, not only to enhancing the peace, but to preserving the Alliance and keeping it strong.

So there's a lot happening out there. I'm just delighted all of you are here. And now, let's just go to the questions.

Q Mr. President, I was wondering whether you, in the light of the Alaska oil spill, whether you think the federal government should take measures in perhaps two areas -- one, to tighten up the requirements -- the restrictions on alcohol and drug abuse by the people who are in charge of these ships; and perhaps more importantly, to ensure that there is a quicker response on the cleanup efforts?

THE PRESIDENT: I would certainly support constitutional steps in the former area. I feel that substance abuse is wrong. I want to see a drug-free workplace, and I would certainly think we could expand that to reasonable requirements in terms of people who are fulfilling important functions like taking crude oil through straits.

I will say it's awful hard to guard against abuse of this nature when you're making laws. And I think one of the things I learned from our meeting with our EPA Administrator, and the head of the Coast Guard, and our able Secretary of Transportation, was that this strait was pretty wide and that it -- I don't think there is any way you could plan, as you're making the pipeline, against this kind of abuse.

But in terms of testing, I do favor that. You noticed I used the word "constitutional."

What was the second part, Joe?

Q Regarding the cleanup, sir. There's been criticism in Alaska that, for a number of reasons, that the cleanup didn't begin --

THE PRESIDENT: I think there were some reasons that it didn't go fast enough, and yes, I think we will have to do everything we can to see that the federal government, working with the states and private industry, has as rapid response time as possible. And I will say I feel very concerned about the environmental damage up there. When you look at those pristine shores and then see the threat to the fisheries and certainly the loss of life that's taken place so far -- birds and animals -- you have to be concerned about the environmental damage. And we have a very able Administrator of EPA, a man with unquestioned credentials in environment. And I expect that he and his people will learn from this, and then maybe we can -- maybe there are things we can do to guarantee quicker cleanup

Q Mr. President, Iraq is reported as seriously engaged in a program to build nuclear warheads and missiles. Does the prospect of this tiny, sometimes warlike, nation being able to wage nuclear war -- does it give you great concern for the future?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, one, I don't want to give credibility to the reports. Two, I strongly stand against the

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proliferation of nuclear weapons. We must strengthen IAEA safeguards to be sure that there is as much inspection as possible. But I don't want to give credence to the fact that Iraq is in the process of building nuclear weapons. I cannot confirm that. And so I don't want to go beyond that, Gabe. But I'm -- anytime you see representations that there will be nuclear proliferation it has got to concern us. And we will be making those representations, if we feel it's about to take place, to any country.

Q Is it a matter that you feel that the Soviet Union and the United States should take action on in connection with small countries developing -- other countries developing those weapons?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think we do agree with the Soviet Union, who has also made its statements against proliferation. And you look around the world and there's some very worrisome areas. You know our position on Pakistan. Pakistan's very concerned about Indian proliferation. And so you can just keep going and find areas that we have to be alert to the dangers and then try to find ways to see that nuclear proliferation does not happen.

But I don't want to -- I just don't want to be pushed into giving credence to the reports.

Q Mr. President, if I might follow up on the Alaskan situation for just a moment.

THE PRESIDENT: Please.

Q Might this cause you to review and possibly change your support for oil exploration and-or drilling in the northeastern part of Alaska, near that wildlife refuge up there? Might you now review the policies on this because of this oil spill?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

Q No? (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: You asked me if I would review the policies about ANWR, about somebody bringing oil out of a strait 10 miles wide who was allegedly intoxicated. And the answer to your question is no.

Q The reason I ask is because environmentalists now are very concerned, as they were after the Santa Barbara spill of 1969, which I think you remember --

THE PRESIDENT: I do.

Q -- about transporting this oil from Alaska down the coastline.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, we have to transport oil. We are becoming increasingly dependent on foreign oil. And that is not acceptable to any president who is responsible for the national security of this country. So what we will do is not go backwards; what we will do is redouble every effort to provide the proper safeguards. And I think most people are reasonable enough and fair enough to look back at the record over the years in terms of the pipeline and found that there had been very little damage, if any. Certainly there's been no lasting environmental damage.

Now you have a ship that runs on a reef at 12 knots and driven by somebody or in command by a person who allegedly had been under the influence. And I'm not sure you can ever design a policy anywhere to guard against that. The logical suggestion would be, well, should we shut down the Gulf of Mexico? Should we shut down the oil fields off of Louisiana because of this? And the answer would be no. That would be irresponsible.

So what you do is do the best you can, express the genuine concern that you feel on the environment -- and I do feel a

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concern -- but not take irresponsible action to guard against an incident of this nature.

Q Mr. President, I'll ask you a question I asked Mr. Bennett earlier today. We've seen a number of antidrug programs --

THE PRESIDENT: You didn't like his answer? (Laughter.)

Q -- in the last couple of decades, and my question is, are you confident that the federal government, working with local governments and -- I'm here in Washington at WMAL -- that you will be able to come up with something this time that will actually have an impact on the nation's drug problem?

THE PRESIDENT: I hope so. I would never suggest that the federal government will design a program and implement it that will be imposed on every locality. We can't do that. I believe the federal government has a certain role and I believe that the control and power rests with the states and the localities.

But we have a responsibility, and there's no better person to fulfill that responsibility than Bill Bennett in making suggestions in terms of training programs, or educational programs, or enforcement programs, or programs that relate to prison space, programs that relate to utilization of the military assets -- and we are using them in the interdiction field -- than Bill Bennett.

