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OF THE UNITED STATES

Dwight D. Eisenhower

1956

Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and Statements of the President

JANUARY 1 TO DECEMBER 31, 1956

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At least this is my hope: During your visit here in America, you find much of interest that you can carry back and possibly even apply—or find some adaptation—to your own country. Above all, we hope—all of us here—that you will carry back with you a sense that the American people are truly interested in Indonesia and you and your efforts to raise the standards of all your people, to make for them a better life.

Gentlemen, would you rise with me and drink a Toast to President Sukarno. The President of Indonesia.

NOTE: The President proposed this toast at a luncheon given for His Excellency Dr. Achmed Sukarno at the White House. President Sukarno responded as follows:

Mr. President, Gentlemen:

Twice today I have expressed my admiration for the great American nation, and I hope to have still more opportunities not only during this visit of mine but in my whole life to express again and again my admiration for the great American people.

This lunch, which I feel as an honor rendered to me, gives me an opportunity to express my admiration—my great admiration—for your great President, President Eisenhower

May I ask you to rise and to join me in drinking a Toast to the health of President Eisenhower.

107 ¶ Remarks at Dedication of General Motors Research Center in Detroit. *May* 16, 1956

[Broadcast from the White House over closed circuit television]

Members of the General Motors family:

It is truly an honor to participate with you today in this dedication of this new and great research center of America. It is a new adventure for frontiersmen. The history of America is a history of frontiers, and each frontier has been a challenge to Americans to dare more, to do more, to go forward faster and on a broader front.

We had geographical frontiers, always lying out there to the

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West of the Appalachians, challenging every person that was an inhabitant of those first thirteen Colonies. And so we had Lewis and Clark, and Pike, and all the rest opening up that great country. Even today some of those frontiers still remain, and we have great and gallant Americans exploring the Antarctic and the Arctic. Always a frontier—the challenge—and the response.

We had our economic frontiers. We started as a nation of small farms and little shops when the fur trade was in its infancy. And we learned about the gold in California; we learned about the great expanses of the West where we could raise cattle and produce our food. Frontiersmen went into them. We built roads and railroads to open up all those lands. Inventors came along and we had great machines to meet our needs. And so we had the great economic revolution of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that has so changed our lives.

We were a nation of political frontiersmen. The reason that today we so admire Franklin and Washington and Patrick Henry—Jefferson, Lincoln, is because they dared to think new thoughts about the way that men should govern themselves—the institutions and the procedures they should set up—and devised a scheme that has stood the test of time and has met our need for progress, with men enjoying equal justice, rights, and the great opportunities.

So it might be said that the frontiersman is symbolic of the United States. General Motors was founded by frontiersmen, people who were not satisfied with what we had and were determined to make it possible for men to travel faster and better and in greater comfort. Among those frontiersmen, two of your greatest were, of course, Alfred Sloan, Jr., and Mr. Kettering. Their accomplishments were so great in the technological field that today their names are household words in our country. Even since they have at least partially laid aside their work in that regard, they are still frontiersmen, showing us all how duties and citizenship can better be performed, how men can better discharge their duties in this country as citizens.

we will also work out a way of life for our nation and—with God's help—for the world.

My friends, I have only one request to make upon you today. What I have been talking about—opportunity—the richness of the heritage of America—the opportunity to help produce peace in the world—is in your hands, in a very definite measure.

If you will exercise the rights—the privileges—as well as discharging the obligations of your citizenship, you will vote, and record your convictions and your opinions.

Of course, if you can vote for the side in which we believe, that is all to the good. But in any event: vote! Be sure you do it, and get everybody else to do it.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:30 p. m. His opening words "Mr. Chairman" referred to Thomas A. Larkin, Republican Campaign Director, Duval County.

280 ¶ Address at Byrd Field, Richmond, Virginia. *October* 29, 1956

Chairman Hatcher, Mr. Robertson—My fellow Americans:

First, may I thank you sincerely for the cordiality of your welcome, a welcome that I appreciate all the more because I know some of you have been waiting here a very considerable time so that I might greet you and express to you a few thoughts in this political campaign. I do apologize for the lateness of the hour. But things happened that we couldn't prevent. In any event, because you stayed here, I want to thank each of you personally on behalf of myself, my wife—my whole party.

Now I am especially regretful that I could not stay here on this trip long enough actually to visit your historic city. But I determined that at the very least I would stop here momentarily, if I could do nothing else than merely to pay my respects to this State where so many of America's patriots had their homes—and

where on the more personal side my mother was born and spent her girlhood.

Now always when I do come here, I feel inspired by the giant figures Virginia has brought forth on the American scene—from Washington to Lee, to Woodrow Wilson, to my old chief and friend, George Marshall—one of the truly great men of this generation.

Through all history, certain concepts have seemed to characterize Virginia leaders. You believe in honesty and integrity and dignity in government—in all echelons. Moreover, you believe in doing things yourselves. You want State and local authority preserved. In Washington you want a proper respect for the constitutional division of powers between Federal and State governments. Your tradition is that big central government is likely to be bad government, that the freer our people are to run their own affairs, the better off all will be.

And as for the simple, old-fashioned virtue of not spending more than you make, you have here in Virginia the living symbol of this concept: Senator Harry Byrd. I am proud to pay my respects to him. He is true to your great heritage for efficiency in government, elimination of extravagance, strong local government—these concepts were as dear to Thomas Jefferson as they are to your leaders today.

Now, of such concepts, my friends, is what I intended to speak to you tonight, however briefly. They have been in my thoughts since this campaign began. But out of regard for the lateness of the hour, and for the length of time you have been here, let me say this:

I would like to visit with you just a little while personally. You have heard all the arguments pro and con. You know what I and my associates promised to you four years ago. We promised to restore honesty and integrity in government. We promised to cut useless government expenditures, and to return to the people the taxes we could thus save. We promised to work for full em-

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Dwight D. Eisenhower

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JANUARY 1 TO DECEMBER 31, 1954

42198

Out of faith in God, and through faith in themselves as His children, our forefathers designed and built this Republic.

We remember from school days that, aboard a tiny ship of destiny called the Mayflower, self-government on our continent was first conceived by the Pilgrim Fathers. Their immortal compact began with the words, "In the name of God, Amen."

We remember the picture of the Father of our Country, on his knees at Valley Forge seeking divine guidance in the cold gloom of a bitter winter. Thus Washington gained strength to lead to independence a nation dedicated to the belief that each of us is divinely endowed with indestructible rights.

We remember, too, that three-fourths of a century later, on the battle-torn field of Gettysburg, and in the silence of many a wartime night, Abraham Lincoln recognized that only under God could this Nation win a new birth of freedom.

And we remember that, only a decade ago, aboard the transport Dorchester, four chaplains of four faiths together willingly sacrificed their lives so that four others might live.

In the three centuries that separate the Pilgrims of the Mayflower from the chaplains of the Dorchester, America's freedom, her courage, her strength, and her progress have had their foundation in faith.

Today as then, there is need for positive acts of renewed recognition that faith is our surest strength, our greatest resource.

This "Back to God" movement is such a positive act.

As we take part in it, I hope that we shall prize this thought:

Whatever our individual church, whatever our personal creed, our common faith in God is a common bond among us. In our fundamental faith, we are all one. Together we thank the Power that has made and preserved us a nation. By the millions, we speak prayers, we sing hymns—and no matter what their words may be, their spirit is the same—"In God is our trust."

NOTE: The President's remarks were broadcast from the White House at 2:30 p.m. as part of an American Legion program originating in New York City.

all his resources, in union with others of like influence, to bring about the understanding, the comprehension, the determination we need. Freedom of expression is not merely a right—in the circumstances of today, its constructive use is a stern duty. Have we, have you as publishers, the courage fully to exercise the right and perform the duty?

Along with patriotism—understanding, comprehension, determination are the qualities we now need. Without them, we cannot win. With them, we cannot fail.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel at 9:00 p.m. His opening words referred to Stuart M. Chambers, President of the Association, President Herbert Hoover, and the Honorable Joseph W. Martin, Jr., Speaker of the House of Representatives.

88 ¶ Remarks at the Birthplace of Abraham Lincoln, Hodgenville, Kentucky. *April* 23, 1954

Senator Cooper, my fellow citizens:

Long have I looked forward to an opportunity to visit this Shrine, which is so truly American. Now, never in my wildest moments did I picture in my mind this kind of occasion. I saw myself driving up in an ordinary jalopy, and stopping with my family to look and visit this great spot.

I am truly honored by the courtesy you show me in being here today, that I may greet you and bring a word of welcome from your far-off Capital, Washington.

I think I could best express my feelings about Lincoln in this way. In my office in the White House I have sketches of four great Americans on the wall: one is—and the oldest—Benjamin Franklin; George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, and Robert E. Lee.

Abraham Lincoln has always seemed to me to represent all that is best in America, in terms of its opportunity and the readiness of Americans always to raise up and exalt those people who live by truth, whose lives are examples of integrity and dedication to our country.

I would like to speak about two or three characteristics of Lincoln that I think most of us could now remind ourselves, possibly with profit. He was a great leader. I would like to remind you of the methods he

used in leadership. You can find no instance when he stood up in public and excoriated another American. You can find no instance where he is reported to have slapped or pounded the table, and struck the pose of a pseudo-dictator, or of an arbitrary individual.

Rather, the qualities he showed and exhibited were forbearance in the extreme—patience. Once he called upon General McClellan, and the President went over to the General's house—a process which I assure you has been reversed long since—and General McClellan decided he did not want to see the President, and went to bed.

Lincoln's friends criticised him severely for allowing a mere General to treat him that way. And he said, "All I want out of General McClellan is a victory, and if to hold his horse will bring it, I will gladly hold his horse."

This means one thing: Lincoln's leadership was accomplished through dedication to a single purpose, the preservation of the Union. He understood deeply the great values that unite us all as a people, Georgia with New York, and Massachusetts with Texas—California with Florida. He knew that there were divisive influences at work, but he knew also they were transitory in character—they were flaming with heat, but they were made of stuff that would soon burn itself out.

The true values of America, he understood, are enduring, and they hold us together. And so he was patient. He was forbearing. He was understanding. And he lives today in our hearts as one of the greatest that the English-speaking race has produced, and as a great leader. Yet never did he fall into the false habit of striking a Napoleonic attitude at any time and under any provocation.

We remember his words because they still mean for us, and still explain to us, what this great country is: the greatest power on God's footstool that has been permitted to exist. A power for good, among ourselves, and in all the world. And he—this great Lincoln—was the one who did so much to give us the opportunity to live at a time when that would be so. When America's leadership in the world is necessary to the preservation of freedom and of liberty in that world, just as his presence in the sixties was necessary to the preservation of liberty and freedom and union of this Nation.

Thank you again for the great honor you do me for coming out here. I cannot tell you how happy I am, at last, to have the opportunity of

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coming to the birthplace of Lincoln, a man who for me—like for all of you—has been an idol since the days of my first memories.

Thank you, and goodbye.

NOTE: The President spoke at noon.

89 ¶ Address at Transylvania College, Lexington, Kentucky. *April* 23, 1954

President Rose, Senator Cooper, Dr. Thomas, and members and friends of this great College:

It is my unique privilege and honor to bring to this gathering a salute from the national Government on the 175th anniversary of the founding of this institution. This honor that I feel does not find its source merely in an age which by American standards is truly venerable. It comes from many things, that this institution is a member of that great body of institutions that has two great dedications: the preservation, the enrichment, and the dissemination of knowledge; and the propagation and increase of that faith in the dignity of man, in the capacity of man that is the cornerstone of our great free system of Government.

If you will pardon me for referring to Dr. Thomas' address, and particularly allow me first to say that I am overwhelmed by the overgenerosity of his concluding remarks with respect to myself, I would want to make this point: it is indeed refreshing to have a distinguished scientist stand in front of a body of educated people and publicly proclaim that the spiritual values of America are its true values, transcending all of the intellectual and scientific and political and material progress we have made.

Now, what exactly do we mean by these spiritual values? We mean, I think, those characteristics of man that we call ennobling in their effect upon him—courage—imagination—initiative—a sense of decency, of justice, and of right. The faculty of being ready to admit that the limit placed upon our personal rights is that we do not transgress upon similar rights of others. All of which, in a very real sense, is a translation into a political system of a deeply-felt religious faith.

Our forefathers acknowledged this when they wrote, in their first great document: "We hold that all men are endowed by their Creator

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1953

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JANUARY 20 TO DECEMBER 31, 1953

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271 ¶ Remarks Upon Lighting the National Community Christmas Tree. *December* 24, 1953

[Broadcast over radio and television at 5:09 p.m.]

My fellow Americans—here in Washington, in your homes across the Nation and abroad—and in our country's service around the world:

This evening's ceremony, here at the White House, is one of many thousands in America's traditional celebration of the birth, almost 2,000 years ago, of the Prince of Peace.

For us, this Christmas is truly a season of good will—and our first peaceful one since 1949. Our national and individual blessings are manifold. Our hopes are bright even though the world still stands divided in two antagonistic parts.

More precisely than in any other way, prayer places freedom and communism in opposition, one to the other. The Communist can find no reserve of strength in prayer because his doctrine of materialism and statism denies the dignity of man and consequently the existence of God. But in America, George Washington long ago rejected exclusive dependence upon mere materialistic values. In the bitter and critical winter at Valley Forge, when the cause of liberty was so near defeat, his recourse was sincere and earnest prayer. From it he received new hope and new strength of purpose out of which grew the freedom in which we celebrate this Christmas season.

As religious faith is the foundation of free government, so is prayer an indispensable part of that faith.

Tonight, richly endowed in the good things of the earth, in the fellowship of our neighbors and the love of our families, would it not be fitting for each of us to speak in prayer to the Father of all men and women on this earth, of whatever nation, and of every race and creed—to ask that He help us—and teach us—and strengthen us—and receive our thanks.

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OF THE UNITED STATES

Dwight D. Eisenhower



1959

Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and Statements of the President

JANUARY 1 TO DECEMBER 31, 1959

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31 ¶ Remarks at the National Lincoln Sesquicentennial Dinner. *February* 11, 1959

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Vice President, and Distinguished Guests:

It is natural, I think, that speaking last in such a program as this, that we should expect some duplication and repetition. But I should reassure you as I begin, by saying that my talk is only 5 or 6 minutes, so if there are these inevitable duplications, I may hope and pray that you do not find them lengthy or too boring.

Ninety-eight years ago today the President-elect of the United States boarded a train in Springfield, Illinois, to start the long journey to his Nation's capital. That same day a Washington newspaper reported the election in Montgomery, Alabama, of another president, Jefferson Davis, and from Fort Sumter came a report of "preparations for attack."

In bidding farewell to Springfield, Lincoln shared his innermost thoughts with old friends. In part, he said: "I now leave, not knowing when or whether ever, I may return, with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Washington. Without the assistance of that Divine Being Who ever attended him, I cannot succeed. With that assistance I cannot fail."

Four years and two months later Abraham Lincoln was dead—but the union again united. Now, said Secretary of War Stanton, "he belongs to the ages."

But Abraham Lincoln belongs not only to the ages, but to all humanity. Immortality is his in the hearts of all who love freedom everywhere in the world.

Each year two million people visit the Lincoln Memorial in Washington.

In New Delhi, a Lincoln Society is establishing a museum in his honor. High school students in Tokyo last summer ranked him as the most respected of all world figures.

"Of all the great national statesmen of history," Russia's Tolstoy thought, "Lincoln is the only giant."

In the Caucasian Mountains, a wild chieftain asked of a visitor, "Tell us about the greatest ruler in the world. We want to know something

about this man who was so great that he even forgave the crimes of his greatest enemies and shook brotherly hands with those who had plotted against his life."

The first President of modern China, Sun Yat-sen, found his three basic principles of government in Lincoln's Gettysburg Address.

For many years India's Prime Minister Nehru has kept, on the study table, a brass mold of Lincoln's right hand. "I look at it every day," Nehru tells us; "it is strong, firm and yet gentle . . . it gives me great strength."

The birth, 150 years ago, which we here honor, gave the Nation a son who a half-century later was summoned to lead our Republic through the tragedy of civil war. And as Lincoln fought for union and liberty he insisted always that "the struggle of today is not altogether for today—it is for a vast future also."

As we turn our eyes to that future, other words of his seem applicable. He said: "The tendency to undue expansion is unquestionably the chief difficulty. How to do something, and still not do too much, is the question. . . . I would not borrow money. I am against an overwhelming, crushing system. Suppose, that at each session, Congress shall first determine how much money can, for that year, be spared for improvements; then apportion that sum to the most important objects."

That the spirit of Lincoln be close at hand as we meet each successive challenge to freedom is the earnest hope of all Americans—indeed it is the hope of freedom's sentinels wherever they stand.

Pushing always ahead in our quest for a just peace and freedom for all men we can do no better than live by his prescription: "by the best cultivation of the physical world, beneath and around us; and the intellectual and moral world within us, we shall secure an individual, social, and political prosperity and happiness, whose course shall be onward and upward, and which, while the earth endures, shall not pass away."

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at the Statler Hilton Hotel, Washington, D.C. The dinner, sponsored by the Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission and the Lincoln Group of the District of Columbia, inaugurated ceremonies marking the 150th anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's birth.

Victor M. Birely, Vice Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission, was chairman of the dinner meeting. Fred Schwengel, U.S. Representative from Iowa, served as President of the Lincoln Group of the District of Columbia.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT CYCLOPEDIA

EDITED BY

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

Professor Emeritus, Harvard University

AND

HERBERT RONALD FERLEGER

Roosevelt Memorial Association

FOREWORD BY

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION

ROOSEVELT HOUSE

NEW YORK CITY

————————. My proposal is for the exercise of the referendum by the people themselves in a certain class of decisions of constitutional questions in which the courts decide against the power of the people to do elementary justice. When men of trained intelligence call this "putting the axe to the tree of well-ordered freedom," it is quite impossible to reconcile their statements both with good faith and with even reasonably full knowledge of the facts. (At Philadelphia, April 10, 1912.) *Mem. Ed.* XIX, 258; *Nat. Ed.* XVII, 193.

————————. One of the prime reasons for the reckless legislation which we so often see in Congress and in State legislatures is the lack of responsibility of members, who believe they can safely pass any law demanded by a section of the people because the courts will declare it unconstitutional. Such a practice is destructive to self-respect in the legislator, it encourages ignorance and tyranny in the judge, and it is ruinous to the interests of the people. Our proposal is that when two of the agencies established by the Constitution for its own enforcement, the legislature and the courts, differ between themselves as to what the Constitution which created them, means, or what it is to be held to mean, then that the people themselves, the people who created the Constitution, who established, whom Abraham Lincoln said are masters of both court and legislature, shall step in and after due deliberation decide what the Constitution is or is not to permit. (At New York City, February 12, 1913.) *Mem. Ed.* XIX, 505; *Nat. Ed.* XVII, 376.

————————. The referendum is certain to be of great use in a particular class of cases which very much puzzle the average legislator —where a minority of his constituents, but a large and influential minority, may demand something concerning which there is grave doubt whether the majority does or does not sympathize with the demand. In such a case the minority is active and determined; the majority can be roused only if the question is directly before it. In other words, the majority does not count it for righteousness in a representative if he refuses to yield to a minority; while a minority, on the other hand, will not tolerate adverse action. In such cases the temptation to the ordinary legislator is very great to yield to the demand of the minority, as he fears its concrete and interested wrath much more than the tepid disapproval of the majority. In all such questions the referendum would offer much the wisest and most efficient and satisfactory solution. (*Outlook,* January 21, 1911.) *Mem. Ed.* XIX, 94; *Nat. Ed.* XVII, 60.

REFERENDUM. *See also* INITIATIVE; PROGRESSIVE PRINCIPLES; RECALL; REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

REFORM. All reforms of first-class importance must look toward raising both men and women to a higher level, alike as regards the things of the body and as regards the things of the soul. (*Outlook,* February 3, 1912.) *Mem. Ed.* XVIII, 289; *Nat. Ed.* XVI, 219.

————————. The really valuable—the invaluable—reform is that which in actual practice works; and therefore the credit due is overwhelmingly greater as regards the men and women actually engaged in doing the job, than as regards the other men and women who merely agitate the subject or write about it—and a single study of a reform which is being applied is worth any number of uplift books which are evolved from the reformer's inner consciousness. Of course there must be agitation in order to get the reform started, and there must be some preliminary theoretical studies, and where the object is really worth while, the agitation sensible as well as zealous, and the studies capable of application, the early agitators and writers deserve well of the community. But under no circumstances do they deserve as well as do the men and women who in very fact make the machinery function to advantage, and who by constant test and trial and experiment eliminate faults and develop new and useful activities. (*Metropolitan,* May 1917.) *Mem. Ed.* XXI, 99; *Nat. Ed.* XIX, 86.

————————. No man ever permanently helped a reform by lying on behalf of the reform. Tell the truth about it; and then you can expect to be believed when you tell further truths. (At Pacific Theological Seminary, Spring 1911.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 588; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 626.

————————. It is almost equally dangerous either to blink evils and refuse to acknowledge their existence, or to strike at them in a spirit of ignorant revenge, thereby doing far more harm than is remedied. The need can be met only by careful study of conditions, and by action which while taken boldly and without hesitation is neither heedless nor reckless.

It is well to remember on the one hand that the adoption of what is reasonable in the demands of reformers is the surest way to prevent the adoption of what is unreasonable; and

on the other hand that many of the worst and most dangerous laws which have been put upon statute-books have been put there by zealous reformers with excellent intentions. (Annual Message as Governor, Albany, January 3, 1900.) *Mem. Ed.* XVII, 47-48; *Nat. Ed.* XV, 41-42.

REFORM—NATURE OF. As we strive for reform we find that it is not at all merely the case of a long up-hill pull. On the contrary, there is almost as much of breeching work as of collar work; to depend only on traces means that there will soon be a runaway and an upset. The men of wealth who to-day are trying to prevent the regulation and control of their business in the interest of the public by the proper government authorities will not succeed, in my judgment, in checking the progress of the movement. But if they did succeed they would find that they had sown the wind and would surely reap the whirlwind, for they would ultimately provoke the violent excesses which accompany a reform coming by convulsion instead of by steady and natural growth. (At Washington, April 14, 1906.) *Mem. Ed.* XVIII, 580; *Nat. Ed.* XVI, 422.

REFORM—NEED OF. Heaven knows I appreciate the need of disinterestedness, of public spirit, of all that we associate with the name of reform; and it is because I do appreciate the need that I hate to see men in New York who ought to be forces on the right side, not only decline to go with decent men who are striving practicably for decency, but by their course alienate shrewd and sensible men from all reform movements. (To James C. Carter, March 19, 1900.) *Mem. Ed.* XXIII, 154; Bishop I, 133.

———. At this moment we are passing through a period of great unrest—social, political, and industrial unrest. It is of the utmost importance for our future that this should prove to be not the unrest of mere rebelliousness against life, of mere dissatisfaction with the inevitable inequality of conditions, but the unrest of a resolute and eager ambition to secure the betterment of the individual and the nation. So far as this movement of agitation throughout the country takes the form of a fierce discontent with evil, of a determination to punish the authors of evil, whether in industry or politics, the feeling is to be heartily welcomed as a sign of healthy life. . . .

It is a prime necessity that if the present unrest is to result in permanent good the emotion shall be translated into action, and that the action shall be marked by honesty, sanity, and self-restraint.

There is mighty little good in a mere spasm of reform. The reform that counts is that which comes through steady, continuous growth; violent emotionalism leads to exhaustion. (At Washington, April 14, 1906.) *Mem. Ed.* XVIII, 576-577; *Nat. Ed.* XVI, 420-421.

REFORM—OPPONENTS OF. The wild preachers of unrest and discontent, the wild agitators against the entire existing order, the men who act crookedly, whether because of sinister design or from mere puzzle-headedness, the men who preach destruction without proposing any substitute for what they intend to destroy, or who propose a substitute which would be far worse than the existing evils—all these men are the most dangerous opponents of real reform. If they get their way they will lead the people into a deeper pit than any into which they could fall under the present system. If they fail to get their way they will still do incalculable harm by provoking the kind of reaction which, in its revolt against the senseless evil of their teaching, would enthrone more securely than ever the very evils which their misguided followers believe they are attacking. (At Washington, April 14, 1906.) *Mem. Ed.* XVIII, 580; *Nat. Ed.* XVI, 423.

REFORM AND REVOLUTION. [Men often] forget that constructive change offers the best method of avoiding destructive change; that reform is the antidote to revolution; and that social reform is not the precursor but the preventive of Socialism. (At Cairo, Ill., October 3, 1907.) *Mem. Ed.* XVIII, 19; *Nat. Ed.* XVI, 17.

———. Distrust of radical innovation and preference for reform to revolution . . . gives to the English race its greatest strength.

This last attitude, the dislike of revolution, [is] entirely wholesome and praiseworthy. (1900.) *Mem. Ed.* XIII, 301; *Nat. Ed.* X, 199.

REFORM IN POLITICS. There are not a few reforms so important that it would be hard to speak of any as pre-eminently necessary; but at least it can be said that there is greater room for reform in our political life than almost anywhere else. There are shortcomings enough and to spare on all sides; but compared to the proper standard we fall farther below in politics than in almost any other branch of our life or labor. Moreover,

political life is something in which every man, indeed every woman, should take an active and intelligent interest. There is no other reform for which the entire population should work, or indeed could work; but every man, worth being an American citizen at all, is bound, if he does his duty, to try to do his part in politics. (*Outlook,* December 21, 1895.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 143; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 299.

REFORM MOVEMENTS. Every leader of a great reform has to contend, on the one hand, with the open, avowed enemies of the reform, and, on the other hand, with its extreme advocates, who wish the impossible, and who join hands with their extreme opponents to defeat the rational friends of the reform. (*Churchman,* March 17, 1900.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 394-395; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 392.

