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Colls

Morti (609) 292-6000

Kon (201) 455-7800

Alexis

Bill (201) 487-5350 N.J. Rep.

Kathleen Walsh 201 538-7204

Crime & drugs major theme

if one seat is lost in the Gen'l Assembly Republicans loose control of the ~~St. Legislature~~ Gen'l Assembly. To ensure fair re-districting for the 1990's

(Smith/Blessey)
September 14, 1989
Draft Four
JERSEY

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: COURTER FUNDRAISER
NEWARK, NEW JERSEY
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1989

Congressman Gallo

Governor Kean, Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Bathgate, Ms. Donovan, Ladies and gentlemen, friends.

Let me begin, Tom, by saying how much I appreciate that introduction. And by adding that I am pleased to be with you.

I say that for several reasons. First, because it is always good to be back in a State whose motto is "Liberty and prosperity." And which in the last eight years has been devoted to both. If I could borrow a phrase, under Governor Kean liberty and prosperity have gone "perfect together."

Then, there's a second reason I am pleased to be here. It's that New Jersey is not merely the Garden State. In 1989, it is also among America's most politically crucial States.

And third, I am delighted to be in a State that was so kind to me in 1988. And to salute the entire Republican ticket. Its candidates. Its policies. And especially, those who toil so long and hard at the grass-roots level.

Today, I make this prediction. This State will cast a November vote for the Republican Party. And the cause of good government. A vote for our generation. And our children's generation. A vote for Republicans running for the State Legislature -- Republicans who will help ensure fair redistricting in the 1990s. A vote, in short, for the new New

Jay Leno
Johnny Carson
Eddie Murphy
Batman
Roseanne Barr
Katherine De Neuv
Arnold Schwarzenegger

Jersey -- Tom Kean's New Jersey. And for the man who can build upon what Tom's begun. Your next Governor -- Congressman Jim Courter.

Now, Jim's a long-time friend -- and I wanted to come up here and, personally, support him and the party that's supporting him. I know you wanted to hear a few words from a prominent national figure who can really fire up a crowd and generate some excitement [PAUSE] . . . Unfortunately, Boris Yelstin had to go back to Moscow -- so I'm here instead.

Yogi Berra

Believe me, I'm delighted. And believe me, too, when I say how much I admire Jim Courter. Like you, I know how Jim has enriched the length and breadth of the Garden State. And how come November 7, he can -- and must -- get the chance to do infinitely still more.

For the thing is: Jim Courter -- like the entire Republican ticket -- can help keep New Jersey proud. And its economy strong. Let me quote one of New Jersey's favorite adopted sons -- the noted philosopher, Montclair's Yogi Berra. Once, Yogi ruminated, "You observe a lot by watching." Well, we've observed a lot by watching Jim over the years.

Matt Beerman
Chief of Staff
Courter
935-8000

We've seen Jim fight to clean up our environment. And our schools. We've seen him fight the scourge of crime. And its companion midwife, drugs. We've seen him fight to slash auto insurance rates through a progressive and pioneering plan. And we've seen Jim embrace six of the most beautiful words in the English language [PAUSE] . . . "Read my lips -- no new taxes."

These positions embody Tom Kean's new New Jersey -- old values plus new thinking. And will reinforce, not wreck, the glory of the last eight years. Eight years of enlightened leadership -- Republican leadership. These positions express the belief that a record is something not to stand upon -- but to expand upon. And they will reaffirm the renaissance that makes New Jersey's success story worth retelling.

First, education: For here, as elsewhere, that story includes chapters bearing Jim Courter's name. Our Administration has proposed an "Educational Excellence Act of 1989" to reward achievement and demand accountability. Well, the truth is: That Act really began here.

In 1983 Tom Kean unveiled a great idea called Alternative Certification. A concept allowing talented Americans from every field to teach in the classroom. Today, Alternative Certification is a flagship of our Federal plan. And from the start, Congressman Jim Courter has supported the idea. Governor Jim Courter can do even more -- keeping academic excellence a New Jersey byword.