Q Mr. President, what is the administration's plan to obtain the freedom of the American hostages in Lebanon?

THE PRESIDENT: The plan to do it?

Q Well, what is the plan? What is the administration's plan --

THE PRESIDENT: The administration's plan is to do its level best to try through intelligence to find who is holding these hostages and where they are, and then to do what we can to release them. The plan is not to knuckle under to demands that will put American citizens at risk all around the world. That's the plan.

Q Mr. President, I gather you had a meeting this morning with Senator Armstrong of Colorado about the Two Forks dam. Are you willing to ask the EPA to change its decision on that dam at all? What do you have to say to the people who feel they haven't been given a fair shake by the EPA?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I have a feeling that -- you ask what I plan to do -- I heard from Bill Armstrong a very strong presentation representing the need to go forward with the dam. And what I have asked is that our Administrator Bill Reilly be there for that presentation. He was, and he will be back in touch with me. It is a matter that is decided by the EPA Administrator, and I was very anxious that Bill Armstrong have him in attendance so that he hear this side of it. And I have confidence that Bill Armstrong, a very fair individual -- and we'll just see what is recommended.

But it was a good meeting and I was given a lot more detail on it than I had had before. But there's -- no final decision has been taken on that matter.

Q Mr. President, during the campaign, the general and primary, you were asked several times to protect the textile industry from foreign imports. Invariably, your response was that you would enforce existing laws. Since you've come into office, can you point to a single specific instance in which you have taken some action to --

THE PRESIDENT: No, no, I can't.

Q The question is on U.S. dependency on foreign oil. Would --

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THE PRESIDENT: Let me go back. Existing laws, to my knowledge, are being enforced. I can't think of any new existing law that's in force that wasn't before.

Q Okay. On the question of U.S. dependency on foreign oil, can we reach a point where your administration would take steps such as an oil import fee or other stances that would help the domestic oil industry?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, the domestic oil industry is doing a little better now, the price of crude oil having risen to some \$20 or \$18 -- I don't know what West Texas crude is today -- \$18.50, something of that nature. The industry is doing a little better. The rig count is still very low. I repeat; there is no security for the United States in further dependency on foreign oil. I have made proposals that would stimulate domestic production and I'd like to see the Congress move on those proposals.

And so I -- but I am not -- have not changed my view on the oil import tax.

Q Mr. President, what do you envision for the role of education, especially in the fight against drug abuse? Do you see a blending together of the two?

THE PRESIDENT: I think it is absolutely essential. We are not going to win the fight against narcotics on the interdiction front alone. And I think Bill Bennett agrees with me that the demand side is the place where we've got to do better, and that means education.

Q Mr. President, we've been hearing about the new Whip in the House and all we hear is, he's a pretty tough guy. Are you going to meet the Congressman and are you going to talk to him? I mean, talk to him about the style that he's known for with respect to what you have at stake in legislation over there?

THE PRESIDENT: I am absolutely convinced, having known Newt Gingrich, that we are going to work together very, very well. I don't think he needs any lectures from me. But he's -- I think that every congressman that I've talked to since then feels that he'll be what he said he'd be -- a team player. He's not going to suddenly become a shrinking violet, but we don't want that. He's going to be a good leader. And I'm going to work with him and I'm going to work with him productively. He's got his style and I got mine.

Q Mr. President, a few days ago, a small company out of Houston called Space Services launched a private rocket. What are your plans to incorporate private enterprise in space? How is that going to work with NASA?

THE PRESIDENT: It's going to work that we're going to encourage it. I've had a feeling -- and I can't document this -- that there has been some reluctance in some quarters of the government against privatization, against the commercial aspects of this. David Hanna, who was the founder, certainly one of the key honchos in that company, has risked a lot of capital. He's gone out and done what he believed in. He had one dramatic failure -- and a lot of people were giving him grief over that -- and he stayed with it. And he's had a successful launch -- he and Deke Slayton and others -- and I applaud them.

My role will be to tell the bureaucracy -- NASA, that we want to encourage the privatization. NASA has a role that's a government role and it'll continue to be a government role. But when you have enterprise like this, I think it is nothing but good for the United States. And we need alternate ways to put things into space, and this is good.

Q Can I just follow that up, Mr. President?

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THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q Are you saying then, that at some time private enterprise will take over NASA's role of the R&D?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

Q Do you see that coming?

THE PRESIDENT: No, no I don't. But I see NASA making room for a significant private role in terms of putting things into space. And I don't sense, at the highest levels of NASA, a total resistance to this. But I've had a feeling that some involved in the process, not just in NASA, but along the way, have not been pushing the concept of privatization -- not being as cooperative as we might. So I see NASA's role continuing in R&D. And I see it continuing in its shuttle business, space station business -- that I hope to see come to fruition. But I just think that we need to support and applaud those who, in the private sector, have big dreams like David Hanna has had.

Q Mr. President, you have come under criticism in some conservative circles due to your policy toward the Nicaraguan Contras. The fact that apparently you have no plans to request military aid for the Contras, is that a tacit admission on your part that the Reagan administration policy -- which you had a part in for eight years -- of asking for military aid for the Contras was a failure in forcing our the Sandinista government or making it make reforms in Nicaragua?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I think the Reagan policy brought the Sandinistas to the table. And I think, had there been no pressure, the Sandinistas would have gone about their merry revolutionary ways, without keeping their commitment to the Organization of American States -- a commitment for free press, for freedom of worship -- democratization, if you will. So, I think now we are -- the problem we had is you go to recommend aid and you have a different foreign policy set on Capitol Hill. Now we're saying -- and my own view is, there was no way, not a snowball's chance in hell of getting a dime for lethal aid -- military aid, from Congress. And I think anybody that's familiar with Congress would acknowledge that.