————. Every democratic movement or movement for social or industrial reform, must have its leaders and its martyrs, and unfortunately every such movement also develops a few fools and a few knaves, who give an alloy of base metal to the pure gold of the leadership and the martyrdom. (*Outlook,* January 10, 1914.) *Mem. Ed.* XIV, 180; *Nat. Ed.* XII, 209.

REFORM. *See also* BOSS; ECONOMIC REFORM; ELECTION REFORM; HYPOCRISY; LUNATIC FRINGE; MACHINE; MUCK-RAKING; POLITICS; PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT.

REFORMERS. Reformers . . . [lose] sight of the fact that a reform must be practicable in order to make it of value. . . .

It is just as necessary for the practical man to remember that his practical qualities are useless, or worse than useless, unless he joins with them that spirit of striving after better things which marks the reformer, as it is for this same reformer to remember that he cannot give effective expression to his desire for a higher life save by following rigidly practical ways. (1900.) *Mem. Ed.* XIII, 427; *Nat. Ed.* X, 307.

————. The attitude of deifying mere efficiency, mere success, without regard to the moral qualities lying behind it, and the attitude of disregarding efficiency, disregarding practical results, are the Scylla and Charybdis between which every earnest reformer, every politician who desires to make the name of his profession a term of honor instead of shame, must steer. He must avoid both under penalty of wreckage, and it avails him nothing to have avoided one, if he founders on the other. People are apt to speak as if in political life, public life, it ought to be a mere case of striving upward—striving toward a high peak. The simile is inexact. Every man who is striving to do good public work is travelling along a ridge crest, with the gulf of failure on each side—the gulf of inefficiency on the one side, the gulf of unrighteousness on the other. All kinds of forces are continually playing on him, to shove him first into one gulf and then into the other; and even a wise and good man, unless he braces himself with uncommon firmness and foresight, as he is pushed this way and that, will find that his course becomes a pronounced zigzag instead of a straight line; and if it becomes too pronounced he is lost, no matter to which side the zigzag may take him. Nor is he lost only as regards his own career. What is far more serious, his power of doing useful service to the public is at an end. He may still, if a mere politician, have political place, or, if a make-believe reformer, retain that notoriety upon which his vanity feeds. But, in either case, his usefulness to the community has ceased. (*Century,* June 1900.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 380-381; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 343-344.

————. There are certain qualities the reformer must have if he is to be a real reformer and not merely a faddist; for of course every reformer is in continual danger of slipping into the mass of well-meaning people who in their advocacy of the impracticable do more harm than good. He must possess high courage, disinterested desire to do good, and sane, wholesome common sense. These qualities he must have, and it is furthermore much to his benefit if he also possesses a sound sense of humor. (*McClure's,* March 1901.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 210; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 271.

————. More and more I have grown to have a horror of the reformer who is half charlatan and half fanatic, and ruins his own cause by overstatement. (To Wister, July 20, 1901.) Owen Wister, *Roosevelt, The Story of a Friendship.* (Macmillan Co., N. Y., 1930), p. 83.

————. The true reformer must ever work in the spirit, and with the purpose, of that greatest of all democratic reformers, Abraham Lincoln. Therefore he must make up his mind that like Abraham Lincoln he will be assailed on the one side by the reactionary, and on the other by that type of bubble reformer who is only anxious to go to extremes, and

who always gets angry when he is asked what practical results he can show. . . .

Reformers, if they are to do well, must look both backward and forward; must be bold and yet must exercise prudence and caution in all they do. They must never fear to advance, and yet they must carefully plan how to advance, before they make the effort. They must carefully plan how and what they are to construct before they tear down what exists. Introduction to *The Wisconsin Idea* by Charles McCarthy. (Macmillan Co., N. Y., 1912), p. ix.

REFORMERS—ADVICE TO. An ardent young reformer is very apt to try to begin by reforming too much. He needs always to keep in mind that he has got to serve as a sergeant before he assumes the duties of commander-in-chief. It is right for him from the beginning to take a great interest in national, State, and municipal affairs, and to try to make himself felt in them if the occasion arises; but the best work must be done by the citizen working in his own ward or district. Let him associate himself with the men who think as he does, and who, like him, are sincerely devoted to the public good. Then let them try to make themselves felt in the choice of alderman, of councilman, of assemblyman. The politicians will be prompt to recognize (their power, and the people will recognize) it too, after a while. Let them organize and work, undaunted by any temporary defeat. If they fail at first, and if they fail again, let them merely make up their minds to redouble their efforts, and perhaps alter their methods; but let them keep on working. (*Forum,* July 1894.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 47; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 33.

———. One seemingly very necessary caution to utter is, that a man who goes into politics should not expect to reform everything right off, with a jump. I know many excellent young men who, when awakened to the fact that they have neglected their political duties, feel an immediate impulse to form themselves into an organization which shall forthwith purify politics everywhere, national, State, and city alike; and I know of a man who having gone round once to a primary, and having, of course, been unable to accomplish anything in a place where he knew no one and could not combine with any one, returned saying it was quite useless for a good citizen to try to accomplish anything in such a manner. (Before the Liberal Club, Buffalo, N. Y., January 26, 1893.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 68; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 285.

REFORMERS — SHORTCOMINGS OF. Very early I learned through my reading of history, and I found through my association with reformers, that one of the prime difficulties was to get the man who wished reform within a nation also to pay heed to the needs of the nation from the international standpoint. Every little city or republic of antiquity was continually torn between factions which wished to do justice at home but were weak abroad, and other factions which secured justice abroad by the loss of personal liberty at home. So here at home I too often found that men who were ardent for social and industrial reform would be ignorant of the needs of this nation as a nation, would be ignorant of what the navy meant to the nation, of what it meant to the nation to have and to fortify and protect the Panama Canal, of what it meant to the nation to get from the other nations of mankind the respect which comes only to the just, and which is denied to the weaker nation far more quickly than it is denied to the stronger. (*Outlook,* October 12, 1912.) *Mem. Ed.* XIX, 438; *Nat. Ed.* XVII, 318.

———. Reformers [often] . . . lack sanity, and it is very difficult to do decent reform work, or any other kind of work, if for sanity we substitute a condition of mere morbid hysteria. (To Sir George Otto Trevelyan, September 12, 1905.) *Mem. Ed.* XXIII, 482; Bishop I, 419.

REFORMERS AND REACTIONARIES. It is always a difficult thing to state a position which has two sides with such clearness as to bring it home to the hearers. In the world of politics it is easy to appeal to the unreasoning reactionary, and no less easy to appeal to the unreasoning advocate of change, but difficult to get the people to show for the cause of sanity and progress combined the zeal so easily aroused against sanity by one set of extremists and against progress by another set of extremists. *Outlook,* December 2, 1911, p. 823.

———. I am always having to fight the silly reactionaries and the inert, fatuous creatures who will not think seriously; and on the other hand to try to exercise some control over the lunatic fringe among the reformers. (To Sir George Otto Trevelyan, March 19, 1913.) *Mem. Ed.* XXIV, 207; Bishop II, 177.

REFORMERS IN PROGRESSIVE PARTY. There is just one element of relief to me in the smash that came to the Progressive party. We did not have many practical

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friends. (To Kermi
1915.) *Mem. Ed.*
358.

REFORMERS. *See*
BERT J.; CONSERVA
PENDENT; LAFOLLE
CHINE; MUCK-RAKI
CALS; REACTIONARIE

REFUGEES. *See* B

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Cambridge, February
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That's too simple

men with us. Under such circumstances the reformers tended to go into sheer lunacy. I now can preach the doctrines of labor and capital just as I did when I was President, without being hampered by the well-meant extravagances of so many among my Progressive friends. (To Kermit Roosevelt, January 27, 1915.) *Mem. Ed.* XXIV, 421; Bishop II, 358.

REFORMERS. *See also* BEVERIDGE, ALBERT J.; CONSERVATIVES; HISTORY; INDEPENDENT; LAFOLLETTE, ROBERT M.; MACHINE; MUCK-RAKERS; MUGWUMPS; RADICALS; REACTIONARIES; RIIS, JACOB A.

REFUGEES. *See* BELGIAN REFUGEES.

RELIEF. *See* PHILANTHROPY.

RELIGION. No democracy can afford to overlook the vital importance of the ethical and spiritual, the truly religious, element in life; and in practice the average good man grows clearly to understand this, and to express the need in concrete form by saying that no community can make much headway if it does not contain both a church and a school. (1914.) *Mem. Ed.* VI, 56; *Nat. Ed.* V, 48.

————. The religious man who is most useful is not he whose sole care is to save his own soul, but the man whose religion bids him strive to advance decency and clean living and to make the world a better place for his fellows to live in. (At the Harvard Union, Cambridge, February 23, 1907.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 490; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 565.

————. I wonder if you recall one verse of Micah that I am very fond of—'to do justly and to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God'—that to me is the essence of religion. To be just with all men, to be merciful to those to whom mercy should be shown, to realize that there are some things that must always remain a mystery to us, and when the time comes for us to enter the great blackness, to go smiling and unafraid.

That is my religion, my faith. To me it sums up all religion, it is all the creed I need. It seems simple and easy, but there is more in that verse than in the involved rituals and confessions of faith of many creeds we know.

To love justice, to be merciful, to appreciate that the great mysteries shall not be known to us, and so living, face the beyond confident and without fear—that is life.

That's too simple a creed for many of us, though. Perhaps it is as well and that through more involved paths and mazes of theology the majority should seek the same result. (Summer or fall 1916; reported by Leary.) *Talks with T. R.* From the diaries of John J. Leary, Jr. (Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1920), pp. 65-66.

RELIGION AND MORALITY. While there is in modern times a decrease in emotional religion, there is an immense increase in practical morality. (*Forum*, January 1897.) *Mem. Ed.* XIV, 149; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 259.

————. In this country we are long past the stage of regarding it as any part of the state's duty to enforce a particular religious dogma; and more and more the professors of the different creeds themselves are beginning tacitly to acknowledge that the prime worth of a creed is to be gauged by the standard of conduct it exacts among its followers toward their fellows.

The creed which each man in his heart believes to be essential to his own salvation is for him alone to determine; but we have a right to pass judgment upon his actions toward those about him. (*Century*, October 1900.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 421; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 369.

————. There is one test which we have a right to apply to the professors of all creeds—the test of conduct. More and more, people who possess either religious belief or aspiration after religious belief are growing to demand conduct as the ultimate test of the worth of the belief. (At Pacific Theological Seminary, Spring 1911.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 613; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 648.

RELIGION. *See also* BIBLE STUDY; CHRISTIANITY; FERVOR; MATERIALISM; MORALITY; REASON; SCIENCE; SPIRITUAL GROWTH.

RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION. The one thing upon which we must insist is ruling out questions of creed in our politics so long as the men for whom we vote are honest and in good faith Americans. (Before Liberal Club of Buffalo, N. Y., September 10, 1895.) *Mem. Ed.* XVI, 284; *Nat. Ed.* XIV, 203.

————. We maintain that it is an outrage, in voting for a man for any position, whether State or national, to take into account his religious faith, provided only he is a good American. When a secret society does what in some places the American Protective Associa-

THEODORE ROOSEVELT CYCLOPEDIA

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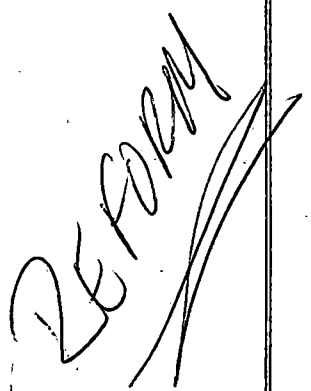
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FOREWORD BY

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ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION

ROOSEVELT HOUSE

NEW YORK CITY

effort to belittle him, and I must say it has come largely from New England, he still remains the most eminent literary character we have produced. I do not think that the New England school has tried to belittle him because he was not from New England, but their rules for literature are so adjusted that it will not permit of such an irregular genius as Poe. Even as sane a man as Holmes declared Poe to be one fifth genius and four fifths guff. If any man was ever about five fifths genius, that man was Poe. (Recorded by Butt in letter of October 10, 1908.) *The Letters of Archie Butt.* (Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, N. Y., 1924), p. 124.

POETRY. Poetry is of course one of those arts in which the smallest amount of work of the very highest class is worth an infinity of good work that is not of the highest class. The touch of the purple makes a poem out of verse, and if it is not there, there is no substitute. (*Outlook,* August 12, 1905.) *Mem. Ed.* XIV, 360; *Nat. Ed.* XII, 296.

————. Personally, I don't care a rap whether we call the Flight of a Tartar Tribe, or certain passages in the Confessions of an Opium-Eater, prose or vers libres. I think that it might help the eye to have parts of them arranged as the Spoon River Anthology is arranged, in irregular lines. But in any event I enjoy what seems to me to be the rhythm, and the beauty and majesty of the diction. I enjoy Wordsworth's sonnets and I enjoy Shakespeare's sonnets; and I don't care in the least if some one proves to me that Shakespeare did not write sonnets but something else. On the other hand, I loathe Wordsworth's Excursion, and not Matthew Arnold himself would persuade me to read it. I delight in the saga of King Olaf and Othere and Belisarius, and Simon Danz, and the Mystery of the Sea; and I don't care for Evangeline or any of Longfellow's plays; and I cannot give any reasoned-out explanations in either case. (To Joel E. Spingarn, August 28, 1917.) *Mem. Ed.* XXIV, 422; Bishop II, 359.

POETRY. *See also* PATRIOTIC SONGS; READING.

POETS. *See* BROWNING, ROBERT; DANTE; LODGE, GEORGE CABOT; MILTON, JOHN; MORRIS, WILLIAM; ROBINSON, E. A.; WHITMAN, WALT.

POLAR EXPLORATION. *See* PEARY, ROBERT E.

POLICE—EFFICIENCY OF. There is every possible reason for seeing that the efficiency of the police is not impaired, for such impairment is always at the expense of law-abiding and upright men, whether rich or poor. There can be no possible justification for seeking to impair this efficiency. If the police power is used oppressively, or improperly, let us by all means put a stop to the practice and punish those responsible for it; but let us remember that a brute will be just as much of a brute whether he is inefficient or efficient. Either abolish the police, or keep them at the highest point of efficiency. To follow any other course is foolish. A bad man in a uniform may perhaps use his weapon to evil purpose; but it would be childish because of this fact to insist that all policemen, instead of having automatic revolvers, be armed with flintlock pistols. We must give the individual policeman the best arms possible, in order that he may not be at a disadvantage when pitted against a criminal; and then see to it that under no circumstances are these arms used unless the need is imperative, and the justification complete. Exactly the same rule applies as regards the efficiency of the police force as a whole. (1917.) *Mem. Ed.* XXI, 73; *Nat. Ed.* XIX, 63.

POLICE, NEW YORK. In spite of their wide diversity of race origin, and in spite of some very evident shortcomings, the New York police as a body are a first-class set of men, and Americans through and through. They are brave, well disciplined, and efficient, and they have a very strong esprit de corps. In time past they have been corrupt, but this was because of the system under which they worked, and we accomplished an enormous amount toward putting a complete stop to this corruption. The prime reason why we succeeded so well in our efforts to improve a body of men who had been terribly demoralized was because we treated them on their merits, wholly without regard to their creed or the birthplace of their parents, rewarding the good man and punishing the bad, without heeding anything save the virtues or faults of either. (*Munsey's,* June 1897.) *Mem. Ed.* XVI, 330; *Nat. Ed.* XIV, 234-235.

POLICE COMMISSIONER — ROOSEVELT AS. Personally, I think I can best serve the Republican party by taking the police force absolutely out of politics. Our duty is to preserve order, to protect life and property, to arrest criminals, and to secure honest elections. In striving to attain these ends we recognize no party; we pay no heed to any man's political

predilections, whether he is within or without the police force. In the past, "politics," in the base sense of the term, has been the curse of the police force of New York; and the present board has done away with such politics. . . .

On entering office we found—what indeed had long been a matter of common notoriety—that various laws, and notably the excise law, were enforced rigidly against people who had no political pull, but were not enforced at all against the men who had a political pull, or who possessed sufficient means to buy off the high officials who controlled, or had influence in, the Police Department. All that we did was to enforce these laws, not against some wrong-doers, but honestly and impartially against all wrong-doers. We did not resurrect dead laws; we did not start a crusade to enforce blue laws. (*Forum,* September 1895.) *Mem. Ed.* XVI, 263-264; *Nat. Ed.* XIV, 184-186.

————————. When we took up the task of reforming the New York police we did it with our eyes open. We realized fully the heavy odds against which we had to fight, and the almost incredible difficulties which beset our path. It was not a reform which could be accomplished at a blow, for we had to change not only the force itself, but the whole system; and the wrong-doing of decades cannot be undone in six or eight months. It must be remembered that the corruption of the Police Department, though the worst part, was only a part of the corruption of the entire city government, and of all that portion of our many-sided social and civic life which came into contact with the city government. . . . There were hundreds of interests each of which had thrived and fattened through the dishonesty and favoritism of the administration of the Police Department. We did not single out any one interest; we made war on all alike; and in consequence we attracted, as we knew we would attract, the venomous enmity of the tens of thousands of men with whose financial gains we interfered as soon as we began to administer the department along the lines of honesty and of rigid observance of law. Against this active and interested hostility of men whose sense of injury was very concrete, there was nothing to put save the vague and impersonal support of a community which believed in right in the abstract, but was inclined to be rather tepid in its belief. Wherever we struck a concrete wrong we roused a foe whose hostility was sure to be active with the malignity of personal suffering, while in each case the general public could not itself be keenly conscious of any direct individual benefit to its members arising from the correction of the wrong. (Before N. Y. Preachers' Meeting, January 20, 1896.) *Mem. Ed.* XVI, 303-304; *Nat. Ed.* XIV, 211-212.

————————. When the Mayor asked me to take the place first, I refused, and when I finally accepted I told him that I felt I must have colleagues with whom I could work; that with you I was sure I could join in doing my best for the City's welfare, and that the other two men should be men of your character and stamp. I need not say how heartily I agree in your view that the members of the Board should be united, and that the affairs of the Department should be administered solely with a view to the interests of the public. (To Avery D. Andrews, April 25, 1895.) Frederick S. Wood, *Roosevelt As We Knew Him.* (John C. Winston Co., Phila., 1927), p. 29.

————————. I have had my hands full as usual with both my regular police work and with politics since I last wrote you. Gradually and in spite of great difficulties with two of my colleagues I am getting this force into good shape; but I am quite sincere when I say that I do not believe that any other man in the United States, not even the President, has had as heavy a task as I have had during the past ten months. In itself the work was herculean, even had I been assisted by an honest and active public sentiment and had I received help from the Press and the politicians. As a matter of fact, public sentiment is apathetic and likes to talk about virtue in the abstract, but it does not want to obtain the virtue if there is any trouble about it. (To Anna Roosevelt Cowles, February 25, 1896.) Cowles *Letters,* 174.

————————. In managing the Police Department I speedily found what every man must find that we could draw help from every source, from every church, and could expect to find foes in every nationality and in every church, and that we were bound no more to flinch from any set of foes, because they represented a given race or religion than we were bound to uphold any man who did his duty without regard to the religion which he professed or to the land from which his ancestors came. I would decline to show one least bit of favor more to the man of my creed or of my origin than I would to the last emigrant from Ireland or from Russia. All I demand of him is that he shall not act as either Protestant, or Jew, as Irishman, German or Russian, but that he shall be a plain American and nothing else. If he is that I will treat him precisely as if his

ancestors had come over in the *Mayflower* or the *Half-Moon*. (Before St. Nicholas Society, New York City, December 7, 1896.) *Sixty-First Anniversary Dinner of the St. Nicholas Society of the City of New York*, p. 22.

———. This is the last office I shall ever hold. I have offended so many powerful interests and so many powerful politicians that no political preferment in future will be possible for me. All the liquor interests, including the great breweries, and all the party bosses will oppose me, and no political party will venture to defy an opposition so fatal as that is. I realized this when I began my fight for the enforcement of the Sunday law and against police bribery and corruption, but it was the only course I could honestly pursue and I am willing to abide by the consequences. (In conversation with Joseph B. Bishop, early 1897.) *Mem. Ed.* XXIII, 80; Bishop I, 68.

POLICE COMMISSIONER. *See also* LIQUOR LAW.

POLICE POWER. *See* INTERNATIONAL POLICE POWER.

POLITICAL ASSESSMENTS. Experience . . . has convinced me that the talk so often heard about the injustice of not allowing clerks to make "voluntary contributions"—which the law in no wise prevents—is all nonsense. Government employees do not as a rule contribute simply from a desire to help the political cause in which they believe. The so-called "voluntary contributions" are nine times out of ten made from some personal motives; that is, either in the hope of being retained in office or else with the object of gaining some advantage over the other clerks. In other words, the employees are coerced into making them for fear their position will be jeopardized if they fail to do so. It is probably safe to say that 90 per cent of the money collected for political purposes from minor governmental employees represents simply so much blackmail. This particular species of robbery is mean enough at best, and one of its meanest features is the fact that the men most apt to contribute money, the men most susceptible to pressure are those of opposite political faith to the dominant party. Those who agree in politics with the party in control feel some assurance of protection if they refuse to be coerced into parting with their money, but the unfortunates of opposite political faith feel they have no power behind the throne on which to rely, are nervously afraid of giving offense, and yield helplessly when threatened.

The amount paid is not absolutely very great in any individual case, but to a poor clerk barely able to get along the loss of 3 per cent of his salary may mean just the difference between having and not having a winter overcoat for himself, a warm dress for his wife, or a Christmas tree for his children. Such a forced payment is a piece of cruel injustice and iniquity. *Report of Commissioner Roosevelt concerning political assessments . . . in the New York Customs District, January 1890.* (Washington, 1890), p. 7.

———. We believe thoroughly that the American people are at heart sound, and that they have a contempt for that meanest of blackmailing which consists of robbing government clerks of a portion of their salaries in the interests of politicians, and that if the details of wrong-doing can be made public enough, this mere publicity will act as the greatest of possible checks. (Before Boston Civil Service Reform Association, February 20, 1893.) *Mem. Ed.* XVI, 228; *Nat. Ed.* XIV, 157.

———. Government employees, as a whole, are hard-working, not overpaid men, with families to support, and there is no meaner species of swindling than to blackmail them for the sake of a political organization. . . .

Moreover, it is the poorest and most helpless class who are most apt to be coerced into paying. . . . Another thing to be kept in mind, in dealing with these cases of political blackmail, is that really but a comparatively small portion of the funds obtained goes to the benefit of the party organization. A certain proportion gets lost in the transit, and when the collecting officers and clubs are of low character this proportion becomes very large indeed. The money that is collected is used, in the great majority of cases, not to further the welfare of the party as a whole, but to further the designs of certain individuals in it, who are quite as willing to use the funds they have obtained against their factional foes in their own organization as against the common party foe without. (*Atlantic Monthly*, July 1892.) *Mem. Ed.* XVI, 204-205; *Nat. Ed.* XIV, 138-139.

———. We now have a sweeping Federal law forbidding the collection of these assessments among national office-holders. Under this law the evil has been greatly diminished; yet it still exists to some extent, and it is most rife in presidential years. . . .

During the past three years the commission has recommended the indictment of some thirty

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THEODORE ROOSEVELT CYCLOPEDIA

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FOREWORD BY
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ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION
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of this country. This stability should not be fossilization. (Second Annual Message, Washington, December 2, 1902.) *Mem. Ed.* XVII, 167; *Nat. Ed.* XV, 144.

ECONOMIC REFORM. Economic reform must have a twofold object; first to increase general prosperity, because unless there is such general prosperity no one will be well off; and, second, to secure a fair distribution of this prosperity, so that the man of the people shall share in it. Introduction to *The Wisconsin Idea* by Charles McCarthy. (Macmillan Co., N. Y., 1912), p. x.

ECONOMICS. *See* MORALITY.

EDITORS. The editor, who stands as a judge in a community, should be one of the men to whom you would expect to look up, because his function as an editor makes him a more important man than the average merchant, the average business man, the average professional man can be. He wields great influence; and he cannot escape the responsibility of wielding it. If he wields it well, honor is his beyond the honor that comes to the average man who does well; if he wields it ill, shame should be his beyond the shame that comes to the average man who does ill. (At Milwaukee, Wis., September 7, 1910.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 459; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 546.

EDITORS. *See also* JOURNALIST; PRESS.

EDUCATED MEN—OBLIGATION OF. It is an evil thing for any man of education to forget that education should intensify patriotism, and that patriotism must not only be shown by striving to do good to the country from within, but by readiness to uphold its interests and honor, at any cost, when menaced from without. Educated men owe to the community the serious performance of this duty. (*The Bachelor of Arts,* March 1896.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 236; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 178.

————. The educated man is entitled to no special privilege, save the inestimable privilege of trying to show that his education enables him to take the lead in striving to guide his fellows aright in the difficult task which is set to us of the twentieth century. (At University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, February 22, 1905.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 348; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 505.

EDUCATED MEN IN POLITICS. An educated man must not go into politics as such; he must go in simply as an American; and when he is once in, he will speedily realize that he must work very hard indeed, or he will be upset by some other American, with no education at all, but with much natural capacity. His education ought to make him feel particularly ashamed of himself if he acts meanly or dishonorably, or in any way falls short of the ideal of good citizenship, and it ought to make him feel that he must show that he has profited by it; but it should certainly give him no feeling of superiority until by actual work he has shown that superiority. In other words, the educated man must realize that he is living in a democracy and under democratic conditions, and that he is entitled to no more respect and consideration than he can win by actual performance. (*Atlantic Monthly,* August 1894.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 52; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 37.