Secondly, the environment -- for here too, Jim has been a visionary. He has drafted initiatives for plastic recycling. And co-sponsored legislation to ban ocean dumping. He delivered New Jersey's first successful Superfund cleanup. And blocked oil drilling off the Jersey shore to save our beaches. Congressman Jim Courter has helped renew, and recover, our national heritage. Governor Jim Courter will put polluters in prison.

Then, we come to taxes. And here, the cleavage between the old and new New Jersies is especially clear.

The new New Jersey has been shaped by Tom Kean. It knows that private enterprise can meet the needs of distressed locales from Camden to Paterson. The new New Jersey -- a Republican New Jersey -- knows that the decade's tax cuts helped make prosperity a reality. For the more money people have to spend, the more they can help create growth, opportunity, and progress. That's the new New Jersey. The old New Jersey -- Jim's opponent's New Jersey -- enshrines quite another creed. It believes in policy of, by, and for the government. It regards the private sector as an enemy, not ally. And it repeats this equation, like sleepwalkers in the night: If it's commerce, regulate it. If it's a budget, break it. If there's a problem, Federalize it. And if it's income, penalize it.

Sound discredited? It is. In fact, I heard a story recently which typified this thinking. These two men were sitting in a Trenton restaurant talking about politicians. When the first noted that the syntax of an official needed a lot of working on. "Sintax?" roared the second man. "You mean to tell me those liberals down in Washington are putting a tax on that, too?"

That says it all for Jim's opponent: "Tax and tax, spend and spend." I'm sure you've heard the adage, "You're not getting older, you're just getting better." Well, the ideas I'm

John Beerman
225-5801

referring to are quite the opposite. You see, they're not getting <u>better</u>. They're just getting <u>older</u>.

Nowhere is the division of new versus old more clear-cut than in the areas of crimes, drugs, and punishment.

On the one hand -- the <u>left</u> hand, naturally -- Jim Courter's opponent thinks New Jersey's death penalty law is fine as it is. Even though not one cop-killer has ever been executed. My fellow Americans, anyone who believes that doesn't <u>deserve</u> to be Governor of New Jersey.

On the other hand, here's what Jim Courter believes. As a former local prosecutor, he believes that when we ask what kind of society Americans deserve, our answer is a Nation in which people <u>are</u> safe and <u>feel</u> safe. And toward that end, he supports our plan which attacks violent criminals on four fronts. New laws -- to <u>punish</u> them. New agents -- to <u>arrest</u> them. New prosecutors -- to <u>convict</u> them. And new prisons -- to <u>hold</u> them.

Jim Courter proposes to change the rules of the game dramatically -- <u>new</u> and honest solutions for a <u>new</u> New Jersey. He wants ~~mandatory~~ increased time for ~~firearms~~. No deals when criminals use a gun. And for the most heinous crimes -- well, Jim believes no penalty is too tough. For anyone who kills a law-enforcement officer, here is Jim's response -- To riff-raff and cop-killers, <u>you deserve not charity -- but the recompense of the chair</u>.

To repeat: New solutions -- honest solutions. From a unified State party. For a new New Jersey. And that's especially true in our war on drugs.

Two weeks ago, I announced America's first national comprehensive strategy to outlast drug use. Our drug budget totals almost $8 billion. And our plan has four major elements.

First, enforcement. We need more prisons, more courts, more prosecutors. And tougher sentences. You know where drug dealers belong? They belong in jail. The second part of our plan is interdiction; the third, treatment. Finally, our drug program aims to stop use before it starts. Through education and prevention. From grade school to graduate school.

We can win this war, and will. Through the values of self-discipline, self-reliance, and accountability. Perhaps no one better grasps those values than Jim Courter. And not surprisingly, few have more loyally supported our program.