So what we've done is get together with the Congress -- with strong conservative support, I might say. I'm not suggesting your question is wrong, because I hear some voices out there hitting us. But it's not bad. The policy has been well-received. And we're speaking with one voice and we are going to push for democratization. And by getting humanitarian aid that goes through this election, I am hopeful that the Nicaraguans will go forward and do that which they give rhetorical support for, but that which they've failed to implement and that means democracy -- free certifiable elections.

And you hear some criticism of Salvador and what's taken place down there recently. You don't hear it from me because I want to give Christiani a chance. Those elections were certifiably free. Democrats and Republicans on our commission going down there and saying that. So we will treat the Salvadoran winner on his word -- that he wants to continue the democracy that we salute Duarte for moving forward; that he stands against the extremes. And I think he's got some big problems with these Marxist-backed guerrillas coming at him. But we're going to support that, just as we're going to support the Central American presidents as they now, hopefully, push Ortega to do that -- what Ortega should have done long before now.

Q Secretary Yeutter and Ambassador Hills, Mr. President, go to Geneva next week for very important trade negotiations that I've been told will determine the shape of the U.S. foreign policy in the next decade and how the world reads it. What are your expectations from that meeting? Are you optimistic?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, it's hard to say. So far, I've

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been pleased with what came out of Canada, for example. I had a talk with both Clayton Yeutter and Carla Hills two days ago. I would say that Carla expressed a certain optimism about moving forward with the agenda, and that would include agriculture. But I'd just say, I'm reserved on it. I'm reserved on how that's going to come out. But I think it is very, very important, if you believe as I do in free trade. I also think we need to get the emphasis on fair trade. And so I'm hopeful that they can make more progress. But I think they think there will be progress, if I had to give you the judgment of both the Secretary of Agriculture and the USTR.

Q Did you give them any advice that you could share with us?

THE PRESIDENT: No. I just said I hope they're right. And they're both professionals. They know my view on opening up agricultural markets; they know my view in fair trade, they know my abhorrence to more protectionist measures. But they also know that I support selective shots. I supported the wheat flour shot that was fired several years ago. And where the United States is being unfairly treated, I think we have every right to fire a selective shot. But I don't want to see us unleash the hoards of protectionist legislation. It gets back to the textile question -- I'm not supporting legislation. Fortunately, that industry is doing fairly well right now.

Q Can you be more specific about your intentions in dealing here in Washington with drugs and drug-related crime?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I'd leave that -- I'd have to defer to Bill Bennett in more specificity. But it's going to be across the board as we -- where we can help -- education, law enforcement, prison -- maybe expansion of prisons and prosecutors and judges -- if we can help on that area. I'd say those are some broad fields, but I really would have to, on a five-point program, defer to our -- to Bill Bennett on that.

Q The Department of Defense has expressed concern over tritium supply to fuel nuclear weapons and such.

THE PRESIDENT: What was that?

Q The tritium supply to fuel nuclear weapons.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, sir.

Q Do you plan to have the Savannah River Plant be started this year and what is --

THE PRESIDENT: I'm waiting to hear from Secretary Watkins on that, but I do share the concern about it. I am one who believes that it is important that we not, in this era where some are proclaiming no need, almost to keep our guard up, that we not succumb to that and that we recognize we have got to have a tritium production capability. But I can't give you a time frame yet or anything of that nature.

Q Mr. Bush, thank you for calling on me. I have a reasonable question to ask you. Governor Thompson is in Moscow to establish a trade bureau with the Soviets there. I'd like to know if he went with your blessing, and do you encourage similar initiatives on the parts of other states? And why didn't the Republican Party support Ed Vrdolyak in the Chicago mayoral race?

THE PRESIDENT: Very good questions -- somewhat unrelated, but let me try to help. (Laughter.) I have absolutely nothing but admiration for those governors that try to expand trade between their states, thus the country, and other countries. We have certain laws governing them and Jim Thompson is very familiar with them. I must confess that I personally did not bless this mission because I wasn't familiar with it. He's done other such missions that he's done on his own, as a Governor of a state should do. So that would handle

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the Thompson one. The other one was on Ed Vrdolyak?

Q Fast Eddie.

THE PRESIDENT: Fast Eddie?

Q -- support of the Republican National Party as Rich Daley with be a Democrats. So we were wondering why didn't the Committee support him --

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I don't know, we'd have to refer that to Lee Atwater. If you want to know whether I'd support the Republican nominee, I do -- Ed Vrdolyak amongst the nominees. And he supported me, and I don't forget those things. But whether -- if the question is, how much in the way of assets or stuff, I really would have to refer you to the National Committee.

Q Mr. President, I've just come from Philadelphia, where the Mayor last night unveiled the most austere budget they've seen in decades and he's planning on eliminating city services that have been long-protected. And the feeling is that much of the problem is the elimination of revenue-sharing and other forms of federal aid, that cities are being abandoned by Washington. What hope can you offer the Mayor of Philadelphia and the citizens there that Washington will begin to help them with some of the social problems they're trying to deal with?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, first, I'd tell there isn't any revenue to share, and say it respectfully, but make sure he understands that. And the best hope that we can do for Mayor Goode or for anybody else, is to get our federal deficit down, because that's going to have a major impact on interest rates in this country. So we've got to get in agreement. And I would ask people who are pressed for funds -- and certainly a major of a major urban area would fit that description -- not just Philadelphia, a lot of cities -- but the best thing -- you say what can we do? What we can do is get the federal budget deficit solved and get this -- get the deficit going downward in accordance with Gramm-Rudman-Hollings.