EDUCATED MEN. *See also* CITIZENSHIP; CIVIC DUTY; DEMOCRACY.

EDUCATION. Education must be twofold. Of course if we do not have education in the school, the academy, the college, the university, and have it developed in the highest and wisest manner, we shall make but a poor fist of American citizenship. . . . But such education can never be all. It can never be more than half, and sometimes not that. Nothing can take the place of the education of the home; and that education must be largely the unconscious influence of character upon character. (Before Minnesota Legislature, St. Paul, April 4, 1903.) *Presidential Addresses and State Papers* I, 289.

————. A literary education is simply one of many different kinds of education, and it is not wise that more than a small percentage of the people of any country should have an exclusively literary education. The average man must either supplement it by another education or else as soon as he has left an institution of learning, even though he has benefited by it, he must at once begin to train himself to do work along totally different lines. (At National University, Cairo, Egypt, March 28, 1910.) *Mem. Ed.* XVIII, 622; *Nat. Ed.* XVI, 451.

————. A utilitarian education should undoubtedly be the foundation of all education. But it is far from advisable, it is far from wise, to have it the end of all education. Technical training will more and more be accepted as the prime factor in our educational system, a factor as essential for the farmer,

of the Remains of John Paul Jones at Annapolis, Md., April 24, 1906. (Government Printing Office, 1906), pp. 4-5.

JOURNALISM, YELLOW. Yellow journalism . . . deifies the cult of the mendacious, the sensational, and the inane, and, . . . throughout its wide but vapid field, does as much to vulgarize and degrade the popular taste, to weaken the popular character, and to dull the edge of the popular conscience, as any influence under which the country can suffer. These men sneer at the very idea of paying heed to the dictates of a sound morality; as one of their number has cynically put it, they are concerned merely with selling the public whatever the public will buy—a theory of conduct which would justify the existence of every keeper of an opium den, of every foul creature who ministers to the vices of mankind. *Outlook,* March 6, 1909, p. 510.

———. Of all the forces that tend for evil in a great city like New York, probably none are so potent as the sensational papers. (*Atlantic Monthly,* September 1897.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 160; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 125.

JOURNALISM. *See also* PRESS.

JOURNALIST. In our country I am inclined to think that almost, if not quite, the most important profession is that of the newspaper man, including the man of the magazines, especially the cheap magazines, and the weeklies; and I speak as a member of the brotherhood myself.

The newspaper men—publishers, editors, reporters—are just as much public servants as are the men in the government service themselves, whether these men be elected or appointed officers. Now, we have always held in higher honor the public man who did his duty, and we have always felt that the public man who did not do his duty was deserving of a peculiar degree of reprobation. And just the same way about the newspaper man. The editor, the publisher, the reporter, who honestly and truthfully puts the exact facts before the public, who does not omit for improper reasons things that ought to be stated, who does not say what is not true, who does not color his facts so as to give false impressions, who does not manufacture his facts, who really is ready, in the first place, to find out what the truth is, and, in the next place, to state it accurately—that man occupies one of the most honorable positions in the community. (At Milwaukee, Wis., September 7, 1910.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 456; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 544.

JOURNALIST—POWER OF THE. The power of the journalist is great, but he is entitled neither to respect nor admiration because of that power unless it is used aright. He can do, and he often does, great good. He can do, and he often does, infinite mischief. All journalists, all writers, for the very reason that they appreciate the vast possibilities of their profession, should bear testimony against those who deeply discredit it. Offenses against taste and morals, which are bad enough in a private citizen, are infinitely worse if made into instruments for debauching the community through a newspaper. Mendacity, slander, sensationalism, inanity, vapid triviality, all are potent factors for the debauchery of the public mind and conscience. The excuse advanced for vicious writing, that the public demands it and that the demand must be supplied, can no more be admitted than if it were advanced by the purveyors of food who sell poisonous adulterations. (At the Sorbonne, Paris, April 23, 1910.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 362; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 517.

JOURNALIST—SERVICE OF THE. Exactly as I put as the first requisite of the man in public life that he should be honest, so I put as the first requisite of the man writing for the newspaper that he should tell the truth. Now, it is important that he should tell the whole truth, for there can be no greater service rendered than the exposure of corruption in either public life or in business, or in that intricate web of public life and business which exists too often in America to-day. . . .

If an article is published in a magazine, exposing corruption, and the article tells the truth, I do not care what it is, the writer has rendered the greatest possible service by writing it; but I want to be certain that he is telling the truth. (At Milwaukee, Wis., September 7, 1910.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 459; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 547.

JOURNALIST. *See also* EDITORS; MUCKRAKERS.

JOY OF LIVING. With all my heart I believe in the joy of living; but those who achieve it do not seek it as an end in itself, but as a seized and prized incident of hard work well done and of risk and danger never wantonly courted, but never shirked when duty commands that they be faced. (*Metropolitan,* October 1918.) *Mem. Ed.* XXI, 264; *Nat. Ed.* XIX, 244.

JOY OF LIVING. *See also* DUTY; LIFE; STRENUOUS LIFE; WORK.

what America should do with its ex-Presidents, I have always answered that there was one ex-President as to whom they need not concern themselves in the least, because I would do for myself. It would be to me personally an unpleasant thing to be pensioned and given some honorary position. I emphatically do not desire to clutch at the fringe of departing greatness. Indeed, to me there is something rather attractive, something in the way of living up to a proper democratic ideal, in having a President go out of office just as I shall go, and become absolutely and without reservation a private man, and do any honorable work which he finds to do. (To John St. Loe Strachey, November 28, 1908.) *Mem. Ed.* XXIV, 146; Bishop II, 125.

————. When I start on this African trip I shall have ceased to be President, and shall be simply a private citizen, like any other private citizen. Not only do I myself believe, but I am firmly convinced that the great mass of the American people believe, that when the President leaves public office he should become exactly like any other man in private life. He is entitled to no privileges, but, on the other hand, he is also entitled to be treated no worse than any one else. Now, it will be an indefensible wrong, a gross impropriety from every standpoint, for any newspaper to endeavor to have its representatives accompany me on this trip, or to fail to give me the complete privacy to which every citizen who acts decently and behaves himself is entitled. (To Melville E. Stone, December 2, 1908.) *Mem. Ed.* XXIV, 143; Bishop II, 123.

PRESIDENTS. *See also* CLEVELAND, GROVER; GRANT, U. S.; HARRISON, BENJAMIN; JACKSON, ANDREW; JEFFERSON, THOMAS; LINCOLN, ABRAHAM; MCKINLEY, WILLIAM; MADISON, JAMES; TAFT, W. H.; TYLER, JOHN; VAN BUREN, MARTIN; WASHINGTON, GEORGE; WILSON, WOODROW.

PRESS—CONTROL OF THE. The big newspaper, owned or controlled in Wall Street, which is everlastingly preaching about the iniquity of laboring men, which is quite willing to hound politicians for their misdeeds, but which with raving fury defends all the malefactors of great wealth, stands on an exact level with, and neither above nor below, that other newspaper whose whole attack is upon men of wealth, which declines to condemn, or else condemns in an apologetic, perfunctory, and wholly inefficient manner, outrages committed by labor. *Outlook,* June 19, 1909, p. 395.

————. That portion of the daily press which is controlled by the special interests, and particularly that portion of the New York City daily press which is responsive to Wall Street sentiment, has come to regard the judiciary as in a special sense the bulwark of property; and inasmuch as the special interests naturally put property rights above popular rights, their representatives in the press make it their particular concern to extol those judges who take the same view. They are therefore very severe in their denunciations of any man who has anything to say in criticism of a judicial decision which favors property rights and is against popular rights. But if the decision is the other way, the same papers and individuals immediately reverse their former attitude and themselves become the most violent and bitter critics of the judge. (*Outlook,* February 25, 1911.) *Mem. Ed.* XIX, 113; *Nat. Ed.* XVII, 76.

————. In New York City the press, directly or indirectly influenced by and responsive to those special interests which are as a matter of rough convenience designated as the Wall Street interests, is naturally very large, and any man engaged in the effort to bring about a genuine betterment of social, political, and industrial conditions, especially if he lives in New York or the neighborhood, must accept as a matter of course the virulent hostility of this portion of the press; and the hostility shown by certain papers which pride themselves upon representing the educated classes is marked by as much mendacity as is the case with the newspapers which are frankly "yellow." (*Outlook,* March 25, 1911.) *Mem. Ed.* XIX, 144; *Nat. Ed.* XVII, 103.

————. We who in this contest are fighting for the rights of the plain people, we who are fighting for the right of the people to rule themselves, need offer no better proof of the fact that we are fighting for all citizens, no matter what their politics, than that which is afforded by the action of that portion of the press which is controlled by privilege, by the great special interests in business. Newspapers of this type are found in every part of the country, in San Francisco, in Cincinnati, in Chicago and St. Louis, in Boston and Philadelphia. But they are strongest in New York. Some of these newspapers are nominally Democratic, some nominally Republican, some nominally independent. But in reality they are true only to the real or fancied interests of the great capitalist class by certain of whose members they are controlled. Sometimes the interests of this capital-

ist class are identical with those of the country as a whole, and in that case these papers serve the interests of the commonwealth. Sometimes the interests of the capitalist class are against the interests of the people as a whole, and in that case these papers are hostile to the interests of the commonwealth. But neither their acting favorably to nor their acting adversely to the interests of the commonwealth is anything more than an incident to their support of the interests to which they are bound. The great and far-reaching evil of their action is that they choke and foul the only channels of information open to so many honest and well-meaning citizens. (At Chicago, June 17, 1912.) *Mem. Ed.* XIX, 311, *Nat. Ed.* XVII, 226.

PRESS—INFLUENCE OF THE. Our newspapers, including those who professedly stand as representatives of the highest culture of the community, have been in the habit of making such constant and reckless assaults upon the characters of even very good public men, as to greatly detract from their influence when they attack one who is really bad. They paint every one with whom they disagree black. As a consequence the average man, who knows they are partly wrong, thinks they may also be partly right; he concludes that no man is absolutely white, and at the same time that no one is as black as he is painted; and takes refuge in the belief that all alike are gray. It then becomes impossible to rouse him to make an effort either for a good man or against a scoundrel. Nothing helps dishonest politicians as much as this feeling; and among the chief instruments in its production we must number certain of our newspapers who are loudest in asserting that they stand on the highest moral plane. As for the other newspapers, those of frankly "sensational" character, such as the two which at present claim to have the largest circulation in New York, there is small need to characterize them; they form a very great promotive to public corruption and private vice, and are on the whole the most potent of all the forces for evil which are at work in the city. (*Century*, January 1885.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 91; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 56.

PRESS—LIBERTY OF THE. I think that if there is one thing we ought to be careful about it is in regard to interfering with the liberty of the press. We have all of us at times suffered from the liberty of the press, but we have to take the good and the bad. I think we certainly ought to hesitate very seriously before passing any law that will interfere with the broadest public utterance. I think it is a great deal better to err a little bit on the side of having too much discussion and having too virulent language used by the press, rather than to err on the side of having them not say what they ought to say, especially with reference to public men and measures. (In New York Assembly, March 27, 1883.) *Mem. Ed.* XVI, 30; *Nat. Ed.* XIV, 22.

PRESS. *See also* DEMOCRACY; EDITORS; FOREIGN LANGUAGE PRESS; FREE SPEECH; JOURNALISM; JOURNALIST; MUCK-RAKING; SLANDER.

PRESSURE GROUPS. *See* PRIVILEGE; SPECIAL INTERESTS.

PRIMARIES—ADVOCACY OF. We should at once introduce in this State the system of direct nominations in the primaries, so that the people shall be able themselves to decide who the candidates shall be, instead of being limited merely to choosing between candidates with whose nomination they have had nothing to do. (Before New York Republican State Convention, Saratoga, September 27, 1910.) *Mem. Ed.* XIX, 36; *Nat. Ed.* XVII, 28.

————. I believe in providing for direct nominations by the people, including therein direct preferential primaries for the election of delegates to the national nominating conventions. Not as a matter of theory, but as a matter of plain and proved experience, we find that the convention system, while it often records the popular will, is also often used by adroit politicians as a method of thwarting the popular will. In other words, the existing machinery for nominations is cumbrous, and is not designed to secure the real expression of the popular desire. Now, as good citizens we are all of us willing to acquiesce cheerfully in a nomination secured by the expression of a majority of the people, but we do not like to acquiesce in a nomination secured by adroit political management in defeating the wish of the majority of the people. (Before Ohio Constitutional Convention, Columbus, February 21, 1912.) *Mem. Ed.* XIX, 179; *Nat. Ed.* XVII, 133.

————. The movement for direct primaries is spreading fast. Whether it shall apply to all elective officials or to certain categories of them is a matter which must be decided by the actual experience of each State when the working of the scheme is tested in practice. (*Outlook*, January 21, 1911.) *Mem. Ed.* XIX, 88; *Nat. Ed.* XVII, 55.

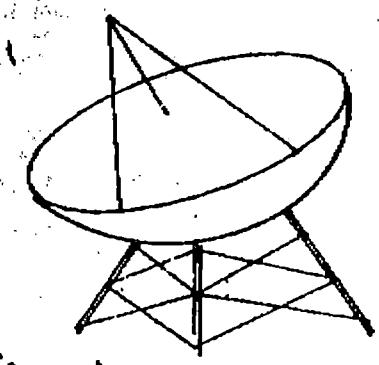
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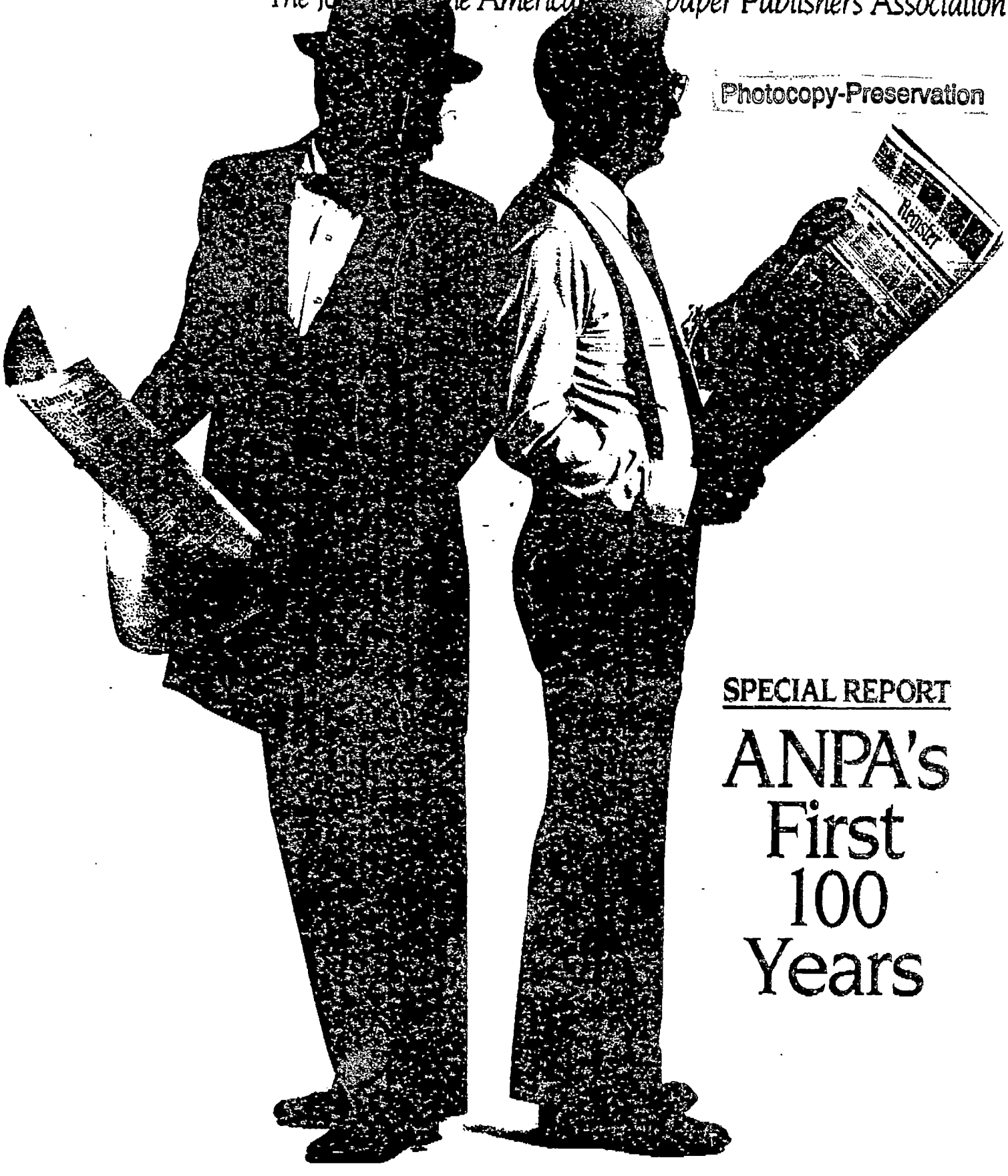
May 1987

Foreign Press Lords On U.S. Buying Binge

Presstime

The Journal of the American Newspaper Publishers Association

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SPECIAL REPORT

ANPA's First 100 Years

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With an Eye On the Past And a Look To the Future

ANPA marks century of service to changing world of newspapers



The year was 1887.

Grover Cleveland was President of the United States; all communities with a population of at least 10,000 got free mail delivery for the first time; 18 sugar refineries formed the "Sugar Trust"; the Interstate Commerce Act was passed to regulate railroads; and the nation's first golf club opened in Foxburg, Pa.

There were fewer than 1,000 U.S. daily newspapers. None had a circulation of more than a quarter of a million copies. There were a few newspaper groups, but daily newspapering was primarily a "home-grown" enterprise. Evening papers were predominant. Newspapers' only real competitors were magazines; and about as much revenue was raised from circulation as from advertising.

Although the typewriter was being introduced in newsrooms, and the first Linotype had been introduced at a daily newspaper a year before, most news copy still was being written and set in type by hand.

The telephone was only 11 years old. The roll-fed press was just coming into newspaper use. And newsprint still was being made, in part, from rags.

At noon, Feb 16, 46 publishers, business managers and advertising managers from daily newspapers in the United States and Canada convened at the Powers' Hotel in Rochester, N.Y. The two-day meeting had been organized under the leadership of William H Brearley, advertising manager of the Detroit Evening News. "We have, of course, a little plan to suggest," said Brearley, as he called the meeting to order.

The plan was formation of the American Newspaper Publishers Association.

This special report was prepared by pressTime *writers and other members of the ANPA staff, drawing heavily from the work of Edwin Emery, professor emeritus of the University of Minnesota, who has written historical works on the Association.*

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This month, ANPA celebrates its 100th Anniversary Convention, and it will be a time of reflection on how much things have changed during the Association's first century. The Powers' Hotel is gone (although the building, now offices, still stands). ANPA has grown from a small office in New York City, from where it collected annual dues of $25 from each newspaper; through operating in New York, Chicago, Indianapolis and Easton, Pa., until it now has all of its functions consolidated in its own multimillion dollar building in Reston, Va., called The Newspaper Center.

The newspaper business has changed, too. The United States has 1,674 daily newspapers, five of which have circulations of more than a million. Newspaper groups control more than 70 percent of U.S. dailies. Although evening papers still dominate numerically, the number of morning papers is growing and a.m. papers account for a majority of daily circulation. And while newspapers continue to be the leading advertising medium, competition for advertising and for peoples' time is coming from a diversity of sources—broadcast and cable television, direct mail, magazines, radio, free newspapers, shoppers, electronic information services, catalogs, directories, etc.

The Canadian newspaper scene has changed in similar fashion. The 91 daily newspapers in existence in 1891 have grown to today's 111 dailies.

Typewriters have all but disappeared from the newsrooms of most newspapers; news copy is now composed by computers and may be sent by microwave or satellite to remote printing plants. News and advertising is beamed to satellites and back to receivers at newspapers. Production experts are beginning to talk about the prospect of electronic printing, eliminating newspaper presses as we know them. Although newspapers still are printed on paper, wood pulp long ago replaced rags in newsprint composition and the possibility of producing newsprint from kenaf, a plant that produces about 12 times more paper pulp per acre, per year, than trees, is being studied.

But many of the concerns that dominated early ANPA debate remain the focus of the Association, which today serves nearly 1,400 daily and non-daily newspapers accounting for more than 90 percent of the daily newspaper circulation in the United States and 80 percent in Canada.



First ANPA President William Singerly

1887-1899

At the beginning of the period:

- Number of U.S. dailies—971
- Number of charter members of ANPA—50

"The objects of this Association are the protection of the members from irresponsible customers; the gathering and disseminating among its members of news of value to them; and the rendering to each other of such other assistance as may be within their power."

—Article adopted at first ANPA meeting

To understand what compelled formation of a trade association of daily newspapers in 1887 is to know what was happening in the United States and in the newspaper business at the time. The country was evolving from one that was agricultural and rural into one that was industrial and urban. Newspapers were reflecting those changes.

In the last three decades of the 1800s, U.S. population doubled and city dwellers tripled.

During that time, the number of daily newspapers quadrupled and daily circulation grew six-fold as newspapers aggressively pursued readers in the expanding cities. The largest daily at the time, the New York World, had seen its circulation grow from 20,000 in 1883, when Joseph Pulitzer bought it, to 250,000 in 1887, driven by its lively news coverage, mechanical and format improvements, and cut-rate price.

Rapidly rising circulations caused publishers to be increasingly concerned about newsprint costs. There was good reason. During the Civil War, the price of newsprint had reached $442 a ton, and although by 1880 it had declined to $138 a ton with the introduction of wood pulp as a substitute for rags, that price would equal about $1,590 in today's dollars. By 1899, however, the price had dropped to $42 a ton, thanks to developments in the use of sulphite in the wood pulping process.

The last decades of the 19th century also saw rapid industrial growth. Newspapers were becoming increasingly mechanized.

It also was a time of great labor unrest. Strikes aimed at reducing the 10-hour workday took place nationwide in 1886. Many newspaper workers already had joined the labor movement. The International Typographic Union had been formed in 1852 and had affiliated with the American Federation of Labor when it was launched in 1881.

Mass production was beginning, and producers needed to advertise their wares widely. Advertising was providing a growing percentage of newspaper revenues. In 1879, circulation revenue of daily newspapers was $22 million, advertising $21 million. By 1909, circulation revenue for all newspapers was $84 million and advertising $148 million. The number of advertising agents and agencies, some of questionable reputation, was increasing, and they were demanding discounts and commissions for placing ads with newspapers.

Newspaper organizations existed at the time, but none was devoted to the business problems of newspapers. It was such an organization that Brearley proposed to form. He had the initial support of three other influential newspapermen: Jerome C. Briggs of the Ohio State Journal in Columbus, Milton A. McRae of the Cincinnati Post, and J. Ambrose Butler of the Buffalo News. They decided to call a meeting if they could get the signatures of 30 of the 211 publishers of dailies with more than 5,000 circulation. They got 80.

The executives at the first meeting represented newspapers from 13 states, the District of Columbia and Canada. 19 from New York State, five each from Michigan and Ohio, three from Indiana, two each from Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Rhode Island, and one each from Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Iowa, New Jersey, Wisconsin, Washington, D.C., and the province of Ontario. (ANPA attracted its first West Coast member, the San Francisco Call, in 1889.)

The newspaper executives turned first to advertising topics, including rate cutting and agent commissions. They decided to establish an office in New York City to keep members informed of advertising developments. That first office was at 104 Temple Court. Subsequently, ANPA headquarters moved

ANPA at 100

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The Baltimore Sun

Turn-of-the-century newsrooms like that of The Baltimore Sun were largely white, male and pencil-and-paper operations.

several times in the city before relocating, in 1972, to Reston. The Association was governed initially by an Executive Committee, which evolved into a Board of Directors when the Association was incorporated in 1897.

Early bulletins of the Association are full of warnings about which advertising agencies to avoid and which advertisers should be required to make cash payment. Evolving legislation, a subsequent lawsuit and changes in priorities for ANPA sharply reduced the Association's role in these and related matters. The credit and collections function eventually evolved into ANPA Credit Bureau Inc., which became a separate, wholly owned subsidiary of the Association in 1975.

The early bulletins also provide evidence of ANPA as a lobbying organization from the very beginning, as members from New York state were urged to write state legislators to oppose restrictions on the sales of patent medicines.

The second topic under discussion at ANPA's inaugural meeting was newspaper labor relations. In fact, the resolution listing "objectives" of the new association included one clause that albeit obliquely, authorized publishers to take collective action in meeting labor demands. Known as the "general welfare" clause, it set as one of the objectives of the organization: "the rendering to each other of such other assistance as may be within our power."

As early as 1889, ANPA was publishing statistics on wages. In 1890, the Association authorized the establishment of a Labor Committee.

In its early years, the Association also formed other committees, which provide a good indication of the major concerns of newspapers of that day.

The ANPA Postal Committee was established in 1892 to monitor legislation being proposed to correct perceived abuses of second-class rates. The committee endorsed rural free delivery, subsequently established in 1897.

Committees were appointed to investigate new production methods. Then, as now, the recommendations of ANPA technical committees carried considerable weight. For example, in 1893, after a committee reported that the Remington typewriter was the best on the market, 500 of the machines were ordered through ANPA's New York office.

A committee on libel law was authorized in 1893 to prepare a model libel law and get it adopted by states. A committee on copyright law was established in 1894. And, in 1897, a committee was formed to seek an end to the tariff on imported newsprint.

1900-1929

At the beginning of the period:
- Number of U.S. dailies—2,154
- Number of ANPA members—224

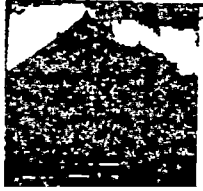
"What are the prospects for cheaper newspaper? To what extent is the so called paper trust responsible for the advance in the price of newspaper?"