Congressman Courter co-sponsored bills to toughen drug penalties, coordinate law enforcement efforts, and involve the military in combating drugs. Governor Courter can fight drugs on any and every front. Facing old problems in a new way -- by putting emphasis where the crisis is -- in the community. The communities that will decide the future of New Jersey.

That future will demand independent, tough-minded thinking. Thinking unburdened by bosses or graft. Leaders who know, with Jefferson, that "The whole art of government lies in being honest." And who have the vision that Jim has shown, for instance, in his auto insurance plan. Rejecting -- unlike his opponent -- the failed policies of pre-Tom Kean.

Because those failed policies aren't good enough. Not for New Jersey. Or America. Not in terms of drugs, or crime, or education, or the environment. Not in our hope -- our children's hope -- for a tomorrow even brighter than today.

Tom Kean knows that. That's why he's becoming President of Drew University. And why he agreed to serve as honorary chairman of our "Points of Light Initiative" to bring community service to every corner of America. And Jim Courter -- he knows it, too. For he knows what's on New Jersey's mind, and in its heart. And his goal is to use that heart to build a better life for all.

Can we achieve that goal? Of course we can -- both here and across America. How? Through a unified Republican Party -- working together to support the entire ticket. And through the old values and new thinking embodied by this campaign.

Look at Jim Courter -- a moral man, a family man. A man respected by his colleagues. A man you can depend upon.

Next, look at Jim's background. Peace Corps volunteer. Legal aide to the poor. Lawyer, author, prosecutor, Congressman. Look at how he knows this State. Pearl Buck once said, "I do not need books to tell me about New Jersey." Well, neither does Jim. He knows its market gardens and dairy farms. Its wetlands and highlands. He loves its Pine Barrens and Eastern Shore. Its diversity and beauty.

Look, then, at the State itself -- a State of pioneers and heroes. In diplomacy, look to Alexander Woolcott. Or in science, to Thomas Edison. Or in sports, to an American icon:

Vince Lombardi. Their values -- like Jim's -- reflect the new New Jersey.

Look, finally, to the kids -- and how new thinking can help build their new New Jersey. You know, the great statesman Tom Paine lived in Bordertown. And once he said, "We fight to make room upon this land for honest men to live in." Well, this election is about ensuring a great State for our kids to live in.

Coach Lombardi often said, "Winning's not everything -- it's the only thing." Fellow Republicans, winning may not be the only thing, but -- here, I speak from experience -- it's vastly prefereable to the alternative.

So, let us help Jim Courter preserve the new New Jersey. And help this State enrich our future, and our kids.

To New Jersey's Republican Party, a splendid fall of 1989. With more success than ever at the grass-roots level.

To Jim Courter come November 7, many happy returns.

And to all of you personally, my deepest thanks for allowing me to share this wonderful occasion. God bless you, and God bless this land we love -- the United States of America.

# # # #

Martin quotes

his people I admire
of

It was appealed
in '96

Do these names
questions on drugs & crime?

Republican
National
Committee

Stephanie -
Ask me about
this when you're
ready.
Ingrid

MEMORANDUM

TO: Stephanie Blessey
Office of White House Speechwriters

THROUGH: B. Jay Cooper BJC
Director of Communications

Don Todd DON
Director of Opposition Research

FROM: John Schilling JS
Deputy Director of Opposition Research

DATE: September 12, 1989

RE: Florio Material

Attached is the material you requested on Rep. Jim Florio. I hope this is helpful.

FLORIO'S CAMDEN: NEW JERSEY'S FUTURE?

After 12 long years of James Florio's representation, guidance, and leadership, the city of Camden, New Jersey is a mess. During a recent speech before the Senate, Senator Bill Bradley (D-NJ) summed up Camden's social, economic, and environmental predicament.