And that is the best thing to do because if we do that we keep the economic growth going -- the longest in a long, long time in American history. That means job creation -- the new job creation reached I think it was 20 million jobs in the last announcement that I have seen. Interest rates have been creeping up, and this worries me. We've got to always be on guard against inflation. But I don't want to see an interest crunch slow down this economy. And that means then that we are going to have to do the best we can on the spending side. And we are going to have \$80 billion more revenue to the federal government this year than last -- under existing law, no change in law -- \$80 billion more coming in.

Now some programs have claim on that, many in the entitlements area, I will concede that. But we've got to take that money and use some of it to meet our obligations to get this deficit under control. And that is the best thing -- that is the priority thing that the federal government can do for any city. And there are other -- there are a lot of programs that are still amply funded or well-funded and we're going to try to continue as many of those as possible.

Q Mr. President, you promised a kinder, gentler nation, yet your budget calls for a \$5 billion cut to Medicare beyond the current law. How can that help but not adversely affect beneficiaries?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, what we want to do is take it out of the side on terms of efficiency, of service -- delivering services, and that's what the proposals that we have sent up to the Congress and that Dick Darman is discussing with the various committees -- that's the emphasis that our recommendations take. And I hope that it will be -- I hope they'll be implemented. There will probably be some give-and-take on that recommendation, I think.

MORE

Q Won't there be adverse affects, though, to beneficiaries with such a deep cut?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, as I'm saying, it needn't be. It depends what's worked out with the Congress. Our proposal did not -- our proposal took it out mainly on the side of services. So we're not talking about drastic cuts of monies to families.

Last one. Once, twice. Then I'll go peacefully.

Q Your resident scholar, Dr. Porter, gave us a brief history lesson this morning on the presidency. And he recalled a conversation he had with you about the great presidents of the past and why we don't have great leaders today -- talking about Jefferson and Monroe and Madison. Who are your two favorite great presidents?

THE PRESIDENT: First, I'd make a point that everybody looks better over time. (Laughter.)

Q But who are your two?

THE PRESIDENT: Herbert Hoover looks better today than he did 40 years ago, doesn't he?

Q No.

THE PRESIDENT: People remember -- (laughter) -- not to you, but to a lot of people, they do. They remember the compassionate side of the man. You couldn't even talk about that 30 or 40 years ago.

Q Is he your model?

THE PRESIDENT: No he's not. (Laughter.) But I want to just -- I was trying to make the point that -- I was trying to make the point that time is generous to people. I remember the hue and cry around Harry Truman from guys like me, and Republicans. Now, we're all kind of moderated and think the good things and leave out some of the contentious matters.

So history is basically kind to American presidents. A model, I think -- I was talking to some people the other day about it -- would be Teddy Roosevelt. He comes out of the same elitist background that I do. (Laughter.) And he had the same commitment to the environment I did, although the rules on hunting have changed dramatically since he used to shoot with no limits out there in South Dakota, or North Dakota.

But he was a man of some action. He was a person that understood government, didn't mind getting his hands dirty in government. I remember part of his life being on the Police Board in New York City. Ask Abe Pressman about that. That's -- probably combat pay was required in those days. So he was an activist. I have great respect for Eisenhower. I'm not trying to compare myself to any of these people, but in Eisenhower's case, he was a hero. He was a man that, I'm old enough to remember, was our hero. He led the Allied Forces and helped free the world from imperialism and Nazism. And he brought to the presidency a certain stability. Others may have had more flare, but he -- and he presided, I will concede to you -- and I take it you're a student of history -- in fairly tranquil times.

But he did it -- he was a fair-minded person, strong leader, and had the respect of people. And I think he was given credit for being a compassionate individual. So those are two who I would throw out there, and you can't live in this house and do as I do -- have my office upstairs, next door to the Lincoln Bedroom in which resides one of the signed, handwritten copies of the freedom doctrine that will live forever -- Emancipation Proclamation -- right there in our house. So I think all of us -- I think almost all Americans put Lincoln on that list some place.

Q Any Democrats in your pantheon, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, there could well be. Sure.

Q One?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I respect certain things about Harry Truman. He liked to go for walks. (Laughter.) But he was tough -- said what he thought and had respect from people. Won them over, did it his way, and I respect him being a fighter. They had him written off in '48. I bet 10 bucks against him. And on Tom Dewey. And I lost. So did a lot of other people who thought that the polls were going to be correct. So I respect a guy that fights back, and Truman did that.

So there's -- and you can walk down -- I had a lot of differences with Lyndon Johnson. But there are certain things about him that were good. And he was certainly a very gracious freshman Congressman in those days to Barbara and me. So we had a little insight that came from a personal knowledge of the man. And he got all caught up in Vietnam, but people forget that, for his legislative agenda, he got through what President Kennedy couldn't get through. We ought to give a little credit for somebody that can do that. He controlled both Houses of the legislature, which is slightly different than the 41st President is facing.

But it's interesting, because when you live in the house here, you think about a question that you just asked. And again, I'm no student of history. You can't live here without becoming more of a student of history, but you learn the redeeming features. You begin to pick up the redeeming features of those that maybe you hadn't had down as a hero, or hadn't even thought much about in the history of this country.