—Topic for discussion at the ANPA's 14th Annual Meeting in 1900

No wonder the publishers were concerned. In 1900, the cost of newsprint increased 33 percent, from $42 a ton to $56. Newspapers suspected the "paper trust."

Although the Sherman Antitrust Act had been passed in 1890, it was not vigorously enforced in its early years, and businesses continued to combine. The newsprint business was no exception. International Paper Co. was formed in 1898 and controlled 18 mills, the majority of the mills east of the

1887



ANPA founded in Rochester (left). Headquarters opened in New York City

1900



Labor office started in Chicago



Labor office moves to Indianapolis

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Mississippi River. In 1900, General Paper Co. was formed by 26 mills in Wisconsin, Michigan and Minnesota to compete with international.

Until this time, newsprint prices had been going down, reflecting the economies of new manufacturing processes.

At the same time, U.S. daily newspapers' newsprint consumption was growing from 100,000 tons in 1880 to 569,000 in 1900, making the price of paper an increasingly important consideration.

At that 1900 ANPA Convention, a resolution was passed asking Congress to investigate newsprint prices and the paper trust. At the Convention four years later, ANPA continued to press for an investigation, this time urging President Theodore Roosevelt and his attorney general to begin an antitrust suit.

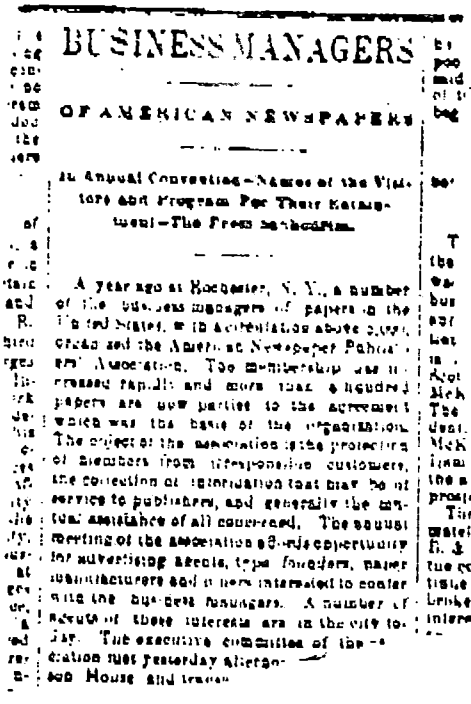
Finally, the call was heeded. The Justice Department's suit against the General Paper Co. was one of 44 instituted during Roosevelt's administration. In 1906, General Paper was found to be a combination in restraint of trade and was dissolved.

But paper problems continued to trouble the publishers. In 1907, the Association reissued its call for repeal of the tariff on newsprint. Like other imports, newsprint had become subject to the tariff imposed during the Civil War as a revenue-raising measure, but the tariff endured as a protectionist measure at the insistence of big business. The American Paper and Pulp Association, founded in 1878 as the American Paper Makers Association, argued that free entry of Canadian newsprint would hurt manufacturers.

In 1911, President William Howard Taft addressed the ANPA Convention, advocating legislation to establish a reciprocity agreement whereby newsprint would be imported free if Canada did not apply an export duty. A former reporter for The Cincinnati Times, Taft apparently was the first sitting president to address ANPA.

That bill was passed by Congress and signed by Taft later in the year. Then, in 1913, President Woodrow Wilson's first year in office, a law was enacted that removed all duties on wood pulp and newsprint. This ended the long ANPA battle and sparked an avalanche of newsprint imports from Canada. By 1926, the amount of newsprint imported from Canada exceeded that produced domestically.

Newsprint supply challenged ANPA during World War I. But an even greater concern during the war was censorship. At the 1917 Convention, ANPA voted in favor of strict but voluntary press censorship.



BUSINESS MANAGERS

OF AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS

An Annual Convention—Names of the Visitors and Program For Their Entertainment—The Press Association.

A year ago at Rochester, N. Y., a number of the business managers of papers in the United States, with a representation above civic circles and the American Newspaper Publishers' Association. The membership was increased rapidly and more than a hundred papers are now parties to the agreement which was the basis of the organization. The object of the association is the protection of members from irresponsible customers, the collection of information that may be of service to publishers, and generally the mutual assistance of all concerned. The annual meeting of the association affords opportunity for advertising agents, type founders, paper manufacturers and others interested to confer with the business managers. A number of agents of these interests are in the city today. The executive committee of the association met yesterday afternoon and evening at the Denison House and transacted

The Indianapolis News carried a Page-1 report on ANPA's second annual meeting, held in that city in 1888.

At the end of World War I, the demand for advertising space exploded. At the same time, newsprint manufacturers raised the price of paper. Several drastic solutions were discussed, including one congressional proposal to exclude from the second-class mails any newspaper with more than a designated number of pages. At the 1920 ANPA Convention, a Publishers Buying Corp. was established to buy paper for smaller publishers.

Besides newsprint issues, the Association during the first three decades of the 20th century focused on labor, postal, advertising, production and government affairs.

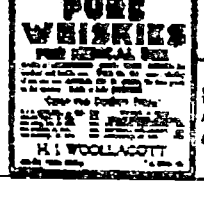
In 1900, a Special Standing Committee on labor relations was approved, headed by a special commissioner. The committee, with a paid staff, was to carry out the Association's policy on labor relations. That policy was one of conciliation, rather than confrontation, a tack that was in contrast to that of some other industries of the day. The first labor office was established in Chicago and moved, in 1911, to Indianapolis where the ITU, the biggest labor union in the newspaper business, was then located. Later, the office moved back to Chicago, and in 1976 it moved to The Newspaper Center. (See time-line chart, pp. 30-33.)

Postal matters continued to get attention. In 1912, a rider was attached to the Post Office appropriations bill that required publications using second-class mail to file sworn statements listing the editor, managing editor, publisher, business manager, owner, stockholders, bondholders, mortgagees or other security holders and giving the average daily circulation for the past six months. (It was this law that prompted ANPA and other trade associations to form the Audit Bureau of Circulations in 1913-14.) Publications also had to mark all matter published for a price "advertisement."

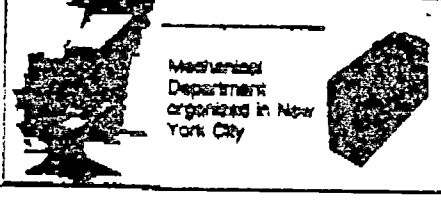
The new law, known as the "newspaper publicity law," was challenged in court, and the case went all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court. Although not the actual complainant, ANPA was the force behind the case. In 1913, the court ruled against ANPA's position, saying that the lower second-class mail rate was a privilege, not a right, and that Congress could prescribe the conditions of its use.

Advertising remained a major topic. From the first, ANPA Conventions attracted various other newspaper interests, including advertising agents. After establishing a Committee on

1930



Bureau of Advertising forms as adjunct to ANPA



Mechanical Department organized in New York City

Labor office returns to Chicago

Alberto Pachino

ANPA at 100

Photocopy-Preservation



Executives active in ANPA around 1917 included (from left) Hilton U. Brown of the Indianapolis News, J.F. McKay of The Toronto Globe and John Stewart Bryan of the Richmond (Va.) News-Leader.

Advertising Agents in 1899, ANPA and American Association of Advertising Agencies began meeting simultaneously in 1901.

In 1913, the Bureau of Advertising was formed as an auxiliary unit of ANPA. It consolidated the Daily Newspaper Club, which had been formed by ANPA members to obtain more display advertising that they saw increasingly going to magazines, and two similar groups. Although it was under the direction of an ANPA committee, the bureau had no financial ties with ANPA and admitted non-ANPA newspapers into its membership. In 1950, the bureau became a completely separate entity, and in 1973, it was renamed the Newspaper Advertising Bureau.

ANPA established a Committee on Federal Laws in 1922, directing it "to exercise its utmost effort to maintain the freedom of the press wherever and wherever it may be threatened." The next year, it retained Elisha Hanson as its attorney and Washington representative. In 1935, Hanson became general counsel and served in that post until 1962, when he was succeeded by his son, Arthur B. (Tim) Hanson. ANPA, which had been represented by various outside legal counsel since 1897, began developing its own in-house staff of lawyers in 1978 when it began its Legal Department.

In 1925, the Convention voted to establish a Mechanical Department "with a view to improving the general production of newspapers." Mechanical conferences began in 1927. The first one was held in Harrisburg, Pa., and was attended by 80 representatives of 54 papers in 21 states. This year's ANPA/Technical Exposition and Conference is expected to draw more than 10,000 registrants.

A second Convention per year began in 1925. These events, held in the fall usually at a resort location, were halted in 1932 during the Depression.

Also begun in this period was a Traffic Department, charged with obtaining the lowest-possible transportation rates for newspapers' raw and finished products.

This was a watershed era for newspapers. The number of daily newspapers hit an all-time high of about 2,600 in 1909. ANPA budgets also grew, with receipts from dues and initiations rising to $40,000 in 1908 and $75,000 in 1918; total receipts reached $100,000 in 1918.

1930-1945

At the beginning of the period:
- Number of U.S. dailies—2,219
- Number of ANPA members—501

"...with radio now established as a definite competitor of newspapers, it should be required to stand on its own feet and make only that development to which it is entitled on its merits."

—From the report of the Radio Committee, presented at the ANPA Convention in 1930 by Chairman Elzey Roberts of the St. Louis Star

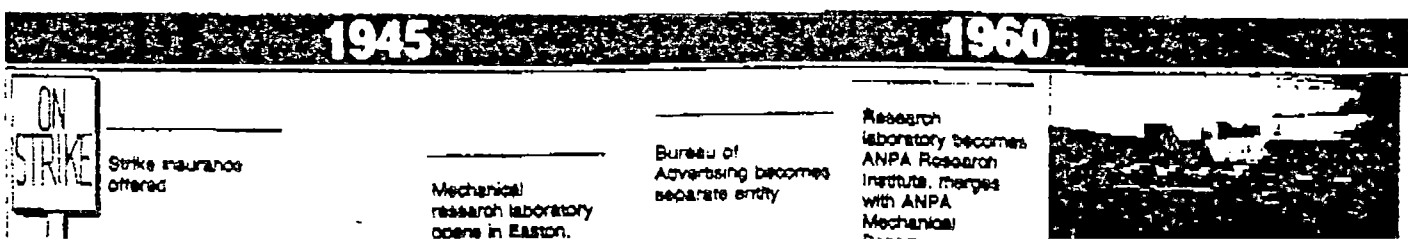
In the 1930s, with the postwar boom over, newspapers felt the effects of the Depression and a new competitor, radio. Radio advertising revenues jumped from $4 million to $40 million between 1927 and 1929.

ANPA had established a Committee on Radio in 1923, three years after the first scheduled broadcast took place—announcing the results of the presidential election. By the early 1930s, it was clear that radio would compete with newspapers for news and advertising, and newspapers didn't want to give the competition any more help than it had to. In 1931, the ANPA Convention resolved that radio program logs published in newspapers should be handled as paid advertising.

A year later, the Association took steps to restrict news information available to radio. At that time, the ANPA Board of Directors recommended that press associations—today's wire services—should not provide news to radio before it could be published by newspapers. Furthermore, the board said radio news broadcasts should be confined to brief bulletins, which would whet audience's appetites for the full story in the newspaper. The press associations obliged.

A year later, after radio began gathering its own news, ANPA agreed to establishment of a Press-Radio Bureau whereby press associations would provide brief news summaries that radio would air without commercial sponsorship. That lasted about a year, until new press associations that were not party to the agreement began, and the older press associations sought to get out of the pact.

Of course, if newspapers considered radio the enemy, then the enemy was themselves. Newspapers were some of the earliest



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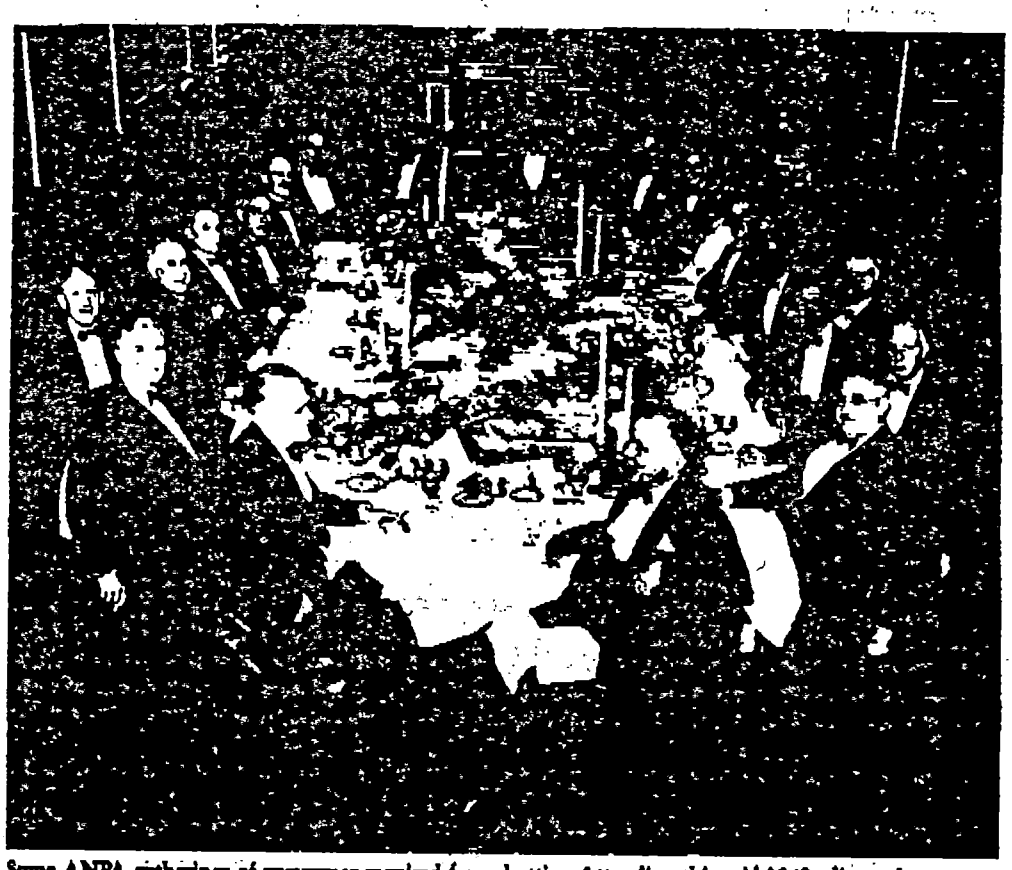
owners of radio stations. In 1920, The Detroit Evening News became the first newspaper to own a radio station. In 1941, the Federal Communications Commission decided to study the "problem" of newspaper/radio cross-ownership. It determined that 249 of the 882 radio stations had some newspaper affiliation. The FCC took no action to restrict ownership at that time.

In 1975, however, the FCC issued rules prohibiting the future cross-ownership of newspapers and broadcast stations and ordered 16 "egregious," "small-market" combinations broken up. By that time, of course, television had arrived on the scene; sale of TV sets to the public began in 1939.

The advent of electronic competition caused increased emphasis to be placed on the Bureau of Advertising. In 1938, the bureau began a research project and series of publications, the Continuing Study of Newspaper Readership.

It was also a period of landmark court cases.

One involved a Minnesota law that allowed judges to suppress any publication that they determined to be a "malicious, scandalous, and defamatory newspaper, magazine, or other periodical." ANPA denounced the law and, after great internal discussion and strong dissent, came to the aid of a Minneapolis newspaper that was enjoined from publication—but ANPA criticized the publisher's odious views along the way. The case went to the Supreme Court which, in 1931, handed down a 5-4 decision in *Near v. Minnesota* that established the still-existing prohibition against prior restraint of publication.



Some ANPA gatherings of yesteryear required formal attire. Attending this mid-1940s dinner for Howard Davis, ANPA president 1932-35, were (clockwise, from left foreground) George N. Dale, David W. Howe, W.E. MacFarlane, Amon G. Carter, Walter M. Dear, S.R. Winch, F.I. Ker, J.L. Stackhouse, C.F. McCahill, ANPA General Manager Cranston Williams, E.S. Friendly, Commander James G. Stahlman, W.G. Chandler, Davis, Linwood L. Noyes, John Stewart Bryan, E.H. Butler, J.D. Barnum, William F. Schmick and ANPA General Counsel Elisha Hanson.

ANPA won another Supreme Court victory in 1936, when the high court declared unconstitutional a Louisiana tax on the advertising income of papers with more than 20,000 circulation.

The New Deal of Franklin D. Roosevelt brought newspapers increased labor problems, which in turn led to even more major court decisions.

The 1933 National Industrial Recovery Act, which gave employees the right to collective bargaining, also called for establishment of codes of fair competition for all industries. ANPA drafted the code for daily newspapers. After some modification, it was accepted by the federal government. But newspaper workers complained about the salary provisions. The dissatisfaction of editorial employees led to the formation of the American Newspaper Guild in 1933. The NIRA was declared unconstitutional in 1935.

In 1937, the activities of ANPA's Open Shop Department ended after the Newspaper Guild and the Allied Printing Trades Council of Greater New York requested a Senate investigation of the department, which had been formed in 1922 as newspapers adopted a more confrontational approach to labor problems.

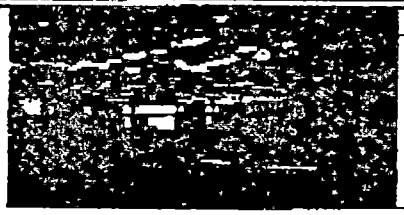
Also in 1937, ANPA lost a key labor case before the Supreme Court involving the constitutionality of the 1935

Production Department forms in New York City and later moves to Easton



ANPA moves to The Newspaper Center, Reston, Va.; boards of ANPA and ANPA/RI merge

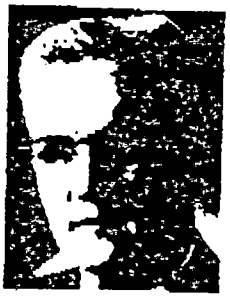
Labor office moves to The Newspaper Center



Easton operations move to expanded Newspaper Center

ANPA at 100

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"It was my good fortune to be at the starting gate of the newspaper production revolution. One of our first triumphs was developing the high-speed etching system. . . . We never dreamed computers would take over."
-William Dwight, ANPA Chairman 1956-58



"The greatest service ANPA performs for its members is keeping track of government plans and actions that affect the free press. In addition, it provides a clearinghouse for ideas and innovations that improve the service of the press to the public."
-D. Tennent Bryan, ANPA Chairman 1958-60



"ANPA has meant fine leadership supplied by a great staff in the cause of freedom of the press . . . the providing of up-to-date information on all matters of interest to publishers . . . and great service in mechanical and production matters."
-J. Howard Wood, ANPA Chairman 1966-68

Wagner Act and its applicability to newspapers and press associations.

Among other things, the Wagner Act, also known as the National Labor Relations Act, prohibited employers from refusing to engage in collective bargaining and from interfering with employees' membership in a labor union. In 1936, the National Labor Relations Board ordered the Associated Press to reinstate a discharged employee who said he had been fired for activities relating to the American Newspaper Guild. AP took the case to court; ANPA was an amicus curiae. In 1937, the court upheld the constitutionality of the Wagner Act and said: "The publisher of a newspaper has no special immunity from the application of general laws. . . ."

The heated atmosphere further inflamed the labor situation, and soon newspapers were taking steps to protect themselves. In 1939, ANPA instituted strike insurance. In 1963, Mutual Insurance Co. Ltd. was founded at the request of ANPA members to operate the strike insurance program and to offer libel insurance.

Besides dealing with labor law, ANPA engaged in intense lobbying on other New Deal matters, including an unsuccessful effort to scuttle legislation giving the Federal Trade Commission authority to regulate unfair or misleading advertising of products in interstate commerce.

ANPA, in 1939, was a founding member of the National Council on Professional Education for Journalism (now called the Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications), the journalism school accrediting body that came into being after ANPA President James G. Stahlman of the Nashville Banner criticized journalism education.

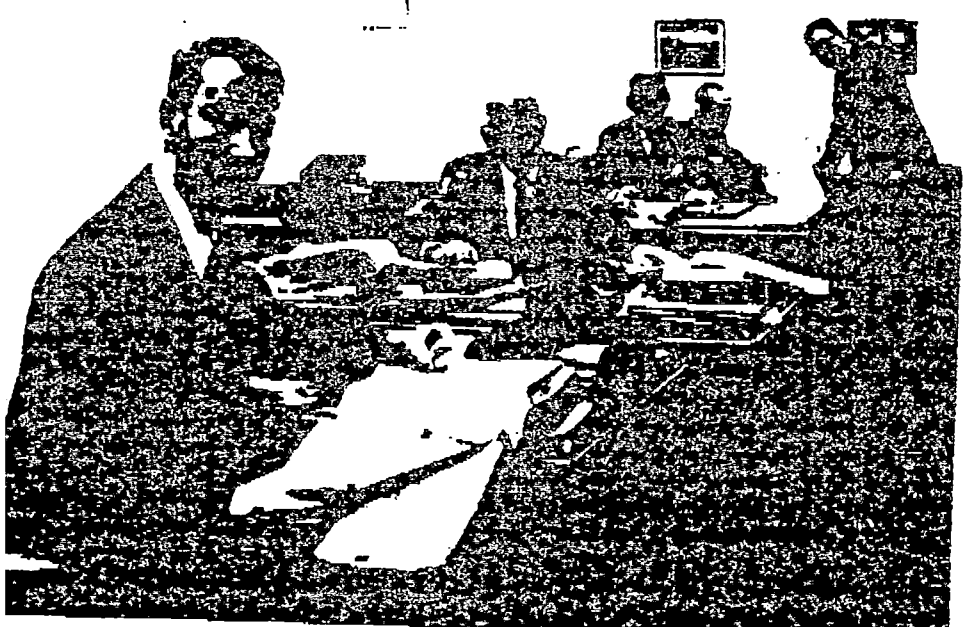
With the start of World War II, attention turned away from domestic affairs.

In 1939, as the war in Europe began, ANPA created a committee on supplies. In December 1940, the committee advised ANPA members to stock up on supplies that would be restricted by the Office of Production Management. One of those products was newsprint, and the effort to keep supplies flowing to member newspapers involved ANPA leaders in one of their strangest roles—in effect, that of government rationers.

In 1942, the War Production Board named a Newspaper Industry Advisory Committee with many ANPA leaders as members. The committee concluded that a reduction in the use of newsprint was necessary. In January 1943 the WPB told newspapers that they should use no more newsprint in the first quarter of that year than they did during the first quarter of 1941 which meant an average cutback of 10 percent. Cutbacks grew each quarter until 1944.

In 1942, also after consulting with ANPA representatives, the Office of Price Administration froze the price of newsprint at $50 a ton. The price eventually rose to $84 a ton in 1946 before the OPA went out of business.

Even before the United States entered the war, ANPA was concerned about newspapers' role in covering the conflict. At the 1941 Convention, the Association resolved that while "newspapers recognize their primary obligation to further national defense in every possible manner," they "also recognize their essential duty to furnish complete and accurate information



Keeping track of finances in the New York office in 1962 were (from left) Thomas C. Fichter, now senior vice president and deputy general manager, Richard Kelleher, Charles J. Herrell and two outside auditors.

Photocopy-Preservation

It asked for the "cordial consideration and cooperation" of government authorities.

Two years before the war ended, ANPA gave heightened recognition to the important role played by community newspapers. It elected its first president from a small daily, Linwood I. Noyes of the Daily Globe of Ironwood, Mich.

1946-1959

At the beginning of the period:
- Number of U.S. dailies—1,872
- Number of ANPA members—756

"Now we turn, flushed with victory, from the responsibilities of war time to the equally great responsibilities of peace time. There are many problems to be faced and difficulties to be overcome that present to us a challenge, which must be met unflinchingly with all the courage, the strength and the ability that we possess."

—From the 1946 Convention address of Arthur P. Irving of the Glens Falls (N.Y.) Post-Star and Times, program chairman

One of the challenges ANPA took on after the war was to improve newspaper production. No significant new technology had been developed since the introduction of the Linotype in 1886. The Board of Directors decided that the newspaper business would have to find and fund its own new technological breakthroughs. In 1947, the Association named a research director; two years later a research laboratory opened in Easton, Pa., with the aid of J.L. Stackhouse, publisher of the Easton Express. ANPA is the only known industrial trade association in the world that operates its own technical research and training facility.

Working hand-in-hand with suppliers to the newspaper business, the ANPA technical research staff fostered many innovations, beginning with the invention of high-speed metal engraving, which enabled newspapers to use photocomposition and cut advertising composition and makeup costs dramatically. The benefits continue to this day.

In 1957, the ANPA Research Institute merged with the Institute of Newspaper Operations, an organization established separately by a group of publishers. Until 1972, the Institute operated with a separate board of directors. In 1983, the research operations were moved to The Newspaper Center.

The postwar era, also saw ANPA and other newspaper organizations around the world founding the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers in 1948. ANPA continues to participate in that and other groups whose mission is to promote world press freedom.

In the labor area, the Taft-Hartley Act, passed in 1947 with ANPA's support, supplanted the Wagner Act and ended the closed shop. Subsequently, ANPA filed charges against the ITU with the National Labor Relations Board, which in turn charged the ITU with several violations of Taft-Hartley.