So I don't think that -- I would argue with your premise -- I could just go on forever here -- (laughter) -- but I would argue with what I thought was the premise that great leaders were all back there somewhere. I'm not sure of that.

Let me just end on one that -- I learned a lot from Ronald Reagan. And one thing I was telling these guys at lunch here -- one thing I learned from him is, I never once in eight years, no matter how difficult the problem, heard him appeal to me or to others around him for understanding about the toughest, loneliest job in the world -- how can anybody be asked to bear the burden single-handedly. Never.

And when Reagan left office, you never heard the presidency is too big for one man -- never heard it.

Back in 1980, people like Lloyd Cutler, for whom I have great respect, were saying, look, this is so complex today that maybe we need a parliamentary system. He wasn't proposing it, he was saying it ought to be looked at. Reagan came in, stood on certain principles, stayed with them, and never asked for sympathy or never asked for understanding of the great overwhelming burden of the presidency, and left with 61 percent of the people saying, hey, wait a minute -- he did a good job. Good lesson right here in modern history.

Last one.

Q Thank you, Mr. President. In the state of Kansas, about a third of the wheat crop has already been destroyed by drought and there were indications that the rest may be in jeopardy. Given the current budget problems, what's realistic for those farmers to expect in the way of disaster aid?

THE PRESIDENT: I can't give you any numbers on it. Current law addresses itself to disaster aid, and we can fulfill our obligations there. But I really am not up to speed enough to tell

MORE

you exactly what I can propose on that, or what will be proposed in terms of disaster aid.

Q Are you aware Senator Dole and Senator Kassebaum are trying to get some --

THE PRESIDENT: Well, they're talking to our Secretary of Agriculture right now in terms of trying to come up -- but I just can't tell you what the administration is going to come up with on it.

Q Are you going to sign the fairness doctrine -- passed by Congress -- expect to veto?

THE PRESIDENT: I never talk about what I'm going to sign until I know exactly what's in it -- read the fine print. Or better still, given the size of some of this stuff that comes around, have somebody else read the fine print, that you have confidence in.

Thank you all. Listen, I've got to run. Thank you all very, very much. Hope you've enjoyed your stay.

END

1:24 P.M. EST

March 9, 1989

Dear Mr. Brumback:

On behalf of the President, I wish to acknowledge and thank you for your kind invitation to address the American Newspaper Publishers Association's 103rd Annual Convention in Chicago.

The President is pleased to accept. This has been entered on his schedule for April 24th, and nearer the date of the event Mr. John G. Keller, Jr., Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of Advance will contact you about the President's acceptance of your invitation.

The President's acceptance of this invitation should not be announced to anyone until official notification is given by the White House Press Office, and any public announcement of this event must be coordinated with that office.

You should be aware that certain physical facility requirements exist for any Presidential appearance. The costs associated with these requirements are generally the responsibility of the host and are summarized on the attached list.

If you wish to alter the current plans for this event in any way, such as changing any part of the format, the location, or the participants, please direct your request for the proposed change to the Office of Presidential Appointments and Scheduling.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

JOSEPH W. HAGIN II  
Deputy Assistant to the President  
for Appointments and Scheduling

Mr. Charles T. Brumback  
President and Chief Operating Officer  
Tribune Company  
American Newspaper Publishers Association  
Box 17407  
Dulles Airport  
Washington, D.C. 20041

Ltrhead copies to Mr. Charles T. Brumback, Mr. Thomas C. Fichter,  
cc and incoming to Helen Donaldson Room 102, OEGB

March 3, 1989  
DRB

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*Chris*

*McGrady*

**MEMORANDUM**

**TO:** DAVID DEMAREST  
**FROM:** JOSEPH W. HAGIN  
**SUBJECT:** APPROVED PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY

**EVENT:** Address the American Newspaper Publishers Association 103rd Annual Convention  
**DATE:** Monday, April 24, 1989  
**TIME:** 12:00pm - 2:00pm  
**DURATION:** 2 Hours  
**LOCATION:** Hyatt Regency Hotel - Chicago, Illinois  
**ATTIRE:** Business Suit  
**REMARKS REQUIRED:** Yes  
**MEDIA COVERAGE:** Open

**FIRST LADY PARTICIPATION:**  
**ADDITIONAL INFORMATION:**

**CONTACT:** Jim Tomlinson (212) 621-1971

**TELEPHONE:** OFFICE \_\_\_\_\_ HOME \_\_\_\_\_

**NOTE: PROJECT OFFICER, SEE ATTACHED CHECKLIST**

Ed Rogers	Marlin Fitzwater	David Bates
James Cicconi	David Demarest	David Valdez
Fred McClure	Jean Lamb	USSS - PPD
Susan Porter Rose	Steve Studdert	Operations - Executive Residence
Patty Presock	John Keller	WHCA Audio/Visual
Speechwriting Office	Tim McBride	WHCA Operations
Laurie Firestone	J. Bonnie Newman	
Robert Guttman	Tony Lopez	