In 1955, the Antitrust Division of the U.S. Department of Justice filed suit against ANPA, the American Association of Advertising Agencies and other trade associations charging that



"As one of the 'early mavericks' on the ANPA Board, my greatest personal satisfaction was as part of the group that got Board support to move ANPA out of New York City to its own building in Reston, Va."
–Richard H. Blacklidge, ANPA Chairman 1970-72



"Without ANPA the newspaper business would not have a rudder. My fondest memory of the ANPA is all the wonderful people who worked there and the fellows who worked on all the papers who were real supporters of the 'rudder.'"
–W. Davis Taylor, ANPA Chairman 1972-74



"At a Board meeting in the mid-1970s we cut through some language suggested by lawyers and adopted revised articles of incorporation that started with the declaration that the ANPA's reason for being is 'to advance the cause of a free press.'"
–Harold W. Andersen, ANPA Chairman 1974-76



Showing stereotype plates to visitors in the mid-1960s is ANPA's Frank J. Staneczak (right), who remains a member of the technical staff today.

ANPA at 100

Photocopy-Preservation



"My fondest ANPA memory is the result of the Search Committee that sought a new general manager in 1975 following Stanford Smith's retirement. The past 12 years have convinced me that Jerry Friedheim was a superb choice."
-Joe D. Smith Jr., ANPA Chairman 1976-78



"ANPA is the industry 'glue' that holds newspaper publishing executives together for their common benefit. The umbrella that it provides for all other specialized newspaper industry associations is a mutually beneficial one for them all."
-Allen H. Neuharth, ANPA Chairman 1978-80



"ANPA is central to the continued progress of all newspapers, large and small. On the highest level, it represents the industry and advances its interests on major issues. . . . I was honored to be the first woman to serve as head of ANPA."
-Katharine Graham, ANPA Chairman 1980-82

their practice of officially "recognizing" advertising agencies was a violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act. Newspapers relied on the ANPA's decision as to whether a company was a bona fide advertising agency in determining whether to grant it the customary commission and discount. The suit never got to trial. In 1956, ANPA and the other defendants entered into consent agreements with the government, agreeing, among other things, to cease their recognition activities.

During this period ANPA began cosponsoring, with International Circulation Managers Association, the Newspapers in the Classroom program, which continues today under the auspices of ANPA Foundation, as Newspaper in Education.

All in all, especially during the eight years of Dwight D. Eisenhower's presidency, it was a calmer time for newspaper publishing. But ANPA and the newspaper business in general had used this period to place in motion many of the innovations that would lead to the explosion of activity and progress that marks the current era.

1960 to present

At the beginning of the period:
- Number of U.S. dailies—1,850
- Number of ANPA members—848

"How deep-rooted Government's attitude is against the people's right to know is best illustrated in a short paragraph which appeared in an Air Force manual first issued in 1955, and only recently withdrawn because of numerous protests. This is what the manual said:

'Another rather silly remark often heard concerning security is that Americans have a right to know what's going on. Most people realize the foolhardiness of such a suggestion. Keep in mind that public news media present only as much information as the government wants to release.'

"However, the fight for a freer flow of information from Government continues in both House and Senate."
—From the report of the Federal Laws Committee presented at the 1960 Convention by Chairman M.W. Armistead III of the Roanoke (Va.) Times and World-News

With the rise of "big government" (particularly federal government), the growing litigiousness of society (particularly in the libel area), and the need to streamline operations (particularly in the expensive and labor-intensive pre-press area), ANPA's challenges were clear and not a little daunting as the modern era dawned.

Although the Association had a Freedom of the Press Committee as early as 1928, recent years have seen ANPA increase its activities aimed at ensuring an open government. The Association established a Government Affairs Department in 1976, as the government and the courts increasingly threatened First Amendment rights.

It has joined with other newspaper-business organizations to strengthen access to federal government information through the Freedom of Information Act, enacted in 1966, and the Government in the Sunshine Act, enacted in 1977.

In the wake of a news blackout during the United States' invasion of Grenada in October 1983, ANPA was a leader in efforts to improve military-press relations and was instrumental in formation and periodic testing of a contingency press pool to accompany future military missions.

In 1964, the U.S. Supreme Court issued its landmark ruling in *New York Times v. Sullivan*, requiring public officials to show that the press acted with "actual malice" in order to sustain a libel judgment. In 1967, this protection was extended to cases involving public figures. In 1971, the court held that private individuals involved in matters of general and public interest also come under the actual malice test. In subsequent decisions, however, the court narrowed the media's protection in private-figure cases.

In 1978, ANPA established its Legal Department. Since 1980, the Association has filed amicus briefs in seven libel cases before the U.S. Supreme Court. An apparent increase in the number of libel cases and in the number of adverse decisions coming from the Supreme Court prompted ANPA and other media organizations to form the Libel Defense Resource Center in New York City in 1980. It provides a place to which media defense lawyers can turn for information and exchange of views on libel matters.

A 1969 Supreme Court decision holding that a joint operating arrangement between daily newspapers in Tucson was a violation of antitrust law thrust ANPA into a legislative fight that resulted in enactment of the Newspaper Preservation Act. That 1970 law grants limited antitrust immunity to competing newspapers for merging their production and business operations while retaining separate news and editorial voices if one is a "failing newspaper." The legislation was not supported by all newspaper interests.

The 1960s ushered in many changes to newspapers' relationship with the U.S. Postal Service. Although remaining allies in the delivery of second-class mail, they have taken opposite sides on a number of issues, particularly third-class rates.

Until 1979, third-class

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advertisers had little incentive to use the mail category's bulk-mail service. But in 1979, as the result of a major rate case, relatively low fees were established for third-class mail presorted to the carrier route. To the delight of USPS, volume soared in large part in the form of advertising preprints.

Fueling the trend in 1981 was the evolution of "shared mail," in which two or more ad preprints are united as one third-class piece. ANPA maintains that third-class rates are too low because they do not cover USPS costs to provide the service. The Association contends that first-class mail subsidizes third-class.

ANPA also played a major role in the revolution of technology that swept the newspaper business beginning in the 1960s:

- In 1961, the ANPA research staff worked to perfect the offset printing process for newspapers. The effort was aimed at improving reproduction and enabling newspapers to use new, low-cost electronic composition techniques. The Association also initiated the development of a plastic plate to replace lead stereotype plates, enabling letterpress newspapers to convert to electronic composition. The efforts resulted in getting the lead out of the newspaper business, both in the composing rooms and in the pressrooms, as Linotype machines and stereotype plates were phased out.
- In the late 1960s, ANPA led the development of computer technology for newsrooms.
- The cost of new presses prompted ANPA's work in the 1970s on new press designs, resulting in the development of a flexographic printing press for newspapers.
- Oil shortages in the 1970s spurred ANPA's development of ANPA-INK,® a non-petroleum based ink.

Technical activities were not limited to laboratory work. In 1962, the Association began offering Technical Advisory Services for member newspapers. In 1965, it established a wide range of technical training programs, and in the early 1970s, with newspapers facing new government regulations from the federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration, the Environmental Protection Agency and others, ANPA began assembling a staff of industrial hygienists to assist newspapers with environmental matters.

At the same time it has been working to apply new technologies to the newspaper business, the Association has been looking at who else might be using new technology to newspapers' detriment—particularly in the telecommunications field.

In the past two decades, ANPA telecommunications activities have changed focus. Earlier, newspapers were concerned as users about the access to and cost of telecommunications facilities such as telegraphs and telephones. With the introduction of videotex technology, personal computers and the growth of cable television, newspapers also became concerned that these technologies could become competitors.

The Press Communications Committee, established in 1945, became the Telecommunications Committee in 1978. In 1980, ANPA established a Telecommunications Department to keep newspapers abreast of developments of interest to newspapers.

During this period, newspapers themselves began to experiment with new telecommunications technologies. For example, an ANPA/NAB survey found that some 110 newspapers launched ventures with cable television operators between 1982 and 1984. Most of these involved providing news and advertising texts on the television screen, although some were in video format. Two major newspaper companies, The Times Mirror Co. and Knight-Ridder Inc., also conducted experiments with videotex, an electronic home-information service.



"My fondest memory of serving ANPA is the effort to devise press pool guidelines for covering military actions after the 1983 Grenada invasion. The media-wide committee that I chaired worked with the White House to get a solution."
-William C. Marsh, ANPA Chairman 1982-84



"If the adage is true that all of us are smarter than any one of us, then the unity provided by the industry's great Association brings together fine minds in a way no single individual or newspaper can to provide collective leadership."
-Richard J.V. Johnson, ANPA Chairman 1984-86



"ANPA's work for its members and for their societies in helping to 'preserve the blessings of liberty' has been and will always be our greatest challenge and our greatest contribution. Each of us can be proud to be a part of such a magnificent mission."
-Alvah H. Chapman Jr., ANPA Chairman, 1986-87

Among the first recommendations of the new Telecommunications Committee was a study to determine whether individual newspapers could use small satellite earth stations for wire service and advertising material. They could, and today they do.

ANPA has been especially vigorous during this period in attempting to make sure that telephone companies do not have an unfair competitive advantage in the emerging telecommunications field. In 1981, the ANPA Board adopted the "Diversity Principle," which provides that monopoly telephone companies should not be allowed to own or control the information that flows over their transmission facilities. In 1982, the Justice Department and AT&T settled a longstanding antitrust suit. The settlement, which required AT&T to divest its local Bell telephone companies, contained the Diversity Principle, and the effort to maintain that principle continues today.

During this period of technological change, the development of new collective bargaining strategies became increasingly important. Strike activity, arbitrations, court cases and NLRB complaints increased significantly as jurisdictional and management rights issues were tested beyond the negotiation of collective bargaining agreements. ANPA resources were directed toward providing information to help solve these challenges.

In the modern era, ANPA labor relations activities have changed, expanding to cover the total human-resource management area. What was once the Labor Department and later the Labor and Personnel Relations Department now has the

RCV BY:XEROX TELECOPIER 7011 ; 4-14-89 2:35PM ; 7036204557→ 4566218;#13
SENT BY:ANPA ; 4-14-89 ; 14:27 ; 7036204557→ 4566218;#13

Photocopy-Preservation

name "Human Resources," as does the corresponding ANPA committee. Today, while the Human Resources Department continues to keep close tabs on labor developments, it also maintains information on a wide range of other employee-relations issues.

Another constant concern of ANPA is newsprint. After a two-year effort by ANPA, the Treasury Department in 1965 issued a new definition of duty-free standard newsprint that allows papermakers sufficient flexibility to do such things as experiment with new and cheaper species of wood and wood substitutes.

As the price of newsprint has risen, the Association has stepped up its efforts to find an alternative to wood in the manufacture of newsprint. In 1979, the International Paper Co., in cooperation with ANPA, produced kenaf newsprint, which was tested at several daily newspapers. In 1982, a study commissioned by ANPA found that the economics could, under certain conditions, justify development of a kenaf newsprint industry in the United States. That same year, ANPA sponsored an International Kenaf Conference. Currently, efforts are being made to get the financial backing for a feasibility study and business plan for kenaf newsprint production in the United States.

As it has in the past, ANPA came to the aid of publishers at a time of tight newsprint supply in the mid 1970s. In 1974, it issued a special report on "Newsprint Conservation Methods." In 1975-1976, when newsprint mill and railroad strikes caught smaller newspapers with dwindling supplies, ANPA put these papers in touch with others willing to lend some paper.

In 1969, ANPA's Newsprint and Traffic departments merged. In addition to its traditional service of monitoring freight rates, ANPA has urged railroads to build super-cushion under-frame cars to reduce damage to newsprint in transit and encouraged "piggy-back" services (trailers on railroad flatcars) for shipment of presses.

Although ANPA relinquished much of its involvement in advertising marketing in 1950 when the Newspaper Advertising Bureau became a separate entity, the Association has continued to support efforts to make newspapers a more attractive buy for advertisers. In 1980, the ANPA Board endorsed a voluntary system of Standard Advertising Units and urged its adoption by newspapers. In 1983, the SAU© system was expanded, with ANPA's support, to include a recommended, standard six-column format for broadsheet newspapers.

ANPA also has been active in attempting to stimulate readership. In 1977, it sponsored with the NAB and 14 other organizations the Newspaper Readership Project. The six-year, $5 million-effort investigated why people do or do not read newspapers and what newspapers can do about it.

Readership concerns also are at the heart of ANPA Foundation, started in 1961 as the educational arm of the Association. Today, its major activities are:

- Expanding the Newspaper in Education program. In 1983, ANPA Foundation began, with the cosponsorship of the International Reading Association, the annual National Newspaper-in Education Week.
- Improving literacy.
- Supporting and influencing journalism education.
- Encouraging minority employment in the newspaper business.
- Educating the public as to its stake in the First Amendment.

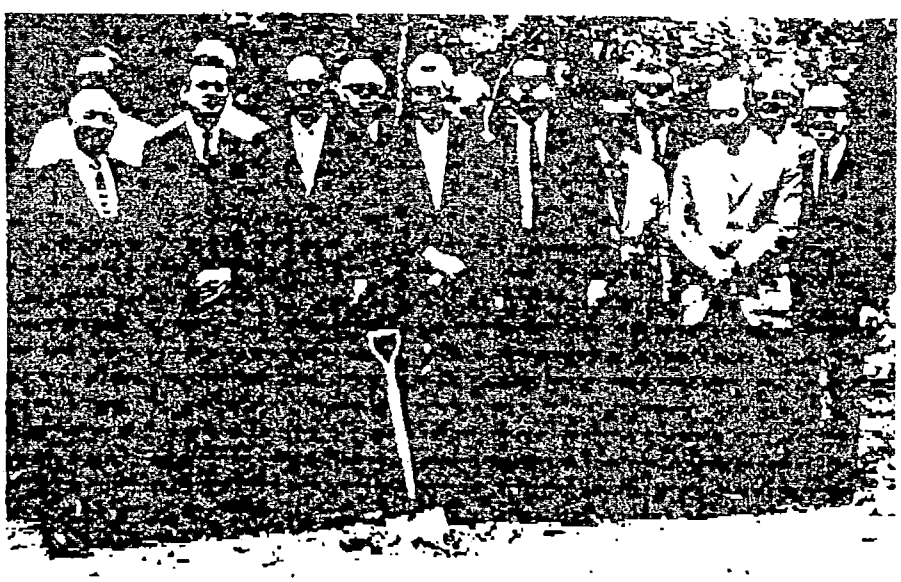
ANPA's own mission was redefined in 1975, when the Convention amended the bylaws to state as the organization's leading purpose: "To advance the cause of a free press." Members also voted to admit non-daily newspapers as members.

The Association has changed in many other ways since the mid-'70s. In 1977, a Training Services Department was established to run the three non-technical training seminars then offered by the Association: Marketing Seminar, Management Development Workshop, and Conference for Young Newspapermen. These offerings were refined and to them were added: Newspaper Training Conference in 1978; Strategic Planning Seminar in 1979; Managing People in the Circulation Department in 1979; Leadership in the Newsroom in 1981, and Promotion Managers' Workshop in 1981. In addition, the Training Department has conducted a number of special training sessions.

In [illegible] presstime was launched as the monthly journal of ANPA, replacing a variety of specialized bulletins, some of which dated to ANPA's earliest years. The magazine fulfills one of the Association's chief objectives—"to widely disseminate information to and about the newspaper business."

"Today's ANPA is an organization that our founding fathers in Rochester could hardly have imagined—with a membership of 1,389 newspapers, a staff of 164, a budget of $14 million, an efficient headquarters building 25 miles from the U.S. Capitol, and influence that is felt throughout North America and the world," says ANPA Chairman and President Alvah H. Chapman Jr.

"For our part, we can only dream of the shape of the ANPA of the future," he says. "One thing is certain, however. As has been the case since the beginning, ANPA's every



ANPA directors attending the fall 1970 groundbreaking for The Newspaper Center were (from left, foreground) James L. Knight, Harold W. Andersen, Chairman Richard H. Blacklidge, W. Davis Taylor, General Manager Stanford Smith, Allen H. Neuharth, David R. Gottlieb and Richard C. Steele; (back row from left) Otis Chandler, M.W. Armistead III (obscured) Jos D. Smith Jr., Charles H. Perry, Peter E. Clark and Leo H. Small.

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SENT BY:ANPA ; 4-14-89 ; 14:28 ; 7036204557→ 4566218;#14

Photocopy-Preservation

Newspapering . . . Why Bother?

BY JERRY W. FRIEDHEIM

A centennial observance is a good time for us to ask ourselves why newspaper people bother to do what they do, and whether what they do matters anyway.



Jerry W. Friedheim

We do bother, of course, because newspapering in all its facets is a vibrant, exciting business filled with talented, thoughtful people dedicated to helping make progress possible.

Newspapering plants its feet on past wisdom and current reality, keeps its wits about it, and focuses on the future.

It's an alerting, involving and informing medium with a scope ranging from courthouse reporting and ad sales to telecommunications researching and satellite transmission.

It's bawdy and bustling. It's intense and innovative. It affects masses. It cherishes individuals.

We sit right in the middle of the information explosion, working hard to serve information consumers so well that at every step of the future's way the information society will remain a free society.

And will our society need us in the future?

Sure. It will need us:

- As a watchdog on government
- As a beacon in a murky world
- As a marketing voice for goods and services
- As a source of entertainment
- As a flagger of the important and the unpredictable
- As a vehicle for sharing the common knowledge that fashions community interest and understanding

But is all that excitement and challenge enough reason for us to bother?

No, the primary reason is simply because good newspapers matter.

They matter to democracy and to open, enlightened government.

They matter to safety, justice and equality.

They matter to the pursuit of happiness, to the blessings of liberty.

The point is: A strong, free press and a strong, free country are inseparable. You can't have one without the other. No society ever has; none will.

A free press cannot exist in anarchy; it requires social order.

And tyranny cannot exist with a free press operating.

Only we North Americans and a small number of our close allies and friends in this world enjoy a free press; only our societies are what we would call free; only our citizens have real individual liberties.

And that's why newspaper people bother. Because newspapering matters. Newspapers matter.

Friedheim is ANPA executive vice president and general manager, and publisher of **presstime**.

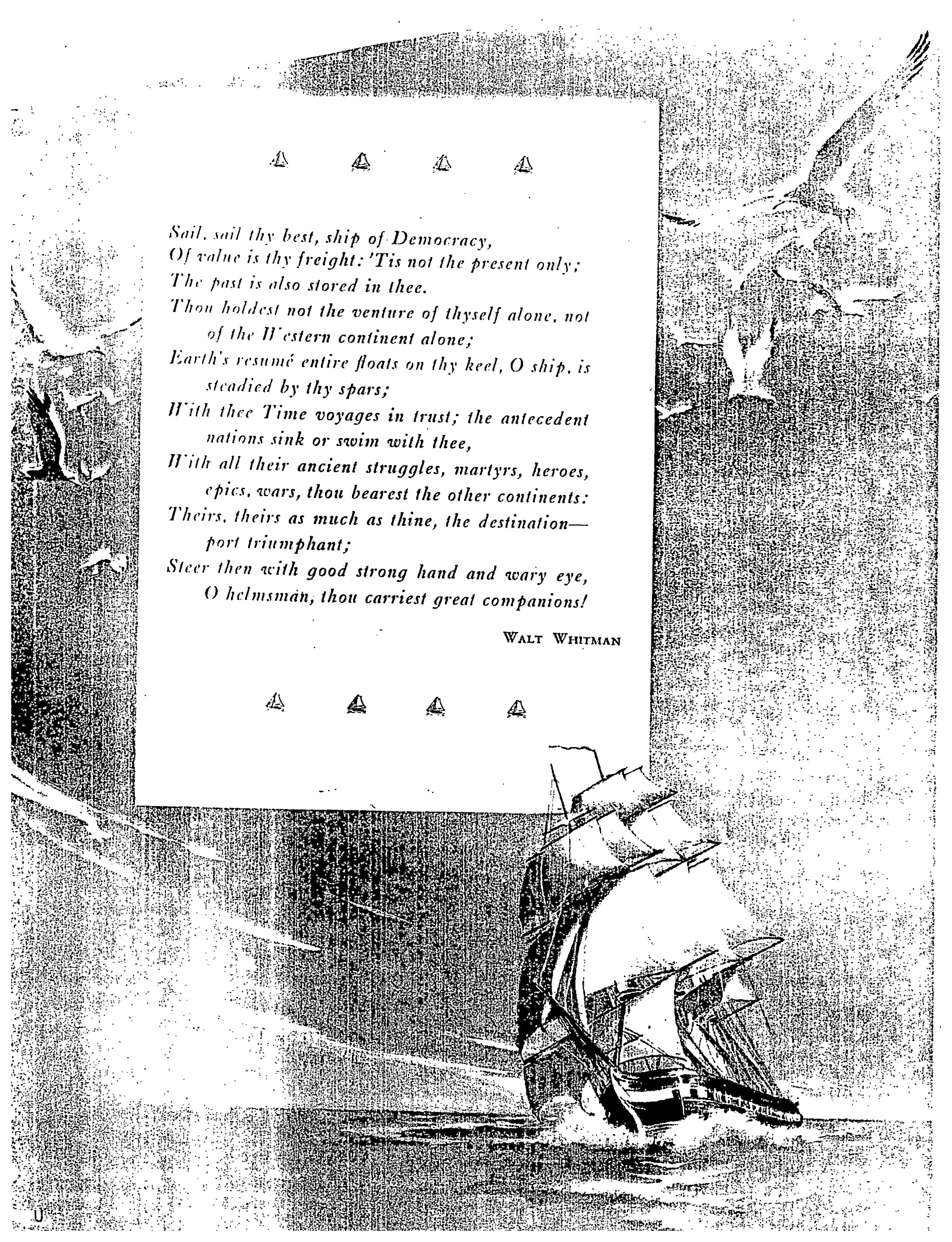
Two former ANPA general managers reminisce. See Essay, p. 56.

ANPA Elected Leaders

William Swaggerty, Philadelphia Record	1887-1889
James W. Scott, Chicago Herald	1889-1895
Chas. W. Knapp, St. Louis Republic	1895-1899
S. M. Kauffmann, Washington Star	1899-1902
Chas. M. Taylor Jr., Boston Globe	1902-1905
S. S. Rogers, Chicago News	1905-1907
Herman Ridder, New York Staats Zeitung	1907-1911
Bruce Haldeman, Louisville Courier-Journal	1911-1912
[illegible] H. Baker, Cleveland Plain Dealer	1912-1914
H. L. Bridgman, Brooklyn Standard-Union	1914-1916
H. L. Rogers, Chicago News	1916-1918
F. P. Glass, Birmingham News	1918-1920
T. R. Williams, Pittsburgh Press	1920-1922
Paul Patterson, Baltimore Sun	1922-1924
S. E. Thomason, Chicago Tribune	1924-1926
John Stewart Bryan, Richmond (Va.) News-Leader	1926-1928
Edward H. Butler, Buffalo Evening News	1928-1930
Harry Chandler, Los Angeles Times	1930-1933
Ogden Reid and Whitelaw Reid, New York Herald Tribune	1933-1935
Jerome D. Barnum, Syracuse Post-Standard	1935-1937
James G. Stahlman, Nashville Banner	1937-1939
John S. McCarrens, Cleveland Plain Dealer	1939-1941
Walter M. Dear, Jersey City Journal	1941-1943
Linwood L. Noyes, Ironwood (Mich.) Globe	1943-1945
William G. Chandler, Scripps-Howard Newspapers	1945-1947
David W. Howe, Burlington (Vt.) Free Press	1947-1949
Edwin S. Friendly, New York Sun and New York World-Telegram & Sun	1949-1951
Charles E. McCahill, Cleveland News	1951-1953
George C. Biggers, Atlanta Journal and Constitution	1953-1954
Richard W. Slocum, Philadelphia Bulletin	1954-1956
William Dwight, Holyoke (Mass.) Transcript-Telegram	1956-1958
D. Tennant Bryan, Richmond (Va.) News-Leader and Times-Dispatch	1959-1960
Mark Ferree, Scripps-Howard Newspapers	1960-1962
Irwin Maier, Milwaukee Journal and Sentinel	1962-1964
Gene Robb, Albany (N.Y.) Times-Union and Knickerbocker News	1964-1966
[illegible] Howard Wood, Chicago Tribune	1966-1968
William F. Schmick Jr., Baltimore Sun	1968-1970
Richard H. Blackledge, Kokomo (Ind.) Tribune	1970-1972
W. Davis Taylor, Boston Globe	1972-1974
Harold W. Andersen, Omaha World-Herald	1974-1976
Joe D. Smith Jr., Alexandria (La.) Daily Town Talk	1976-1978
Allen H. Neuharth, Gannett Co.	1978-1980
Katharine Graham, Washington Post Co.	1980-1982
William C. Marcil, Fargo (N.D.) Forum	1982-1984
Richard J.V. Johnson, Houston Chronicle	1984-1986
Alvah H. Chapman Jr., Knight-Ridder Inc.	1986-1987

Association Managers

James S. Metcalfe	1887-1889	Lincoln P. Palmer	1905-1939
C. M. Brennan	1889-1891	Cranston Williams	1939-1960
A. L. Morgan	1891-1892	Stanford Smith	1960-1974
William C. Bryant	1892-1905	Jerry W. Friedheim	1975-



Sail, sail thy best, ship of Democracy,
Of value is thy freight: 'Tis not the present only;
The past is also stored in thee.
Thou holdest not the venture of thyself alone, not of the Western continent alone;
Earth's resumé entire floats on thy keel, O ship, is steadied by thy spars;
With thee Time voyages in trust; the antecedent nations sink or swim with thee,
With all their ancient struggles, martyrs, heroes, epics, wars, thou bearest the other continents:
Theirs, theirs as much as thine, the destination—port triumphant;
Steer then with good strong hand and wary eye,
O helmsman, thou carriest great companions!