**TO: PROJECT OFFICERS**  
**FROM: JOSEPH W. HAGIN II**  
**SUBJECT: CHECKLIST FOR PRESIDENTIAL EVENTS**

### **General Responsibilities**

- \_\_\_\_\_ The Presidential Advance Office has responsibility for all logistical arrangements for any event involving press coverage. Please coordinate with them from the time your event is approved in order to avoid the need for last-minute modification.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Notify and clear all participants. (Full name, social security number, date of birth and place of birth).
- \_\_\_\_\_ Prepare and submit briefing paper to Jim Cicconi's Office by 3:00pm of the preceding day (14 copies)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Coordinate with Tim McBride on Presidential involvement.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Coordinate with Press Office and Media Relations regarding Press Coverage. Provide Media Relations with hometowns of participants. No organization's photographers will be admitted to any event unless the press is present. Clearance of such photographers should be coordinated through Media Relations.
- \_\_\_\_\_ If remarks are required, coordinate with the Speechwriters Office well in advance.
- \_\_\_\_\_ For outdoor events at the White House, in case of inclement weather, clear and reserve the backup location indicated.
- \_\_\_\_\_ If participant plans to bring a gift, contact the White House Gift Unit, in advance, for review and proper procedure for handling.
- \_\_\_\_\_ If any foreign visitor or dignitary is to be involved, please coordinate with the NSC (x2224).
- \_\_\_\_\_ If any Department of Defense or Military personnel are to be involved, please coordinate in advance with the White House Military Office (x2150).
- \_\_\_\_\_ If press coverage is expected, please provide all pertinent information concerning this event (guests, scenario, backdrop, etc.) to the Presidential Advance Office at least 72 hours prior to the event.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Within five (5) days after the event, submit a complete, confirmed list of staff and attendees, identified by title, and the actual starting and completion times of the event, to the President's Diarist, Office of Presidential Appointments and Scheduling.
- \_\_\_\_\_ If tent name cards are needed, send a list of names to the Social Secretary's office (x7064) at least 48 hours in advance.
- \_\_\_\_\_ For West Wing Meetings all room arrangements (chairs, notepads, pencils, etc.) should be made through Carl Jones or Susie Peake.

### **Residence Events**

- \_\_\_\_\_ Coordinate with the Social Secretary's office (x7064) for all arrangements.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Send guest list to Social Secretary's office, preferably three weeks prior to the event.
- \_\_\_\_\_ The President's attendance at this event should not be announced until official notification is given by the White House Press Office and any public announcement must be coordinated with that office. Also, prior to the distribution of any printed material, particularly details of the invitation, contact must be made with the White House Social Secretary, Laurie Firestone, at (x7064).

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM

TO: DAVID DEMAREST

FROM: JOSEPH W. HAGIN

SUBJECT: APPROVED PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY

EVENT: Address the American Newspaper Publishers Association 103rd Annual Convention

DATE: Monday, April 24, 1989

TIME: 12:00pm - 2:00pm

DURATION: 2 Hours

LOCATION: Hyatt Regency Hotel - Chicago, Illinois

ATTIRE: Business Suit

REMARKS REQUIRED: Yes

MEDIA COVERAGE: Open

FIRST LADY PARTICIPATION:

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION:

CONTACT: Jim Tomlinson (212) 621-1971

TELEPHONE: OFFICE \_\_\_\_\_ HOME \_\_\_\_\_

NOTE: PROJECT OFFICER, SEE ATTACHED CHECKLIST

- |                      |                  |                                  |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------------------------|
| Ed Rogers            | Marlin Fitzwater | David Bates                      |
| James Cicconi        | David Demarest   | David Valdez                     |
| Fred McClure         | Jean Lamb        | USSS - PPD                       |
| Susan Porter Rose    | Steve Studdert   | Operations - Executive Residence |
| Patty Presock        | John Keller      | WHCA Audio/Visual                |
| Speechwriting Office | Tim McBride      | WHCA Operations                  |
| Laurie Firestone     | J. Bonnie Newman |                                  |
| Robert Guttman       | Tony Lopez       |                                  |

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

FILE NO. 28  
DATE  
*Chen*

**MEMORANDUM**

**TO:** DAVID DEMAREST  
**FROM:** JOSEPH W. HAGIN  
**SUBJECT:** APPROVED PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY  
**EVENT:** Address the American Newspaper Publishers Association 103rd Annual Convention  
**DATE:** Monday, April 24, 1989  
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**REMARKS REQUIRED:** Yes  
**MEDIA COVERAGE:** Open  
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**ADDITIONAL INFORMATION:**  
**CONTACT:** Jim Tomlinson (212) 621-1971

**TELEPHONE:** OFFICE \_\_\_\_\_ HOME \_\_\_\_\_

**NOTE: PROJECT OFFICER, SEE ATTACHED CHECKLIST**

- |                      |                  |                                  |
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| Ed Rogers            | Marlin Fitzwater | David Bates                      |
| James Cicconi        | David Demarest   | David Valdez                     |
| Fred McClure         | Jean Lamb        | USSS - PPD                       |
| Susan Porter Rose    | Steve Studdert   | Operations - Executive Residence |
| Patty Presock        | John Keller      | WHCA Audio/Visual                |
| Speechwriting Office | Tim McBride      | WHCA Operations                  |
| Laurie Firestone     | J. Bonnie Newman |                                  |
| Robert Guttman       | Tony Lopez       |                                  |

#12/89

Newspaper Publishers Tes Do  
1st Q of 16 Q same

✓ MKG talking pts

✓ Book of Days  
America the Quotable - Chicago

✓ Sports Illustrated → ~~sports~~ analogies

newspaper jokes  
quote books  
Yosi Berra  
old speeches

✓ ~~talk to JPP~~

BARO

Teddy Roosevelt → he did it, success  
→ them wrong about TR; he paved  
Reform → improvement, fixing, making it better

Educ  
Sp4  
Nucle. Waste  
Budget  
Ethics

Investing in the Future → wise policies that  
will pay off  
Cap. Gains  
Env.  
Educ. → Head Start  
Ret D  
N

Kinder Gentler  
Homeless  
C.C.  
Medicare

→ based on new ideas  
not the old ideas of the  
Great Society & big spending

✓ R.W. Apple on T.R.

look at ppl of 2/8

3030

founder of Amer. News. Publishers

Heerst  
Graham  
Sulzberger, Arthur  
Ochs, Adolph  
Dryfus, Orvil  
Gib, Arthur

page 89

Newspaper: A circulating library w/ high

blood pressure.