WALT WHITMAN

4/19/89 Impressive Drug Figures
Dave Rivait 7054

Outlays will ↑ by almost $1 billion from 89-90

16% ↑ in prevention activities over 1989
18% ↑ in treatment activities
& 10% ↓ in enforcement activities

From 89-90 there's a 4/2% drug prevention activities
17% ↓ in enforcement
24% drug treatment ↑

↓ outlays 2/3%

Drugs
1990

$.966 in budg. auth.
$.543 in outlays

WALL ST.J.:11-11-88

Now Bush Needs a Mandate Campaign

200 800 825

By ALBERT R. HUNT

George Bush's come-from-behind victory to capture the presidency will be hailed as a model campaign.

The GOP nominee not only erased a 17-point deficit in mid-summer to score a convincing 54%-to-46% win on Tuesday but he also shattered some political folklore. One was that a sitting vice president can't be elected president; Mr. Bush became the first since Martin Van Buren in 1836 to do that. Another was that there's an eight-year cycle in presidential politics, but George Bush became the first Republican since Herbert Hoover in 1928 to break that cycle.

Clearly the experienced Bush campaign did a marvelous job of tearing down Michael Dukakis. Democratic complaints of the GOP tactics reek of crybabying. Sure, some of it was sleazy. But politics, as the saying goes, ain't beanbag. Moreover, Michael Dukakis, the Brookline, Mass., reformer, parading around the country as a modern-day Huey Long the last couple days wouldn't pass a truth-in-packaging test.

This legitimate negative stuff worked. But unlike Ronald Reagan in 1980, George Bush failed to improve public perceptions about him personally or to give voters much idea as to what he would do as president. That may haunt a Bush presidency.

More Against Than For

The Wall Street Journal/NBC News surveys dramatically demonstrate that voters voted against Michael Dukakis more than for George Bush. Mr. Dukakis went from a 58% to 25% favorable rating among the public from early July, to a 46% to 42% negative rating on the last survey, which ended three days before the election. The attacks on the Democratic nominee plainly worked.

But for all the talk about George Bush polishing up his image starting with his successful speech at the Republican convention, the numbers tell a different tale. In early July, Mr. Bush had a 49% positive rating and a 42% negative, and what struck politicians was the high negatives. Four months later, on the eve of election, the Journal/NBC survey showed a practically identical 49% to 41% positive-negative rating for the vice president.

Actually, the public soured on both candidates. More than three out of every five voters wished they'd had a different choice: 56% of the Bush voters expressed displeasure with the choice.

Even more telling numbers were the congressional elections. The 1980 Ronald Reagan victory also produced a pickup of a dozen Republican senators and an additional 32 GOP House members. In a vivid contrast, the *Democrats* actually gained a Senate seat and five House seats on Tuesday.

"There obviously is no mandate for the president-elect; this was a vote in support of divided political responsibility," declared House Majority Leader Thomas Foley. The Washington state Democrat said the lack of any Bush mandate was due not only to his failure to carry Republicans in with him, but also due to the nature of the campaign: "This was as trivial and vapid as any presidential campaign in modern memory."

If the president-elect had taken a few risks and tried to lay out an agenda, it would have made his task over the next four years considerably easier.

Both Bush campaign chairman James Baker and pollster Robert Teeter—two darlings of the media and political establishment—are peddling an argument that Mr. Bush offered 200 specific proposals during the campaign and that that's the stuff of a mandate.

But the vice president did a good job of hiding most of the more important of those positions from the voters. In the critical closing week of the campaign, he never once mentioned aid to the Contras or his proposed cut in the capital-gains tax rates or the strategic defense initiative or any specifics on how to trim the budget deficit.

Moreover, the Bush campaign spent more than $30 million in advertising this fall and rarely was there any mention of these cutting-edge issues that are supposed to be the stuff of a Bush administration.

A more honest assessment is offered by Republican congressman Newt Gingrich, the conservative idea machine from Georgia, who sought to get the Bush campaign to set a governing agenda in the closing weeks of the campaign. Sensing victory, "they froze in place and decided not to take any risks," he acknowledges.

Rep. Gingrich, however, hopes the president-elect can rectify the situation over the next 10 weeks: "They now have to wage a second campaign to assert an agenda for governing."

Perhaps that campaign can succeed, too. More likely, however, is the suggestion of The New Republic's astute and conservative senior editor, Fred Barnes, who believes that because of the content-less Bush campaign, the new president "will be a eunuch on his honeymoon."

To some extent, Mr. Bush may be a victim of circumstances. Both Jimmy Carter, following Watergate, and Ronald Reagan, following Jimmy Carter, benefited from the comparisons with the immediate past. Poor George Bush has the misfortune of being compared with a highly successful predecessor.

Reagan Image Was Much Firmer

Nevertheless, it's unavoidable to recall that in 1980 the Reagan campaign, which supposedly wasn't nearly as well run as the Bush effort this year, succeeded in giving voters a much firmer and more positive image of the president-elect; voters felt a lot better about Ronald Reagan on Election Day than they did months earlier, and their views of Jimmy Carter were virtually unchanged. This year, voters felt a lot worse about Michael Dukakis on Election Day and their views of George Bush essentially were unchanged.

By any standard, the vice president's comfortable eight-point victory this week is impressive. If he had taken a few risks and tried to lay out an agenda, perhaps that margin would have been shaved a little. But it would have made his task over the next four years considerably easier, and then this might legitimately have been considered a model campaign.

Mr. Hunt is chief of the Journal's Washington bureau.

Good Cheer Is Absent as Bush, Dukakis Confer

By DAVID LAUTER
and JAMES GERSTENZANG,
Times Staff Writers

WASHINGTON—President-elect George Bush, capping a week of meetings with former rivals and potential adversaries, sat down Friday with his defeated opponent, Massachusetts Gov. Michael S. Dukakis, on a December afternoon when the chill in the air matched the chill in their words.

All week, Bush has breakfasted, lunched and shared warm words with political figures from Sen. Bob Dole of Kansas and the Rev. Pat Robertson on the Republican side to Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell and the Rev. Jesse Jackson among Democrats. Each time, he and his guest would emerge and deliver a cheery homily for the cameras. The Dukakis get-together was the last meeting of the series and with it came the reminder that some political wounds are too deep to be cured by a single chat.

Cursory Courtesies

As a brisk wind whipped across the grounds of Washington's Naval Observatory, where the vice president's official residence is situated, Bush stood next to Dukakis for only the briefest of photo opportunities and offered only the most cursory of courtesies.

"I look forward to working with the governor and other governors," he said.

Dukakis, for his part, said that he had talked to Bush about the importance of health care, anti-drug programs, homelessness and college opportunity and that he is "more than willing to work with [Bush] . . . if we can establish these as priorities."

"On the other hand," Dukakis said, "I don't want to see this budget balanced on the backs of the people who don't have decent health care or housing or education." Bush "faces a very formidable challenge," Dukakis added. "We've had eight years of endless borrowing and spending, and the chickens are coming home to roost."

Asked how he thought Bush was doing in his first few weeks as President-elect, Dukakis demurred: "I think we've got to wait for a while to start grading anybody," he said. "When he sends up his plan for getting that deficit down . . . we'll have a better sense of just what his priorities are."

The tone of the Bush and Dukakis comments were in sharp contrast with Bush's meeting earlier in the day with Robertson, who waged an intense, sometimes angry, struggle against Bush in the early part of the Republican presidential nomination process.

"Some people don't understand the campaign," Bush said later. "They think that when you run against someone in a campaign, that that injures friendships. And, as I saw the other day with the Democrats, that's not true. It's wonderful the way the American political system works."

Carries Message

Later, Robertson told reporters that he had carried a private message from South African Foreign Minister Roelof F. (Pik) Botha to Bush. Robertson recently visited South Africa, and spoke favorably of such steps as the decision not to execute six blacks who had been convicted in a death that occurred during a racial disturbance.

He did not mention several contrasting developments, such as political gains by ultraconservative white parties in South Africa and the resulting return of strict racial separation in several South African communities.

Robertson said that Bush expressed an interest in having "American black leaders go to South Africa . . . people like Jesse Jackson . . . to explore firsthand what's happening." Bush aides said they would not confirm or deny that Bush had made such a remark to Robertson.

While the meetings occupied Bush's public calendar this week, personnel remained his main preoccupation in private meetings. Craig Fuller, Bush's transition director, indicated to reporters at a briefing that the President-elect was trying to pick up the pace of his Cabinet announcements.

"Next week, the vice president will be in a position to make some additional announcements," Fuller said. "We looked at this week as a week to review the names that were pending on other Cabinet positions and some of the agency positions."

Suggesting that Bush did not want to name too many more Cabinet members until he is able to produce a few who are not white males, Fuller said that Bush had taken his time this past week "to try to ensure balance in the Cabinet, and preferred not to, on a piecemeal basis, make announcements one at a time."

Fuller also said that former Sen. John Tower (R-Tex.) remains under consideration for secretary of defense but that he did not know when Bush would announce his decision for that sensitive position.

"Sen. Tower's somebody in whom he [Bush] has a tremendous amount of confidence and a close relationship," Fuller said. "There may be others, there may be other approaches," Fuller said. But Tower, he added, "is one person who is, has been, and will always be seriously considered for the position."

But Fuller refused to specify when a final decision on the job might be made. "It's conceivable that within the next couple of weeks we will have reached the point where he's pretty comfortable with a final set of candidates," he said.

Bush has been meeting with potential candidates for the Pentagon's No. 2 job, deputy secretary, in an attempt to put together a defense team that would harness Tower with a high-ranking corporate manager from the defense industry. That second person would take the lead in attempts to streamline and reform Pentagon management practices, transition sources say.

Among those who reportedly have met with Bush to discuss the job is Donald B. Rice, president and chief executive officer of the RAND Corp., the Santa Monica-based research firm.

Rice, who has been interested in Pentagon posts in past administrations, has a key supporter in Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga), the powerful chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee. Rice was one of the Defense Department's "whiz kid" specialists in systems analysis from 1967 to 1970. In 1971-72, he was assistant director of the Office of Management and Budget.

Similar Rejection

One of Rice's colleagues from his OMB days, Paul H. O'Neill, who had been widely mentioned as a candidate for the defense post, Friday took himself out of the running. O'Neill, now chief executive at Aluminum Corp. of America, told the Associated Press that he has no interest in going to the Pentagon. "I can't come back" to Washington, O'Neill said, noting that he has only been in his current job 18 months.

Earlier in the week, Bush got a similar rejection from Norman R. Augustine, a Martin Marietta executive, who expressed reservations about his prospects for a return to the private sector, given restrictive conflict-of-interest laws now in place and tighter rules under consideration in Congress.

Those rejections have begun to raise concern that Bush's strategy of building a defense team before announcing a defense secretary could backfire.

Putting a secretary together with a deputy not of his own choosing could be a formula for trouble, said one Defense Department official. "Who needs the aggravation?"

While most of the public speculation about Cabinet posts has focused on the Defense Department, transition sources suggested that progress on other positions is being made. Bush has been reviewing potential nominees for U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, transition sources said, and one aide suggested that Alan L. Keyes, a former Reagan White House aide and unsuccessful GOP Senate candidate in Maryland, is prominently on the list. If named, Keyes would be Bush's first high-ranking black nominee.

And Washington lobbyists have been busy lining up support for competing candidates for secretary of the Interior, a post that traditionally has gone to prominent politicians from the West. Former House GOP leader John J. Rhodes of Arizona, who retired in 1982, and retiring Sen. Daniel J. Evans of Washington are believed to be leading candidates for the job.

Staff writer Melissa Healy contributed to this story.

Topic: CHANGING THE GUARD



Clark Clifford

Clark Clifford, 81, a Washington lawyer and longtime confidant of presidents, went to work for Harry Truman as special counsel in 1946. At the request of John Kennedy, he put in place plans for a smooth transition from the Eisenhower administration. He also handled the transition for President Johnson and served as Johnson's secretary of defense in 1968. Clifford, a recipient of the Presidential Medal of Freedom, was interviewed about the Reagan-Bush transition by USA TODAY's Paul Clancy.

White House transition will be Bush's easiest job

206/22

USA TODAY: President-elect George Bush is in the midst of putting his White House team together. How do you think it's working?

CLIFFORD: This transition will be the easiest I can remember, for two reasons. It's a Republican administration going out and a Republican administration coming in. Secondly, and this is unusual, President-elect Bush has been in the old administration for eight years. He knows the people, he knows the policies. He's going to keep a number of Reagan appointees in his Cabinet, I believe.

USA TODAY: Are there crucial things that the president-elect should be doing to get his new administration on track?

CLIFFORD: He will want to give careful consideration to the selection of his Cabinet. The director of the budget is extraordinarily important. And I think he's going to want to consider with great care any appointments to the Council of Economic Advisers. He will also want to spend time with the leaders of both the Senate and the House.

USA TODAY: Won't that be difficult because of the tenor of the campaign?

CLIFFORD: Quite difficult. The feeling, however, in a new administration is one of expressed cooperation. So you will hear Democratic leaders saying they will work together to make the machinery of our country run.

USA TODAY: How long do you think President Bush's "honeymoon" will last?

CLIFFORD: I don't believe there'll be any real honeymoon this time. He's not coming in really as a new president. They don't have to get acquainted. There's a good deal of disappointment and resentment on the part of the Democrats, so there will be speeches and friendly gestures, but down underneath that, Bush is going to have to deliver.

USA TODAY: You handled the transition between administrations for President Kennedy. How did that come about?

CLIFFORD: In July of 1960, Sen. Kennedy called me and we went out to his house and had breakfast. And he said, "My experience has been in the legislative branch. I don't have anybody around me who is experienced in the executive branch." He said he intended to win the election in November, but he didn't want to wake up the day after the election and say, "Now what do we do?" He asked me to prepare a plan for takeover of the White House.

USA TODAY: What happened after Election Day?

CLIFFORD: The day after the election, Kennedy phoned me from Hyannisport and asked if I had that plan prepared. I said I had and he sent a Secret Service man down to get it. He liked it and asked me to head his transition team. For the next two and a half months, I gave all my time to it. I went to look for precedents for one party taking over from another, and there weren't any. The last transition that took place when a different party came in was from Truman to Eisenhower in 1952.

USA TODAY: How was that handled?

CLIFFORD: The fact is, there wasn't any transition. Truman didn't like the way Ike had acted. Ike didn't like the way Truman had acted. You have no idea of Eisenhower's vocabulary. According to Ike, there hadn't been a legitimate marriage in Truman's family for four generations. And Ike was very thin-skinned. He was as sensitive as a young girl. The bitterness between them you could have cut with a knife. So we were left to our own devices.

USA TODAY: How did Ike get along with Kennedy?

CLIFFORD: He had not been very impressed with young Jack Kennedy. He thought he was too young. We set up a one-on-one meeting with them, and they got along well. President Eisenhower found young Kennedy bright and likable.

USA TODAY: How did your transition plan work?

CLIFFORD: When President-elect Kennedy appointed a man to an important post, we would immediately inform J. Edgar Hoover. He had a special unit set up to clear him as quickly as possible. Within a day or two, we would bring him into contact with his counterpart in the White House or in government. For two months before the new administration took office, these men in key positions were in there working. The new secretary of state would go every morning to the State Department. They had an office for him and he'd sit in on staff meetings. Same at Justice, same at Interior, same at Treasury. It worked well.

USA TODAY: Should appointees of President-elect Bush be doing the same thing?

CLIFFORD: Yes, but it's not as important as it is when parties change.

USA TODAY: What do you think the big concern is when a new president comes in?

CLIFFORD: National security, probably. We set up a meeting between the outgoing and incoming presidents and the three top appointees: State, Defense and Treasury. We met the day before the inauguration. It was in that meeting that we spent quite a long time talking about Southeast Asia. Ike said that we must support the forces of freedom in Southeast Asia against communist aggression. And that we must do our best to get our allies to work with us, but if we could not persuade them, then we must go it alone.

USA TODAY: What's the most pressing problem facing the Bush administration?

CLIFFORD: Doing something to curtail this enormous federal deficit, and also to make some sense out of this constantly increasing trade deficit. It hasn't helped any for George Bush to have gone up and down the breadth of the land saying he's not going to raise taxes.

USA TODAY: Do you think he will have to raise taxes?

CLIFFORD: Unless we're willing to go on and go to hell in a hand basket. You can't live this way for ever. So something's got to be done. He won't be in a position where he says, "Well, I'm sorry, I was wrong and I'm going to change my position." He cannot do that, or his name's mud.

USA TODAY: So the transition may be smooth, but it's not a happy job facing the new president.

CLIFFORD: Really a difficult task. Then there's another one. President Reagan is the best public relations expert I've ever seen in the White House. He goes out as one of our most popular presidents, with a popularity rating of 60 or 65. Unheard of. That's tough on Bush. They're constantly going to be comparing him with Reagan — his television style, his speaking voice, his general appearance, his body movements.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE April 5, 1989

FACT SHEET

THE EDUCATIONAL EXCELLENCE ACT OF 1989

The President outlined today a program for fostering excellence in education. The need for reform is evident:

- America is in an increasingly competitive world where investment in people, in human capital, is becoming a critical factor in a country's potential for economic growth and prosperity.

- Many of our young people are performing well below their capacity and below the levels of young people in other countries in such important subjects as science and math.

- Outstanding achievement by schools, teachers, and principals too often goes unrecognized and unrewarded.

- Achieving excellence in education requires high expectations, low dropout rates, and safe and drug-free schools.

- Parents lack adequate choice in the education of their children.

- Schools often find that it is difficult to hire capable teachers and administrators, even though many people possess outstanding subject matter knowledge and management skills.

- Projections of the future indicate an increasing shortage of people with advanced training in science and mathematics.

- Our country's historically black colleges and universities struggle to maintain their commitment to educational excellence.

The Educational Excellence Act would authorize several initiatives designed to address these problems.

This legislation builds on the accomplishments of the last Congress, which enacted into law the Augustus F. Hawkins-Robert T. Stafford Elementary and Secondary School Improvement Amendments of 1988. That law took significant steps toward improving elementary and secondary education by improving program accountability, reauthorizing the magnet school program and expanding parental choice, providing greater flexibility to local school districts in the implementation of bilingual education programs, enhancing parental involvement in programs for disadvantaged children, and stimulating education innovation and reform. The President's initiative proposes new efforts but complements in numerous ways the important work of the 100th Congress in pursuing educational excellence.

more

This legislation is based on four basic principles. These are:

1. Recognition of excellence -- Recognizing and rewarding our best schools, teachers and students will serve as an incentive for all schools, teachers, and students to improve their performance.

2. Addressing need -- This Administration believes that Federal dollars should assist those most in need.

3. Flexibility and choice -- Greater flexibility and choice in education -- both parental choice in selecting schools for their children and local school systems' choice of teachers and principals -- are important to providing the means and incentives for achieving educational excellence.

4. Accountability -- The Administration supports objective measurement and reward of progress toward quality education.

The Educational Excellence Act includes seven legislative initiatives aimed at fulfilling these important principles. Highlights of the individual initiatives follow.

Presidential Merit Schools

Program

- The Presidential Merit Schools program would provide cash awards to public and private elementary and secondary schools that have made substantial progress in raising student educational achievement, creating a safe and drug-free school environment, and reducing the dropout rate. This program would provide a powerful incentive for all schools to improve the educational achievement of their students.

Funding

- The legislation would authorize $250 million for fiscal year 1990, increasing to $500 million by 1993. These funds would be allocated by formula to the States, with State allocations based on school-aged population and State shares of funding under the "Chapter 1" Basic Grants program.

- The amount of each merit award would depend on State-established criteria, including criteria related to the size of the school and the composition of the student body.

Implementation

- Presidential Merit Schools would be selected by the State, assisted by a special State Review Panel, using State and Federal criteria. These criteria would focus on schools' progress in improving students' educational performance, creating or maintaining a safe and drug-free environment, reducing the dropout rate, and other, State-determined, factors. States could also give special consideration to schools enrolling substantial numbers or proportions of children from low-income families.

- A school selected as a Presidential Merit School would use its award for any purpose that furthers its educational program, including development or implementation of special educational programs, purchase of computers and other materials and equipment, and bonus payments to teachers and administrators. Private schools would be prohibited from using Presidential Merit Schools funds to provide religious instruction or for other sectarian purposes.

- The bill would also prohibit the reduction of other Federal, State, or local support to a school because of its receipt of a Presidential Merit Schools award.

Magnet Schools of Excellence

Program

- Currently, the Department of Education makes Magnet Schools Assistance grants to school systems undergoing court-ordered or voluntary desegregation. Because of the success of magnet schools in increasing parental choice and improving educational quality, the bill would create a Magnet Schools of Excellence program to support the establishment, expansion, or enhancement of magnet schools, without regard to the presence of desegregation plans.

Funding

- The bill would authorize $100 million for Magnet Schools of Excellence for fiscal year 1990 and each of the three succeeding fiscal years.

Implementation

- Local educational agencies (LEAs), intermediate educational agencies, or consortia of such agencies would apply directly to the Department for competitive grants. Applications would be selected for funding on the basis of the quality of the proposed project, the likelihood of its successful implementation, and the likelihood of its strengthening the educational program of the district or districts.

- The Department would encourage applications that recognize the potential of educationally disadvantaged children to benefit from magnet school programs and applications to establish, expand, or enhance magnet schools which enhance the diversity of educational offerings to students.

- No magnet school could be supported under the program for more than two years, or if the award would result in segregation or impede the process of desegregation.

Alternative Certification of Teachers and Principals

Program

- The bill would provide assistance to States interested in expanding the pool of talent from which to draw teachers and principals. Funds would support such activities as training, program development, and evaluation. The bill would provide incentives for States to develop, expand, or improve flexible certification systems designed to draw into education talented professionals with demonstrated subject area competence or leadership qualities.

Funding

- The legislation would authorize $25 million for fiscal year 1990 only, for one-time grants to the States. States would apply for the amount of funds they need or an amount that is proportional to their school-aged population, whichever is less; excess funds would be reallocated on the basis of demonstrated need.

Implementation

- Grants could support the design, development, implementation, testing, and evaluation of strategies for the alternative certification of teachers and principals, as well as training and recruitment activities.

- States would be required to consult with teachers, principals, parents, and others in developing their applications. Subgrants to school districts, intermediate educational agencies, colleges and universities, and consortia of these agencies would be authorized.

President's Awards for Excellence in Education

Program

- The success of American education depends heavily on the Nation's teachers. Because teachers who meet the highest standards of excellence deserve public recognition, respect, and appropriate financial rewards, our bill includes authorization for a new program of Presidential Awards for excellent public and private school teachers. The amount of each Presidential Award would be $5,000. Teachers receiving awards would be permitted to use their awards for any purpose.

Funding

- The bill would authorize $7.6 million for each of the fiscal years 1990 through 1993. Funds would be allocated to the States on the basis of the number of full-time equivalent public school teachers in each State.

Implementation

- In each State, winners of Presidential Awards would be selected by a Statewide panel, selected by the Governor, from nominations made by local educational agencies, public and private schools, parents, teachers, teacher associations, associations of parents and teachers, private businesses, business groups, and student groups. In making selections, the panel would use selection criteria developed by the State, subject to approval by the Secretary.

- Each State would be permitted to use up to 5 percent of its allocation for administrative expenses, including the cost of convening the Statewide panel.

National Science Scholars

Program

- The National Science Scholars program would encourage achievement in the sciences by providing scholarships to graduating high school students who have excelled in the sciences, and mathematics, and engineering. The scholarships would recognize the academic achievement of these students and would encourage them to continue their education in these academic areas at the postsecondary level.

Funding

- The bill would authorize $5 million for fiscal year 1990. The amount authorized would increase in increments of $5 million per year to a total authorization of $20 million for fiscal year 1993. These funding levels would ensure that the scholars would be supported throughout their undergraduate study and that a new group of 570 scholars would be selected each year.

Implementation

- National Science Scholars would receive up to $10,000 a year for each year of undergraduate education.

- Each State would nominate between four and ten students per congressional district to receive scholarships. The President would select a total of 570 scholars after considering the recommendations of an advisory board (30 scholarships) and the recommendations of Senators and Members of the House of Representatives (540 scholarships). The scholars would be nominated in accordance with specific academic achievement criteria that would be developed by the Secretary in consultation with a panel of experts in the sciences, mathematics, and engineering.

Drug-Free Schools Urban Emergency Grants

Program

- Prevention and education programs are frequently inadequate in urban areas with the most severe drug problems; more concentrated and comprehensive approaches are required. The bill would amend the Drug-Free Schools and Communities Act of 1986 to authorize a program of "Urban Emergency Grants."

Funding

- The bill would authorize $25 million for each of the fiscal years 1990-1993 for Urban Emergency Grants.

Implementation

- This amendment would authorize a small number of special, competitive grants to urban districts that have the most severe drug problems, so that these districts can develop and implement comprehensive approaches to solving these problems.

Historically Black Colleges and Universities

Program

- Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) play a vital role in the American system of higher education. In the past, these institutions offered many Black Americans their only opportunity for a higher education. Today, HBCUs enrich the range of educational choice. These institutions enroll approximately 220,000 students.

- Many HBCUs are financially weaker than comparable institutions. This bill would strengthen HBCUs by providing additional support for endowment matching grants. Endowment building is an especially effective way to create financial strength and long-term financial security for HBCUs.

Funding

- The bill would provide additional authorizations of $10 million for fiscal year 1990, $20 million for both fiscal year 1991 and fiscal year 1992, and $10 million for fiscal year 1993.

Implementation

- Federal funds would be available to match private sector contributions to the school's endowment fund. Income from the endowment fund could be used to improve academic programs as well as administrative management.

- All HBCUs currently eligible under Title III of the Higher Education Act of 1965 would be eligible to apply for grants.

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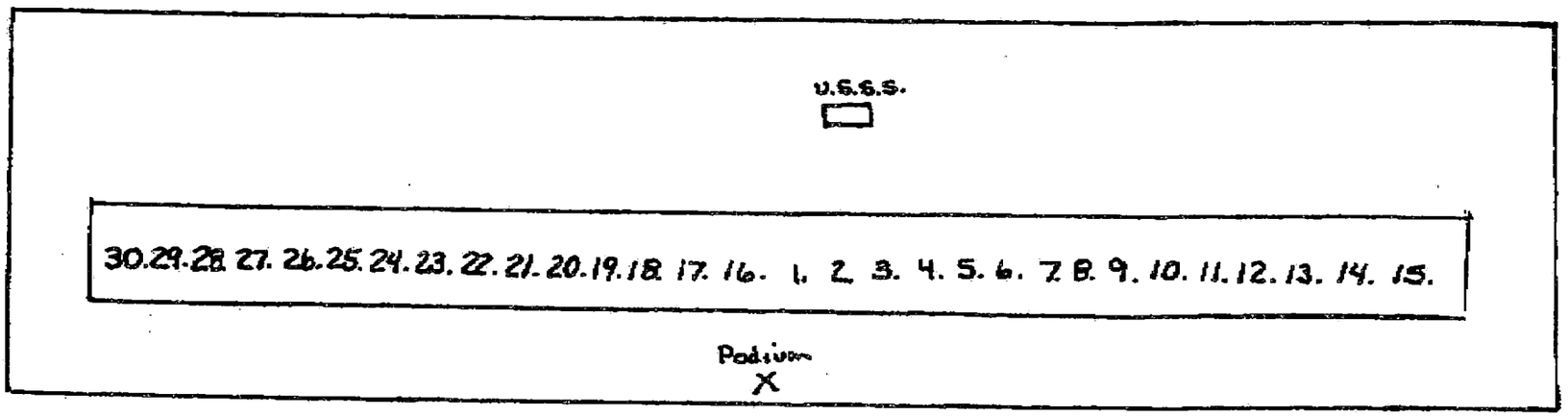
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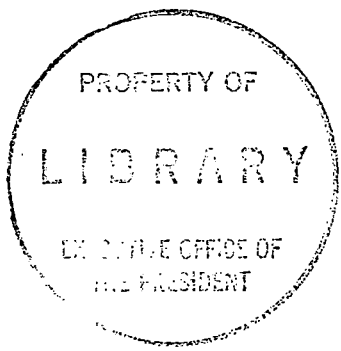
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archbishop of Utrecht, 1955-75; cardinal Mar. 28, 1960; titular church, St. Joachim. Archbishop emeritus of Utrecht.

Antonelli,* Ferdinando Giuseppe, O.F.M.: b. July 14, 1896, Subbiano, Italy; solemnly professed in Order of Friars Minor, Apr. 7, 1914; ord. priest July 25, 1922; taught church history, 1928-32, and Christian archeology, 1932-65, at Antonianum; rector magnificus of Antonianum, 1937-43, 1953-59; definitor general of Friars Minor, 1939-45; held various offices in Roman Curia; secretary of Congregation of Rites, 1965-69, and Congregation for Causes of Saints, 1969-73; ord. titular archbishop of Idicra, Mar. 19, 1966; cardinal Mar. 5, 1973; titular church, San Sebastian (on the Palatine).

Aponte Martinez, Luis: b. Aug. 4, 1922, Lajas, Puerto Rico; ord. priest Apr. 10, 1950; parish priest at Ponce; ord. titular bishop of Lares and auxiliary of Ponce, Oct. 12, 1960; bishop of Ponce, 1963-64; archbishop of San Juan, Nov. 4, 1964; cardinal Mar. 5, 1973; titular church, St. Mary Mother of Providence (in Monteverde). Archbishop of San Juan. Curial membership:

Causes of Saints (congregation).

Aramburu, Juan Carlos: b. Feb. 11, 1912, Reduccion, Argentina; ord. priest in Rome, Oct. 28, 1934; ord. titular bishop of Plataea and auxiliary of Tucuman, Argentina, Dec. 15, 1946; bishop, 1953, and first archbishop, 1957, of Tucuman; titular archbishop of Torri di Bizacena and coadjutor archbishop of Buenos Aires, June 14, 1967; archbishop of Buenos Aires, Apr. 22, 1975; cardinal May 24, 1976; titular church, St. John Baptist of the Florentines. Archbishop of Buenos Aires, ordinary for Eastern Rite Catholics in Argentina without ordinaries of their own rites. Curial membership:

Oriental Churches, Divine Worship, Catholic Education (congregations); Economic Affairs (office).

Arinze, Francis A.: b. Nov. 1, 1932, Eziowelle, Nigeria; ord. priest Nov. 23, 1958; ord. titular bishop of Fissiana and auxiliary of Onitsha, Aug. 29, 1965; archbishop of Onitsha, 1967-84; pro-president of Secretariat for Non-Christians, 1984; cardinal May 25, 1985; deacon, St. John (della Pigna). President of Secretariat for Non-Christians, 1985. Curial membership:

Evangelization of Peoples, Causes of Saints (congregations); Christian Unity, Non-Believers (secretariats); Justice and Peace (commission).

Arns, Paulo Evaristo, O.F.M.: b. Sept. 14, 1921, Forquilhinha, Brazil; ord. priest Nov. 30, 1945; held various teaching posts; director of *Sponsa Christi*, monthly review for religious, and of the Franciscan publication center in Brazil; ord. titular bishop of Respetta and auxiliary of Sao Paulo, July 3, 1966; archbishop of Sao Paulo, Oct. 22, 1970; cardinal Mar. 5, 1973; titular church, St. Anthony of Padua (in Via Tuscolana). Archbishop of Sao Paulo. Curial membership:

Sacraments (congregation).

Bafile,* Corrado: b. July 4, 1903, L'Aquila, Italy; practiced law in Rome for six years before beginning studies for priesthood; ord. priest Apr. 11, 1936; served in Vatican secretariat of state, 1939-59; ord. titular archbishop of Antiochia in Pisidia, Mar. 19, 1960; apostolic nuncio to Germany, 1960-75; pro-prefect of Congregation for Causes of Saints, July 18, 1975; cardinal May 24, 1976; deacon, S. Maria (in Portico); transferred to order of cardinal priests, June 22, 1987; prefect of Congregation for Causes of Saints, 1976-80.

Baggio, Sebastiano: b. May 16, 1913, Rosa, Italy; ord. priest Dec. 21, 1935; ord. titular archbishop of Ephesus, July 26, 1953; served in Vatican diplomatic corps, 1953-69; nuncio to Chile, apostolic delegate to Canada, nuncio to Brazil; cardinal Apr. 28, 1969; archbishop of Cagliari, 1969-73; entered order of cardinal bishops as titular bishop of Velletri, Dec. 12, 1974; prefect of Congregation for Bishops, 1973-84. President of Pontifical Commission for Vatican City, 1984; Chamberlain (Camerlengo) of Holy Roman Church, 1985; Sub-Dean of the College of Cardinals, 1986. Curial membership:

Doctrine of the Faith, Religious and Secular Institutes, Catholic Education, Evangelization of Peoples (congregations); Authentic Interpretation of Code of Canon Law, Latin America (commissions); Patrimony of Holy See (office).

Ballestrero, Anastasio Alberto, O.C.D.: b. Oct. 3, 1913, Genoa, Italy; professed in Order of Discalced Carmelites, 1929; ord. priest June 6, 1936; provincial, 1942-48, and superior general, 1955-67, of Carmelites; author of many books on Christian life; ord. archbishop of Bari, Feb. 2, 1974; archbishop of Turin, Aug. 1, 1977; cardinal June 30, 1979; titular church, S. Maria (sopra Minerva). Archbishop of Turin. Curial membership:

Council for Public Affairs of the Church; Bishops, Religious and Secular Institutes (congregations).

Baum, William Wakefield: b. Nov. 21, 1926, Dallas, Tex.; moved to Kansas City, Mo., at an early age; ord. priest (Kansas City-St. Joseph diocese) May 12, 1951; executive director of U.S. bishops commission for ecumenical and interreligious affairs, 1964-69; attended Second Vatican Council as *peritus* (expert adviser); ord. bishop of Springfield-Cape Girardeau, Mo., Apr. 6, 1970; archbishop of Washington, D.C., 1973-80; cardinal May 24, 1976; titular church, Holy Cross (on the Via Flaminia). Prefect of Congregation for Catholic Education, 1980 (reappointed 1985); grand chancellor of Pontifical Gregorian University. Curial membership:

Council for Public Affairs of the Church; Doctrine of the Faith, Bishops, Oriental Churches, Religious and Secular Institutes, Evangelization of Peoples (congregations); Council for Laity, Authentic Interpretation of Code of Canon Law (commissions); Patrimony of Holy See (office).

Beras Rojas,* Octavio Antonio: b. Nov. 16, 1906, Seibo, Dominican Republic; ord. priest Aug. 13, 1933; founded national Catholic youth movement; ord. titular archbishop of Euchaitae and coadjutor archbishop of Santo Domingo, Aug. 12, 1945; archbishop of Santo Domingo, 1961-81; cardinal May 24, 1976; titular church, San Sisto. Archbishop emeritus of Santo Domingo.

Bernardin, Joseph L.: b. Apr. 2, 1928, Columbia, S.C.; ord. priest (Charleston diocese) Apr. 26,

1952; ord. titular bishop of Lugura and auxiliary bishop of Atlanta, Ga., Apr. 26, 1966; general secretary, 1968-72, and president, 1974-77, of NCCB/USCC; archbishop of Cincinnati, 1972-82; archbishop of Chicago, July 10, 1982, installed Aug. 25, 1982; cardinal Feb. 2, 1983; titular church, Jesus the Divine Worker. Archbishop of Chicago. Curial membership:

Divine Worship, Evangelization of Peoples (congregations); Christian Unity (secretariat).

Bertoli, Paolo: b. Feb. 1, 1908, Poggio Garfagnana, Italy; ord. priest Aug. 15, 1930; entered diplomatic service of the Holy See, serving in nunciatures in Yugoslavia, France, Haiti and Switzerland; ord. titular archbishop of Nicomedia, May 11, 1952; apostolic delegate to Turkey (1952-53), nuncio to Colombia (1953-59), Lebanon (1959-60), France (1960-69); cardinal Apr. 28, 1969; prefect of Congregation for Causes of Saints, 1969-73; entered order of cardinal bishops as titular bishop of Frascati, June 30, 1979; Chamberlain (Camerlengo) of Holy Roman Church, 1979-85.

Biffi, Giacomo: b. June 13, 1928, Milan, Italy; ord. priest June 3, 1950; ord. titular bishop of Fidene and auxiliary of Milan, Jan. 11, 1976; archbishop of Bologna, Apr. 19, 1984; cardinal May 25, 1985; titular church, Sts. John the Evangelist and Petronio. Archbishop of Bologna. Curial membership:

Divine Worship, Clergy (congregations).

Caprio, Giuseppe: b. Nov. 15, 1914, Lapio, Italy; ord. priest Dec. 17, 1938; served in diplomatic missions in China (1947-51, when Vatican diplomats were expelled by communists), Belgium (1951-54), and South Vietnam (1954-56); internuncio in China with residence at Taiwan, 1959-67; ord. titular archbishop of Apollonia, Dec. 17, 1961; pro-nuncio in India, 1967-69; secretary, 1969-77, and president, 1979-81, of Administration of Patrimony of Holy See; substitute secretary of state, 1977-79; cardinal June 30, 1979; deacon, St. Mary Auxiliatrix in Via Tuscolana. President of Prefecture of Economic Affairs of the Holy See, 1981; cardinal protodeacon, 1987. Curial membership:

Council for Public Affairs of Church; Bishops, Oriental Churches, Causes of Saints, Evangelization of Peoples (congregations).

Carberry,* John J.: b. July 31, 1904, Brooklyn, N.Y.; ord. priest (Brooklyn diocese) July 28, 1929; ord. titular bishop of Elis and coadjutor bishop of Lafayette, Ind., July 25, 1956; bishop of Lafayette, Nov. 20, 1957; bishop of Columbus, Ohio, Jan. 16, 1965; archbishop of St. Louis, Mo., 1968-79; cardinal Apr. 28, 1969; titular church, St. John Baptist de Rossi (Via Latina). Archbishop emeritus of St. Louis.

Carpino,* Francesco: b. May 18, 1905, Palazzolo Acreide, Italy; ord. priest Aug. 14, 1927; ord. titular archbishop of Nicomedia and coadjutor archbishop of Monreale, Apr. 8, 1951; archbishop of Monreale 1951-61; titular archbishop of Sardica, Jan. 19, 1961; assessor of Consistorial Congregation, 1961; pro-prefect of Congregation of the Council, Apr. 7, 1967; cardinal June 26, 1967; archbishop of Palermo, 1967-70; entered order of cardinal bishops as titular bishop of Albano, Jan. 27, 1978.

Carter, Gerald Emmett: b. Mar. 1, 1912, Montreal, Canada; ord. priest May 22, 1937; engaged in pastoral and teaching ministry in Montreal; founder and president of St. Joseph Teachers' College and co-founder and director of Thomas More Institute for adult education; ord. titular bishop of Altiburo and auxiliary bishop of London, Ont., Feb. 2, 1962; bishop of London, Ont., 1964-78; vice president, 1971-73, and president, 1975-77, of Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops; archbishop of Toronto, Apr. 27, 1978; cardinal June 30, 1979; titular church, St. Mary (in Traspontina). Archbishop of Toronto. Curial membership:

Evangelization of Peoples (congregation); Christian Unity, Non-Christians (secretariats).

Casaroli, Agostino: b. Nov. 24, 1914, Castel San Giovanni, Italy; ord. priest May 27, 1937; entered service of Vatican secretariat of state, 1940; undersecretary, 1961-67, of the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs, and secretary, 1967-79, of its successor the Council for Public Affairs of the Church; ord. titular archbishop of Cartagina, July 16, 1967; chief negotiator for the Vatican with East European communist governments; missions included visits to Hungary, Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria; headed Vatican delegations to several UN conferences and the Helsinki Conference (1975); Pro-Secretary of State and Pro-Prefect of Council for Public Affairs of the Church, Apr. 28, 1979; cardinal June 30, 1979; titular church, the Twelve Apostles; president, 1981-84, of Administration of Patrimony of Holy See and Pontifical Commission for Vatican City; entered order of cardinal bishops as titular bishop of Porto and Santa Rufina, May 25, 1985. Secretary of State and prefect of Council for Public Affairs of the Church, July 1, 1979 (given increased responsibility in government of Vatican City State, 1984). Curial membership:

Doctrine of the Faith, Bishops (congregations); Non-Believers (secretariat); Authentic Interpretation of Code of Canon Law, Revision of Oriental Code of Canon Law, Institute for Works of Religion (commissions).

Casoria, Giuseppe: b. Oct. 1, 1908, Acerra, Italy; ord. priest Dec. 21, 1930; jurist; Roman Curia official from 1937; under-secretary, 1959-69, and secretary, 1969-73, of Congregation for Sacraments and Divine Worship; secretary of Congregation for Causes of Saints, 1973-81; ord. titular bishop of Vescovia with personal title of archbishop, Feb. 13, 1972; pro-prefect of Congregation for Sacraments and Divine Worship, 1981-83; cardinal Feb. 2, 1983; deacon, St. Joseph on Via Trionfale. Prefect of Congregation for Sacraments and Divine Worship, 1983-84. Curial membership:

Doctrine of the Faith, Sacraments, Oriental Churches, Causes of Saints (congregations); Authentic Interpretation of Code of Canon Law (commission).

Castillo Lara, Rosalio Jose, S.D.B.: b. Sept. 4, 1922, San Casimiro, Venezuela; ord. priest Sept. 4, 1949; ord. titular bishop of Precausa, May 24, 1973; coadjutor bishop of Trujillo, 1973-76; archbishop

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release April 14, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AND CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS
ON THE BIPARTISAN BUDGET AGREEMENT

The Rose Garden

10:24 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I'm joined here by the Speaker, the majority leaders of the Senate and House, the Republican whips of the Senate and House, the chairmen, and ranking Republican members of the Appropriations, Finance and Budget Committees, and members of the bipartisan budget negotiating group. And we've come together in support of a bipartisan budget agreement for Fiscal Year 1990.

When I presented my budget to the Congress on February 9th, I said we could and should meet several tests. We should meet fundamental obligations for protection of national security and the support of the needy; we should provide sufficient funds to advance high priority initiatives; and we should, at the same time, restrain the overall growth of spending so that we can meet the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings targets on time without tax increases.

And this plan allows us to meet those tests. It would provide for the same revenue level as I requested in my February 9th budget; it would provide $299.2 billion in defense outlays, compared with the $300.6 billion that I requested -- very close, and $17 billion in outlays for international affairs, compared with my request of $17.3 billion -- again, very close. And it would save $7.3 billion through entitlement reforms. And it would firmly cap domestic discretionary program growth at an overall growth rate of 5.9 relative to the previous year.

In total, it would reduce the estimated Fiscal Year 1990 deficit by about $24 billion as OMB would estimate the savings, and $28 billion as the CBO would estimate, relative to the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings baseline. It would thus bring the deficit down to $99.4 billion and that, of course, would be a $64 billion reduction relative to the current estimate of the Fiscal Year 1989 deficit.

The budget agreement does not complete the whole deficit reduction job that is to be done by Fiscal Year 1993, not by a long shot. But I am convinced that we will only be able to complete that job if we tackle it in manageable steps, on an orderly basis, in a constructive, bipartisan spirit. And this is a first manageable step, and this budget agreement is the first such agreement reached ahead of schedule and not framed in the context of crisis. This is not an insignificant point; it shows that we can make the system work, even with the branches of government controlled by different parties, and if we approach our jobs responsibly and are willing to stay with it, to stick with the task.

On February 9th, I said that we were prepared to negotiate day and night, in good faith, in a true bipartisan spirit, recalling that the American people wanted us to rise above partisan bickering and to produce. And Mr. Speaker, and Mr. Majority Leader, you have joined us in good faith and in bipartisan spirit, for which we are grateful, and I believe the American people will be grateful. And I'm particularly grateful to the negotiators, the chairmen, the members, ranking members, who participated in these long, long negotiations, and I commend them for their spirit of bipartisanship,

and I'm grateful to each and every one.

And so may I ask you, Mr. Speaker, and Mr. Majority Leader, as well as the ranking Republicans here, the Republican whips, and the Majority Leader of the House, to say a few words and then the negotiating group will be glad to take questions inside.

Mr. Speaker.

SPEAKER WRIGHT: Mr. President, thank you. This is not an heroic agreement, it's quite austere. It is not really adequate to address some of the truly serious domestic problems of our country, such as affordable housing, a crumbling public infrastructure, and a need to revitalize American industry through encouragements to additional research and development and modernization of American plant and machinery. But if we begin with the assumption that there can be no significant major increase in revenue, this agreement is probably about as good as we could do.

It is bipartisan; both ideological extremes have yielded. It does provide funds for some of the specific priority initiatives that the President has recommended and Congress wholeheartedly embraces -- things like day care, Head Start, funding for the drug war, and a few of those specific priority initiatives. It does reach the Gramm-Rudman deficit reduction targets, and it does permit us to stay on schedule and begin our process immediately for our appropriations bills and pass them again, as we're determined that we shall, on time.

So in those ways, it's a very good start in the direction of better cooperation and better performance.

SENATOR MITCHELL: The most significant aspect of this agreement is its existence, and that is no small accomplishment. For the first time, early in the process, outside the atmosphere of last-minute crisis, a genuine, good-faith effort has been made and an agreement has been reached on significant deficit reduction. It does not go as far and do as much as any of us would like. But in establishing an atmosphere of cooperation and bipartisanship, for which the President deserves great credit, it sets us on the right course.

No one should be deluded into thinking that this is the end of a process. It is the beginning of a process. Very hard choices lie ahead; much sterner measures will be required in the future. But if we approach those difficult tasks with the same positive spirit that has been exhibited in reaching this agreement, then we will solve them, for there is no problem that Americans cannot solve if they work together in good faith.

And, Mr. President, we commit ourselves to implementing this agreement in good faith and to working with you in the future when you and we will face much more difficult decisions.

REPRESENTATIVE FOLEY: Mr. President, I want to express our appreciation to you, sir, to the Speaker, to Senator Mitchell, to the Republican leadership of the Senate and the House for authorizing the efforts to come together with a budget negotiating group -- Secretary Brady and Mr. Darman, the leadership of the Senate and House; budget committees on both sides of the aisle have taken several weeks to hammer out this agreement. It's been said before, I'll repeat it, it's not as much as each of us individually might have wished; it does represent a very important movement on the part of the Congress and the Executive Branch, Republicans and Democrats, to establish an early consensus on the budget resolutions which will make possible the action on the appropriation bills in a timely manner.

Beyond that, it represents our continued determination to work together to deal with the tough budget issues that lie ahead that have been mentioned by others before me. But I particularly want to underscore the cordiality and cooperation of our efforts,

which I think express a new mood of bipartisan determination to make this government -- a Republican administration, Democratic leadership in the House and the Senate, with their Republican colleagues -- prove that we can address serious problems of the country productively and well.

Thank you, sir.

SENATOR SIMPSON: Mr. President, I appreciate your not letting me slip completely into the tulip patch there. And sometimes in these kinds of things we forget the beauty of days like this. This is really an extraordinary day of beauty in the blossoms and the sun, but that's not why I'm here. (Laughter.) I'm just here on behalf of -- no, don't look at your watch, that's all right. It shouldn't take over 45 minutes. I'd like to talk about the fate of the domestic uranium industry in America. (Laughter.) No, it's all right.

Let me say on behalf of Senator Dole, who could not be present today, that this is a very significant thing. We take it seriously; it is the beginning. Senator Byrd described it as that this morning. It is a first step, and that is indeed what it is. So I'm very proud and pleased to be a part of it. The Republicans will be participating and doing everything they can to see it come to fruition.

It will take a great deal of pressure off of us who legislate. We are legislators, that's our job. And with this pressure off of us, we can go about our work, as we have done in recent days, with a bipartisan agreement on Central America, other things out there -- so many things need to be addressed. And every one of us here know exactly what we have to do with the budget and this is a start toward the honesty of doing it -- entitlements and things like that that must be dealt with.

So thank you, and on behalf of the Republican Leader, thanks to all of those who have worked so hard. It is a daunting and terrible job and a tremendous physical and mental drain that it takes on the Democrat and Republican chairmen of these committees. I thank them.

REPRESENTATIVE GINGRICH: Thank you, Mr. President. On behalf of Mr. Michel, the Republican Leader in the House who could not be here, I want to say that we are very strongly supportive of this agreement. We agree with the sentiments that have been expressed; it is a very important bipartisan step towards a balanced budget. And I just want to say for a moment for the more conservative viewpoint -- it is very solid on defense; those who care about defense should be supportive of this agreement.

It is a major step towards a balanced budget, recognizing that we're going to need bipartisan cooperation over the next several years to get there. It is a very prudent agreement, and I would hope that most Americans would be grateful for this kind of bipartisan teamwork which has, in fact, taken us one more step in the right direction towards a balanced budget. And we'll do all we can in the House to help pass it.

Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: There's been one oversight and that is that I did not properly thank Dick Darman and Secretary Brady for their representing the administration so effectively in these negotiations.

Again, Mr. Speaker, and Mr. Leader, my thanks to you as leaders of the Congress, for their cooperation. And they will be available for questions in a bit. Many thanks.

END 10:35 A.M. EDT

((Grant))

BUILDING A BETTER AMERICA
APRIL 19, 1989

Since President Bush took office, he has addressed a series of tough issues, meeting both urgent short-term priorities and working toward solutions to the long-term challenges facing the nation. Relying on basic American principles -- traditional family values, choice, accountability, fairness, excellence, peace through strength -- the President is building a better America by:

1. Keeping the economy strong -- with no new taxes
2. Seizing international opportunities for peace
3. Investing in our future
4. Working for a kinder, gentler America

Keeping the Economy Strong -- With No New Taxes

- Record economic growth -- 77 months of economic expansion. Nearly 20 million new jobs have been created, and unemployment is now at its lowest since December, 1973. Real income of the median family set a new record in 1987 and continues to grow.
- A comprehensive budget proposal to the Congress and an unprecedented bipartisan agreement with the Congress on the budget reducing the Federal budget deficit with no new taxes
- A comprehensive plan to rescue the Savings and Loan industry

- An initiative for cutting the capital gains tax rate to encourage investment and create jobs and opportunity
- A proposal for raising the minimum wage to $4.25 coupled with a six month training wage

Seizing International Opportunities for Peace

- The signing of a bipartisan accord with Congress on Central America
- An eight-step program to support Polish political and economic reforms
- Intensive Presidential consultations with the leaders of 34 nations, including 18 bilateral meetings held during the Asia trip
- A plan to strengthen the international response to Third World debt
- Comprehensive foreign policy and defense strategy reviews initiated

Investing in Our Future

Improving Education

- Introduction of a comprehensive legislative package for educational excellence

Protecting our Environment

- A multi-agency commitment of federal resources to the Alaskan oil spill cleanup effort

- An announcement of an effort to seek legislative authority to ban hazardous waste exports, where agreements do not exist for their safe disposal
- A call for the worldwide phaseout of CFCs by the year 2000
- A plan of action to identify and prioritize clean up of defense and civilian radioactive waste
- A legislative proposal, already enacted by the House, to deregulate natural gas by January 1, 1993

Fighting Drugs and Crime

- A major $6 billion anti-drug abuse initiative focusing on education, rehabilitation, interdiction and enforcement
- Action in response to the drug emergency in the District of Columbia, including enforcement support, more prison space, and stepped-up efforts in prevention and rehabilitation
- A temporary ban on the import of certain types of semi-automatic weapons
- Action to suspend lease and grievance procedures to facilitate eviction of those involved in drug related criminal activity from public housing
- New aviation security initiatives announced by the Secretary of Transportation, designed to counteract terrorism in the skies

Working for a Kinder, Gentler America

Child Care

- A child care initiative to give low-income working parents greater choice and flexibility in meeting their child care needs
- Legislation to increase FY 1990 authorization for Head Start programs, to pay for the enrollment of up to 95,000 more four-year olds

National Service

- The creation of the Office of National Service in the White House, and leadership in the Administration's initiative on volunteerism

Welfare Reform and Medicaid

- Quick action to implement major welfare reform legislation that will help reduce long-term welfare dependency
- Expansion of the Medicaid program for pregnant women, infants, and children

Homelessness

- An initiative to provide over $1 billion in federal resources to help end homelessness and pave the way to jobs, permanent housing and health care

Ethics/~~Whistleblower Protection~~ Civil Rights

- A comprehensive ethics proposal to make uniform the standards among all three branches of government
- Whistleblower protection legislation to strengthen the rights of those who report misdeeds and mismanagement

Civil Rights

- Enforcement of the new Fair Housing Laws, to fully prosecute those found to be discriminating in housing opportunities on the basis of religion, race, age, ethnicity, handicap or family status
- Support by the Department of Justice for the objectives of the Hate Crimes Bill, which provides for the collection of data about crimes motivated by race, religion, ethnicity or sexual orientation

President Bush has set an agenda for the country. He is orienting us as a nation toward the future -- building a better America -- keeping America strong and at peace. It is an agenda that seizes this special moment in our history: leadership is the ability to see the shape of things to come, to address tomorrow's challenges today. George Bush is preparing the nation for the 21st Century.