Arthur "Bugs" Ross

Leadmasters' Treasure Chest  
p. 394

Newspaper 469, 471, 582, 597, 1312

Joke:

Barbaro already took a shot @ NYT

~~hook up other longfellow poem~~

Quayle's father <sup>was</sup> publisher

talked to your employees last week

1/14/89

4/14/89

News Publ.

Joe Hartford = public info

Tom Fichter = ANPA - Exec. V.P.

Barbara Rotherham 648-1000

4/17/89

Roos. & N.Y. City Police Commissioner

3/17/29

Style of R.

Wash Jeff

Foss. Ike

TR. on reform

George Hulas - founder of NFL

TR on Jeff & Hamilton

TR of Monroe Doctrine  
Nobel

Russ-Japanese peace treaty 9/5/05

4th Hague Convention signed by 30 nations 10/18/07  
1st narcotics prohibition act passed 2/19/09

5/6/95 N.Y.C. Board of Pol. Comm.

1898 Organized 1st Regiment U.S. Volunteers  
known as "Roosevelt's Rough Riders"

\* Regional Press Briefing  
end of March

Lincoln on his knees

History of Presidency each had own set of problems  
R.P. Jeff  
Ike



cooperative problem solving  
role of states  
media  
quiet negotiations - budget  
import. of Cabinet  
Access  
common purpose  
future

Hollos, George 10/31/83  
S.F., CA ~~his~~ his "favorite boating city"

Eisenhower on G.W.

'53: 11, 240, 271  
'54: 52, 54, 75, 86, 88, 113n., 301  
'55: 40  
'56: 12 (p. 78), 107, 280  
'57: 87, 115, 150  
'58: 269  
'59: 31, 107, 151  
'60-61: 80, 246

stuffed copy

McGroarty/Blessey  
April 19, 1989  
6:30 pm  
Draft 3

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS  
APRIL 24, 1989

{Thank you for your generous welcome.... Acknowledgements.}

I know the news business is a serious and sometimes dangerous business. Mark Twain liked to recall that Napoleon once shot at a magazine editor....

Napoleon missed him, but killed a publisher.

As Twain said, it seems his aim was bad, but his intentions were good.

Of course, today things are more civilized -- kinder and gentler, if you prefer -- and even though I've taken some tough shots from the press myself, I promise I'll hold my fire.

You all know Jefferson's tribute to the importance of the press: "Were it left for me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter."

Now, despite the fact that there are days when I think that all we really need is a sports page -- both of us, government and the newsmedia, need one another, and owe each other a measure of respect, honesty and integrity equal to the work we're engaged in.

It's been a little over three months since I took the oath of office, and I'm very pleased with the progress we've made in

that short time. I'll say more about that shortly -- but before I do, I'd like to speak for a moment about my impressions of these past three months.

People often ask me what it's like -- how the presidency compares to the expectations you bring to it.

I can sum up the thing that's made the deepest impression on me so far, in one word: history. You can't live in the White House, you can't sit at that desk in the Oval Office, or upstairs in the small office I have next door to the Lincoln Bedroom, without constantly experiencing the history of the place -- without thinking of the presidents we all know in a new light.

I think of Washington, the man who would not be king, working to define the presidency -- to mix power and restraint in a way that created a chief executive consistent with democratic government. This Sunday, I will be in New York to join in the ceremonies marking the 200th anniversary of Washington's swearing-in. Each of those 200 years is lasting testimony to the solid foundations laid by Washington.

I think of Teddy Roosevelt: his limitless energy, his mental, moral and physical toughness. I think of his dedication to serve his nation -- a dedication instilled in earliest childhood -- his love of nature, his passion for reform.

I think of Harry Truman: a man who spoke his mind, a practical man, problem-solver. A fighter who never gave up -- I learned that the hard way in 1948, when I put \$10 bucks on Tom Dewey.

There's Ike, Dwight Eisenhower: hero to a generation, a man who didn't seek the spotlight, who understood the value of quiet, steady leadership, and led this nation through a decade of growth, prosperity and progress.

And of course I think of the man I served for eight years, Ronald Reagan -- his commitment to his beliefs, his great faith in the American people -- and the unshakeable optimism he brought to the job.

We used to hear a lot about the presidency being too big for one man. That talk stopped with Ronald Reagan.

Different men, different methods, different circumstances: proof -- as I see it -- that the presidency is ample enough to accomodate the strengths and styles of our nation's rich political history.

In the past three months, these thoughts have framed my own approach -- in dealing with the problems at hand, and working to put the United States on a steady course for the decade ahead, and the new century beyond it.

The first step in every initiative I've undertaken is to square our actions with enduring American principles. Whatever the problem, we can count on public support -- so long as our policy and principles share a common root.

Those principles are:

Freedom: for individuals, freedom of choice; for nations, independence and self-determination.

Fairness: equal standards, equal opportunity -- a chance for each of us to achieve, and make our way, on our own merits.

And in the workings of government, a firm sense of the responsibilities and powers of government -- and the private sphere that lies beyond its limits.

My starting point has been a respect for American institutions -- for Congress, for the executive branch and its dedicated civil servants, for state and local governments. Each has its role, each can be enlisted in the work at hand. The emphasis is on cooperation -- not confrontation -- as the surest route to progress.

When I took office, I told the Congress that the American people hadn't sent us to Washington to bicker. They sent us to govern -- to work together to shape policy and solve the problems that confront us.

I think the work we've done these past three months demonstrates the value of quiet negotiations between this Administration and the Congress.

The accord we reached on Central America is a key example. The people of Nicaragua -- like their neighbors in the region, like people everywhere -- deserve to live in peace, with freedom. The United States is now speaking with one voice -- and standing behind a plan that will put the Sandinistas to the test.

And of course there is the bipartisan budget agreement we worked out ten days ago. That agreement -- ahead of schedule, on target with Gramm-Rudman, and with my "no new taxes" pledge

intact -- is a strong first step towards dealing with the deficit problem, and keeping our economy -- 76 straight months of expanding, uninterrupted growth -- on track.

And in three short months, we've made a good start coming to grips with issues demanding urgent attention -- and decisive action.

And we've taken that action:

To stabilize the troubled Savings and Loan system. The reform plan I sent to Congress will restore stability, and put the S&L system back on its feet, in sound fiscal order. My plan guarantees that depositors will be fully protected -- and ensures that those S&L officials found guilty of criminal behavior will be punished to the fullest extent of the law.

Action: We've introduced guidelines to strengthen ethics in government. The ethics reforms I've sent to Capitol Hill this month will uphold honesty and integrity in government service -- and apply an even-handed ethics standard across all branches of government.

Action: In the war on drugs, we're advancing on all fronts -- education, treatment, interdiction and tougher law enforcement. And to prove we're serious, the anti-drug effort will receive almost one billion dollars in additional funding in 1990 -- a 21% increase over what we'll spend in 1989.

We've imposed a temporary ban on the import of automatic military assault weapons, weapons all too often used in drug related-killings. And we're tackling the drug epidemic in the

District Columbia, a test case for a full range of innovative anti-drug measures.

Of course, dealing with problems that demand immediate attention is only part of the picture. We need to look to the long-term as well -- to focus now on the kind of future we want to see for ourselves and our nation. Investing in that future is high on our national agenda.

First and foremost, that means improving education. Investing in the rising generation is long-range planning at its best. Our future in this technological age depends upon the qualities and capabilities of the American worker -- and not just the most talented among us, but each individual member of the workforce.

The seven-point plan I sent to Congress early this month will help us reward excellence in our schools, reach out to students most in need, increase choice, and introduce a healthy element of competition and accountability that will promote quality in our schools.

Preparing for the future means helping Americans cope with the changing nature of society -- helping fundamental institutions like the family remain strong and prosper. That's the guiding aim of my child care initiatives, a tax credit proposal designed to expand the options of low-income families -- keeping the ultimate choice of who will care for their children in their hands.

Preparing for the future means protecting our environment.

Teddy Roosevelt put it best when he said: "I do not recognize the right... to rob, by wasteful use, the generations that come after us." Roosevelt spoke those words almost eighty years ago. Now, little more than a decade away from the 21st Century, safeguarding our environment is a national -- and international -- imperative.

We've taken the first, important steps: we've urged Congress to enact legislation enabling us to ban export of hazardous wastes to nations where safe handling of those dangerous substances cannot be guaranteed. And in response to growing concern about global warming, we've committed the U.S. to work in concert with other nations to end the discharge of CFCs into the atmosphere by the year 2000.

And in the case of the Alaskan oil spill, we have taken steps to ensure a strong federal role in the clean-up effort, and to explore ways to prevent such spills in the future.

Finally, in the international arena, I've met with the leaders of 34 nations -- renewing my acquaintance with many of them, establishing a working relationship with the others. I've also ordered my national security team to conduct a series of systematic defense and foreign policy reviews. Those reviews -- now nearly complete -- will help us map strategy in an international environment where change is more rapid than at any point in the post-war period.

Last Monday, we announced a new policy towards Poland, in recognition of the positive changes taking place there. We'll be watching events in Poland closely: the fate of Solidarity, the follow-through on the free elections promised by the Polish Government. Freedom is proving a powerful force in world affairs -- a force for peace and stability.

The United States must seize opportunities to strengthen and support developments that advance the cause of freedom -- and we will.

We've made a good start these first three months, and there's more to come. The completion of our defense and foreign policy reviews in late May, draft legislation for a new Clean Air Act, a final decision on assault weapons, and new initiatives to combat the problem of homelessness in America -- all are on the near horizon.

You know, some of my toughest critics aren't members of the media -- quite often, they're the children who write to me at the White House.

I want to share with you a letter from a young man -- an eighth grader from Torrance, California. He wrote asking me to take action on pollution, toxic waste, smog, littering -- a very detailed list of environmental concerns.

He says in his letter: "I am not saying you're doing a bad job, but could you put a little more effort into it?"

Now, I want you to know when that letter was written:  
January 20, 1989 -- inauguration day.

I don't know whether I've managed to satisfy the young man who wrote that letter, but I can say I got his message. Whatever the issue, we need to get down to business -- find solutions, make progress.

So while I'm pleased with all we've accomplished in these three months, there's a long road ahead of us. I'm optimistic -- that our reforms will produce lasting results; that the long-range planning we do today will pay off in the future. But most of all, this nation is ready to move forward to meet the central challenges we face: keeping America free, prosperous and at peace, tomorrow, and into the century ahead.