# # #

KEEPING THE ECONOMY STRONG -- WITH NO NEW TAXES

Keeping our nation's economy strong is the key to managing change successfully. The news is good:

- **Record expansion:** April marks the 77th month of the current economic expansion.
- **Job creation:** Nearly 20 million new jobs have been created, and the unemployment rate has declined to 4.9 percent, a 15 year low. During this decade, America has created more new jobs than Japan and all of the nations of Europe combined.
- **Record income:** Per capita personal income, after taxes and inflation, has risen 17 percent during the expansion; real income of the median family -- the family exactly in the middle of the income distribution -- set a new record in 1987 and continues to grow.
- **Industrial output:** During this expansion, American industrial output has grown 33 percent compared with overall economic growth of 26 percent. This is double Europe's growth rate in industrial output and even slightly more than Japan's rate of increase during the same period.
- **Inflation under control:** We have had seven straight years of consumer price inflation under 5 percent. The Administration supports the Federal Reserve's efforts to restrain inflation while maintaining real economic growth.

The Administration and the Fed share the goal of ultimately achieving price stability -- zero inflation.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- **Presenting a budget:** The President ~~has~~ put forth a budget which addresses our fundamental obligations for protection of national security and support of the needy, while providing sufficient funds to advance high-priority initiatives. The President's budget restrains overall growth of spending and meets the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings targets -- with no new taxes.
- **Reaching a budget agreement with Congress:** The President and Congress announced on April 14 a budget plan to reduce the estimated FY 1990 deficit by about $64 billion below FY 1989. The deficit will be reduced to $99.4 billion, as required by the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law. **This is the first budget agreement reached ~~ahead of~~ before the start of the budget year and not framed in the context of crisis.**
- **Savings and Loan reform:** The Administration has transmitted the "Financial Institutions Reform, Recovery and Enforcement Act of 1989" to Congress, which includes provisions to:
  - ~~o~~ Assure financial integrity of deposit insurance by raising the annual premium rate for both commercial banks and S&Ls.
  - ~~o~~ Resolve the status of existing insolvent banks in an orderly fashion.

- Improve supervisory control by bringing S&Ls up to the same standards applied to commercial banks.
- Enhance enforcement of bank fraud provisions.

- **Capital gains tax rate cut:** In order to promote capital formation and investment, the President has proposed a 45 percent capital gains exclusion for qualified capital gains, making the maximum capital gains tax rate 15 percent, and a phased-in increase in the qualifying holding period from one year to three years. In addition, families earning under $20,000 would be exempted from the tax. The re-establishment of a capital gains differential will encourage investment and stimulate the creation of jobs.
- **Minimum wage proposal:** The President is seeking to minimize the adverse economic impact of an across-the-board increase in the minimum wage, and to keep job opportunities available for youth and minority workers. His proposal is:
  - A 27 percent increase in the minimum wage over three years to $4.25 for most workers.
  - Maintaining the current $3.35 minimum for all new employees of a firm on the job for less than six months, regardless of age or previous employment.
  - An increase in the small business exemption to include all firms, not just retail and service establishments, with gross sales under $500,000.
  - An increase in the tip credit from 40 percent to 50 percent.

- **International Trade:** The Administration broke a logjam in international trade talks which had existed since late 1988. This clears the way for negotiations that -- if successful over the next 20 months -- will greatly expand rules governing free and open trade. In breaking the stalemate, the United States advanced its proposal to correct and prevent trade distortions in agriculture.

SEIZING INTERNATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR PEACE

The Administration's policy of peace through strength is working. As he prepares for both the 40th Anniversary of NATO in Brussels and the economic summit in Paris, President Bush has undertaken a number of foreign policy initiatives to maintain America's position of world leadership.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- **Bipartisan accord:** On March 24, the President signed the Bipartisan Accord on Central America with top leaders of the Congress. The agreement sets out the broad outlines of a strong and effective U.S. policy in the region:
  - **Humanitarian aid:** Congress has agreed to support the Administration's request for continued humanitarian assistance for the Nicaraguan Democratic Resistance at current levels through the elections in Nicaragua scheduled for February, 1990.

- **Democracy and Regional Peace:** The burden of proof is on the Sandinista government to do something it has steadfastly refused to do from 1979 to 1989: keep its promises to its people and its neighbors. If those pledges of democracy and peace continue to be violated, we hope and expect that other nations will find ways to join us to condemn those actions. But if those promises are kept, we have an opportunity to start a new day in Central America.

- **Support for reform in Poland:** President Bush's initiative contains eight steps to support Polish political and economic reforms, in consultation with the Congress, the Polish-American community and our allies:
  - The President is asking the Congress to join him in providing Poland access to our Generalized System of Preferences, which offers selective tariff relief to beneficiary countries.
  - We are working with our allies and friends in the Paris Club to develop sustainable new schedules for Poland to repay its debt, easing a heavy burden so that a free market can grow.
  - The President is also asking Congress to join him in authorizing the Overseas Private Investment Corporation to operate in Poland.

- The President is proposing negotiations for a private business agreement with Poland to encourage cooperation between U.S. firms and Poland's private businesses.
- The U.S. will continue to consider supporting, on their merits, viable loans to the private sector by the International Finance Corporation.
- The President supports the Roundtable agreements that clear the way for Poland to be able to work with the International Monetary Fund on programs that ~~support~~ encourage sound, new, market-oriented economic policies.
- The Administration is also encouraging business and non-profit groups to develop innovative programs to swap Polish debt for equity in Polish enterprises; and for charitable, humanitarian and environmental projects.
- The President will support imaginative educational, cultural and training programs to help liberate the creative energies of the Polish people.

- **Bilateral meetings:** The President has met with a total of 34 foreign leaders while in office, including a series of 18 bilateral meetings during the trip to Emperor Hirohito's funeral. President Bush has ~~also~~ ? met with leaders from the Middle East, including Prime Minister Shamir of Israel, President Mubarak of Egypt and King Hussein of Jordan.
- **Inter-American Development Bank:** The Bush Administration successfully concluded negotiations which will lead to a substantial increase in the Bank's resources. The resulting

$22.5 billion in lending over the 1990-93 period will support development efforts in major Latin American debtor countries as well as the smaller countries of Central America and the Caribbean.

- **Initiative on Third World Debt:** The President's initiative to strengthen the international strategy on Third World debt has already received broad international support from both industrialized and developing countries. The approach is designed to promote sustained growth in developing countries by:
  - Emphasizing sound market-oriented economic policies in debtor countries, particularly measures to promote investment and repatriation of flight capital;
  - Increasing the focus on debt and debt service reduction to complement new lending by commercial banks;
  - Using resources from the World Bank and International Monetary Fund to catalyze voluntary debt and debt service reduction by the commercial banks.
- **Policy reviews:** President Bush has ordered a comprehensive review of foreign policy and defense strategies, soon to be completed.



INVESTING IN OUR FUTURE

EDUCATION

The President's actions to improve education are guided by **four key principles:** that **excellence** and success in education should be recognized and rewarded; that federal funding should be targeted to those who **need** it most; that **choice and flexibility** -- for educators, parents and students -- are important to educational reform and to achieving excellence; and finally, that greater **accountability** is needed in the education system to assure that students are actually receiving the highest quality education.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

The President proposed and sent to the Congress a comprehensive education package, **"The Educational Excellence Act of 1989"** which includes seven initiatives:

- **The Presidential Merit Schools program** -- to reward schools that have made substantial progress in raising

students' educational achievement, creating a safe and drug-free school environment, and reducing the drop-out rate.

- **A new Magnet Schools of Excellence program** -- to support the establishment, expansion or enhancement of magnet schools, increasing parental choice and improving quality education.
- **The Alternative Certification of Teachers and Principals program** -- to assist States interested in broadening the pool of talent from which to recruit teachers and principals.
- **President's Awards for Excellence in Education** -- to be awarded to public and private school teachers in every state who meet the highest standards of excellence.
- **Drug-free Schools Urban Emergency Grants** -- to provide special assistance to selected urban school districts that are disproportionately affected by drug trafficking and abuse.
- **A National Science Scholars program** -- to provide college scholarships to high school seniors who have excelled in the sciences and mathematics.
- **Additional funding authorization for Endowment Matching Grants at Historically Black Colleges and Universities** -- to strengthen HBCUs by building endowments, an especially effective way to create financial strength and long-term security.

THE ENVIRONMENT

President Bush, a long-time environmentalist, has taken strong action to protect the environment. He is working shoulder-to-shoulder with Interior Secretary Lujan, Energy Secretary Watkins, and EPA Administrator Reilly on a number of fronts.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- **Alaskan oil spill:** A Cabinet-level team was sent immediately to assess the Alaskan oil spill situation, and a joint federal-state resource recovery team was convened, with Secretary of Transportation Skinner now coordinating all efforts. Coast Guard Commandant Yost has returned to Alaska to assume personal oversight of developments, and the National Transportation Safety Board is investigating the accident itself. Exxon has accepted responsibility for paying for the cleanup, and for employing local civilian personnel necessary to control further damage.
- In addition to the considerable federal personnel and equipment already in place, on April 7, the President announced that Defense Secretary Cheney will make available U.S. Armed Forces personnel and equipment to assist in the cleanup. EPA Administrator Reilly will coordinate the long-range planning to restore the environment of Prince William Sound, and the President has ordered a review of existing contingency plans for accidents such as this. The

Departments of Interior, Commerce and Agriculture, with the State of Alaska, have begun a scientific assessment of damages to natural resources. Exxon has provided $15 million in up-front funding for this effort.

- The President has set up a special task force to address environmental concerns about oil and gas drilling off the coasts of California and Florida.
- **Cleaning up hazardous wastes:** The President announced he will be seeking new legislation to give the United States Government authority to ban all exports of hazardous waste except where an agreement exists with the receiving country providing for the safe handling and management of those wastes.
- Also, Secretary of Energy Watkins has put forth a plan of action to identify and prioritize clean up of defense and civilian radioactive waste.
- **Superfund:** The President is reinvigorating the Superfund hazardous waste clean-up program by directing EPA to take a number of actions, including more aggressive action to force private parties to clean up sites, stepped-up cost recovery, and better use of existing emergency cleanup authorities. EPA is also now finishing a priority review of Superfund to improve its operation.
- **Ozone depletion:** The President has called for a total worldwide phaseout of CFCs by the year 2000, provided safe

substitutes are available, in order to prevent further damage to the earth's protective ozone layer.

- **Clean Air:** The President committed his Administration to submitting a new Clean Air Act, including provisions for control of acid rain, ozone, and toxic air pollutants. Top Administration officials have begun drafting a bill, in consultation with leaders of Congress.
- **Clean water and coastlines:** The EPA has started a tracking system for medical wastes and the Justice Department has started a task force to prosecute these abuses -- the first step in a comprehensive program to help keep our beaches clean. The President is committed to end ocean dumping of sewage sludge by 1991.
- **Wetlands:** The President is committed to "no net loss of wetlands" and is directing his agencies to work toward that goal. He has also proposed $206 million in his budget to expand our parks and wildlife refuges.

FIGHTING DRUGS AND CRIME

With the confirmation of Bill Bennett as Director of National Drug Control Policy, and the trip by Attorney General Thornburgh to South America to meet with local leaders with regard to joint eradication and interdiction efforts, we have begun a new war on drugs in this country. The President believes a **four-pronged approach** is key: **education, rehabilitation, interdiction and enforcement.** The policy of this Administration

is **"zero tolerance."** No amount of illegal drug use is acceptable. This means dealing with both supply and demand.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- **Budget:** The Administration is requesting $6 billion in funding for FY 1990 to fight the drug war, increasing outlays by nearly $1 billion for drug education, treatment and enforcement.
- **Education:** The Administration is requesting nearly $1.1 billion for education and prevention efforts. This is a 16 percent increase over 1989, and includes funding for ongoing programs and new initiatives.
- **Rehabilitation:** Funding for drug abuse treatment will be increased 18 percent. The Administration is proposing over $700 million to expand the nation's capacity to provide treatment, particularly to the indigent, disadvantaged, youth, and expectant mothers.
- **Interdiction and enforcement:** The Administration is proposing over $4.1 billion for law enforcement programs in 1990, a 10 percent increase over 1989. This constitutes about 70 percent of President Bush's proposed drug budget. Substantial increases are requested in funding to strengthen inspection, interdiction, intelligence efforts and crop eradication programs, such as Operation Polar Cap, a federally led effort which broke up a $1.2 billion drug money-laundering operation. The President strongly supports

the death penalty for drug kingpins who commit drug-related murders, and will appoint judges who will strongly enforce the drug penalty laws.

- The Administration imposed a **temporary ban** on the import of certain types of **semi-automatic weapons**, and has undertaken an emergency study to identify the best means of reducing drug-related killings and other violent crime.
- In addition, the Office of National Drug Control Policy has responded to the drug emergency in the District of Columbia:
  - **A Metropolitan Area Task Force will be expanded**, with 57 additional representatives from federal agencies, and state and local police from D.C., Maryland and Virginia.
  - **More prisons:** The federal Bureau of Prisons will take custody of 250 inmates from the D.C. jail, and work to locate land for construction of a new prison.
  - **Enforcement:** The FBI will provide support to D.C. police in investigations of drug-related murders. Also, HUD will ease red tape to hasten the eviction of drug offenders from federally funded housing projects, and, with the D.C. police, will tighten security and maintenance at projects.
  - **Rehabilitation:** The National Institute on Drug Abuse will provide assistance in local treatment

efforts and will be authorized to establish three new outpatient clinics by 1990.

- **Prevention:** The Department of Education will provide the District with 50 percent more funds for drug prevention programs in city schools. The Department of Labor will work with the business community to increase job training for youth, and will provide a $100,000 grant to establish employee assistance programs for drug abuse.

move

- **Public housing:** The Bush Administration is working to make public housing drug free, to protect the rights of the vast majority of decent, law-abiding public housing residents. The Department of Housing and Urban Development has acted:
  - To suspend its lease and grievance procedures to facilitate eviction of those involved in drug related criminal activity;
  - To make drug use and trafficking a lease violation subject to eviction proceedings;
  - To target federal assistance to anti-drug security measures;
  - To revoke federal housing subsidies from those dealing in drugs;
  - To involve the private and voluntary sectors in efforts to rid public housing of drugs and give residents, especially young people, a stake in their communities and their futures.

WORKING FOR A KINDER, GENTLER AMERICA

CHILD CARE

The changing nature of American society is putting more and more pressure on the family. President Bush wants to put **choice** in the hands of parents so that they -- not government -- have the power to select the best and safest environment for their children.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- **Child care:** The President has proposed a child care package, the **"Working Family Child Care Assistance Act of 1989"** which:
  - Provides a new refundable child care tax credit of up to $1000 per child under four for low and moderate income working families.
  - Makes the existing Child and Dependent Care Tax Credit refundable.
- **Head Start:** The President has also transmitted legislation to the Congress which would increase the FY 1990 authorization for Head Start to accomodate a $250 million increase over FY 1989; this will pay for enrollment of up to 95,000 more four-year-olds in the program.
- The President has directed Secretary of Labor Dole to study the market for liability insurance to determine if liability issues impair child care.

NATIONAL SERVICE

President Bush has said that "From now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include serving others."

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- **Office of National Service:** The President established in the White House the Office of National Service to lead the Administration's national service movement. This Office will identify effective community service models and encourage others to duplicate them across teh country. It will challenge individuals, schools, businesses, civic and service groups, religious institutions and other entities to expand existing community service programs and to create new ones. The goal of this Office is to make service to others a central part of every American's life, and in so doing, to help to ameliorate the urgent ills which fray the fabric of American society. The Office will recommend changes in national social and economic policy to promote and encourage service, including tort law reform, welfare law reform and housing, to name a few.
- **Presidential Proclamation:** In signing the proclamation commemorating National Volunteer Week, April 9-15, the President challenged every American who cares about the future of this country to engage in some meaningful form of community service. He awarded 18 Presidential Awards to those chosen from nearly 2000 applications -- to winners who

embody the ideals of goodness, compassion and concern for others.

WELFARE REFORM

The Administration has developed a major new education and job training program to help recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children move off welfare and become economically self-sufficient.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- **Welfare reform:** ~~In accordance with this,~~ the Administration issued proposed rules on April 18 to **implement the major provisions of the Family Support Act of 1988.** The proposed rules are designed to:
  - **Target job training assistance** to those who are most likely to benefit and who are most at risk for long-term welfare dependency;
  - Provide that **basic education** is among the most important tools an individual needs for self-suffiency and that these must be key components of this training program;
  - Use **existing resources**, including existing training and education programs as well as volunteer organizations and business firms;
  - Provide **maximum level of flexibility** to AFDC parents in obtaining the type of **child care** that best suits their needs consistent with the Administration's legislative proposals on child care.

- **JOBS Program:** The Administration is proposing to spend $3.3 billion over the next five years implementing the JOBS program. The changes will pay benefits in the future by reducing the number of individuals on welfare. It is estimated that 138,000 families will be able to leave welfare rolls over the next five years as a result of this program.

EXPANSION OF MEDICAID

The Administration is committed to health care for the disadvantaged, calling for full funding of Medicaid, $37.6 billion for FY 1990, and increase of $3.3 billion, or 9.6 percent over the FY 1989 level.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- On April 18, the Administration forwarded to Congress proposed legislation to make federal programs better serve pregnant women, infants and children. The legislation would expand significantly the population Medicaid serves, making Medicaid available to 1.9 million more women when they became pregnant. The legislation would:
  - Increase by 374,000 the number of pregnant women and children eligible for Medicaid.
  - Foster greater participation in Medicaid by eligible pregnant women by providing services to pregnant women who are presumed eligible for Medicaid before a formal

eligibility determination is made; and by requiring States to operate outreach programs in areas of high infant mortality.

- o Entitle all children under age 6 who are receiving Food Stamps to Medicaid coverage for immunizations.
- o Make the Federal match rate for State administration expenses a uniform 50 percent by gradually reducing special administrative match rates ranging from 75 to 100 percent. The savings that would result would allow the legislative eligibility changes proposed by the President to be implemented within the current program's spending level.

HOUSING/HOMELESSNESS

President Bush has taken a number of steps to create an "opportunity society" of jobs, growth, housing and hope for Americans in need of a helping hand.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- o **Homelessness:** A proposal to provide over $1 billion in federal resources to help end homelessness and pave the way to jobs, permanent housing, health care and human dignity. President Bush's proposal calls for fully funding the McKinney Homeless Assistance Act and for a new $50 million matching grant program to promote public/private partnerships to assist homeless families and the mentally ill.

- **Enterprise zones:** A call for enactment of enterprise zone legislation, to give urban and rural areas the opportunity for jobs and hope for the future. President Bush asked Congress to enact labor and capital-based incentives to create jobs and entrepreneurial activity in our most distressed communities.
- **Affordable housing:** A commitment to making housing more affordable for low-income families, and to providing homeownership opportunities to the poor and young families just starting out. President Bush proposes to assist 109,000 new families in need of low-income housing, and has pledged to maintain assistance to those families already being helped. President Bush has also signalled his commitment to empowering poor residents of public housing to become homeowners through resident management and ownership of public housing.

ETHICS and Civil Rights

High ethical standards are central to this Administration, and we will enforce them -- strictly, comprehensively, fairly, and to the letter and spirit of the law.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

The President issued an **Executive Order** creating the **President's Commission on Federal Ethics Law Reform.** On March 9, the Commission filed its report and its recommendations to the President. **Legislation was sent April 12th to the Congress, and**

the President issued an Executive Order announcing ethical principles for the conduct of executive branch employees. The President's proposals include:

- o **A ban on outside earned income** for non-career Presidential appointees in the executive branch, including all employees in the immediate White House Office.
- o **Expanded financial disclosure** for all three branches of government.
- o **Prohibition of the conversion of political contributions** for personal or office use.
- o A **comprehensive review of federal campaign finance laws**, including an assessment of the negative effects of PACs on parties, competition and political debate. The President believes that PAC contributions to candidates should be eliminated, and he will be consulting with the Congress on this issue. President Bush is also opposed to federal funding of congressional campaigns.
- o **Deferral of tax liability** when an individual is required by his or her agency to divest assets in order to avoid conflicts of interest.
- o Strengthened **rules against abusing the revolving door for private gain at the expense of the public trust.** These rules also apply to the legislative branch.
- o A **25 percent pay raise for federal judges** was proposed in separate legislation submitted April 12, while the ethics reform legislation restricts their acceptance of honoraria.

President Bush believes that **honoraria** for Members of Congress should be banned. However, the President will not formalize that proposal until after he consults with Congress on the question of a **congressional pay raise.** He will include in that discussion the question of a **pay increase for certain executive branch positions.**

- The extension of the **Independent Counsel statute to cover the Congress.**
- The extension of the federal statute that prohibits employees from taking actions that enhance their own financial interest to cover legislative and judicial branch employees.
- The establishment of an **independent ethics office for the Congress**, to be headed by a clearly nonpartisan official, confirmed by both houses.
- The application of the existing **one-year post-employment "cooling-off" period** for senior executive-branch employees to the legislative and judicial branches.

WHISTLEBLOWER PROTECTION

The President supports public servants who revere the trust placed in them by the American people. To this end, he is working to protect those public servants who report waste, fraud and mismanagement.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- On April 10, the President signed S. 20, the **"Whistleblower Protection Act of 1989."** This law will strengthen the protections and procedural rights available to those federal employees who report misdeeds and mismanagement.
  - This new legislation will enhance the authority of the Office of Special Counsel, and whistleblowers will also now be allowed to take their cases to the Merit Systems Protection Board.
  - The statute alters the legal burdens of proof, making it easier for employees to be vindicated when they are wrongfully penalized by their supervisors for whistleblowing activities.

(weak)

CIVIL RIGHTS

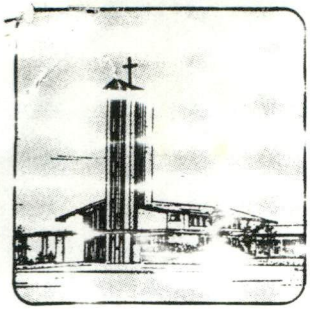
The Administration has taken a number of actions to protect the civil rights of all Americans, including several court actions in key civil rights cases.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- On March 8, the Department of Justice ~~submitted a letter to Senator Biden indicating support of~~ endorsed the objectives of the Hate Crimes Bill and voiced no opposition to the bill's enactment. The Hate Crimes Bill provides for the collection of data about crimes motivated by race, religion, ethnicity or sexual orientation.
- On March 13, Attorney General Thornburgh announced the filing of Federal housing discrimination lawsuits seeking

monetary damages and civil penalties under the expanded enforcement authority provided for the Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988, which provides for the prosecution of those found to be discriminating in housing opportunities on the basis of religion, race, age, ethnicity, handicap or family status.

# # #



FIRST LUTHERAN CHURCH of Torrance

2900 Carson Street • Torrance, Ca. 90503 • (213) 320-9920

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January 20, 1989

President George Bush
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D. C. 20050

Dear Mr. President:

Enclosed are letters that the seventh grade religion class of First Lutheran Schools have written. These students have been studying "God's Creation," and these letters express their concern about environmental issues that face our country and the world.

I hope you will enjoy these letters and are as impressed as I was that the youth of our nation can be committed to a clean and safe environment.

You might also find it interesting to know that in our school election, you were elected as president by a wide margin. Congratulations on your election and inauguration.

Sincerely in Christ,

David A. Deutscher

Pastor David A. Deutscher
First Lutheran Church

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

Dear Mr. President,

Would you please do something about the pollution. I am not saying you're not doing a bad job but could you put a little more effort into it. Couldn't you take the toxic waste and ship it into space? And the trash at dumps? Could you spend some money to see if you can take the trash out of the water? Can you raise the fine for littering and get some more volenteers to pick up trash? Can you invent a chemical that dissolves smog or at least make it so no one can see it? I know you're trying the best you can but people aren't responding. I'm glad you won the election.

Sincerly,
Tom Carrington