> "'... I want to bring to the attention of the subcommittee chairperson a dire circumstance affecting the city of Camden, NJ. Camden is one of the poorest, neediest cities in the country, in terms of schools, housing, roads, drug problems, and now its water supply is in danger.'"
>
> (Congressional Record, 6/1/89)

Representative Florio, who is a self-proclaimed champion of the environment, and a founding author of "Superfund" environmental legislation, has been unable to protect the water supply in his own district from toxic contamination. According to Senator Bradley:

> "'Nearly 12 years ago, chromium was detected in one of the major wells supplying water to the city of Camden. It is highly toxic, and it is a mobile contaminant, and it is really from an unknown source. Seven years ago a second well was contaminated. Five years ago a third well was contaminated, and now a fourth well is endangered.'"
>
> (Congressional Record, 6/1/89)

JIM FLORIO: A TAXING ALTERNATIVE FOR NEW JERSEY

In 1981, Representative James Florio predicted no quarter for New Jersey's tax-paying public:

"I do not see much in the way of tax relief in the near future."

(Region's Agenda, 10/00/81)

In 1981, Florio voted against the Reagan administration's "revolutionary tax cut policies," HR 4242, which cut individual income tax rates by a total of 25 percent (Congressional Quarterly, 8/8/81). Going against the will of the American people and the majority of Congress, Florio voted to keep federal taxes high. In fact, he opposed the whole Reagan agenda of limiting taxes and argued against similar policies for the state of New Jersey.

"'The economic policies of Reagan I'm clearly on record as being against,' said Florio. "'To superimpose them on New Jersey didn't make sense.'"

(Philadelphia Inquirer, 12/01/81)

Florio's solution for the federal budget deficit? You guessed it... Higher taxes:

"Florio also said the deficit could be trimmed by raising additional revenue. ... Congress should consider enacting a minimum corporate income tax, Florio said. 'For example, the insurance industry pays no taxes and the chemical industry pays no taxes,' he said."

(Trentonian, 12/08/84)

On the state level, the song remains the same. According to Jim Florio:

"'I am not prepared to unequivocally say that in the Florio administration there will never, never be a tax increase - that would be irresponsible.'"

(New York Times, 10/2/81)

When asked if he saw "the need for gernerating any new sources of revenue..." for the state of New Jersey, Jim Florio said:

"'I don't think it's appropriate to rule anything out... .'"

(Morris Today, 9/00/81)

In fact, he believes that inevitably, the peoples' mandate will demand higher taxes and more government spending for New Jersey.

"'... People at the local level are going to just stand for so many reductions in our educational system, and at that point if they feel the need to respond to those reductions, the only place one can respond is the local property tax.'"

(Morris Today, 9/00/81)

Even on the federal level, Representative Florio has sought to needlessly saddle New Jersey industries with higher taxes -- potentially destroying New Jersey jobs and stifling New Jersey's economy.

"Florio said his (superfund) bill would draw on a feedstock tax, a chemical derivatives import tax, a "waste-end" tax, and a broad-based corporate tax for funding, but did not specify amounts."

(Congressional Quarterly, 5/18/85)

"The President of Allied Chemical yesterday joined Rep. James Florio (D-1st Dist.) and others in voicing support for the reauthorization of the superfund at funding levels far in excess of those contained in the current law.

"Alan Belzer, during a House ways and Means Committee hearing, did not however, endorse the superfund bill as written by Florio and other House sponsors. ...

"Also opposing the measure was Edwin Holmer, president of the Chemical Manufacturers Association (CMA), who charged that the Florio bill is too expensive and tax increases contained in it could hurt the chemical industry. ...

"Belzer said the taxation formula contained in Florio's bill would place a severe economic burden to chemical manufacturers such as Allied.

"'The irony is that loss of business results not only in loss of jobs and economic loss to the community, but also loss of tax revenues for superfund. Thus everyone loses needlessly,' Belzer said."

(Newark Star-Ledger, 7/26/84)

Those who forget the past are doomed to re-live it. James Florio has always found the tax-increase option very attractive; opposing tax cuts, sponsoring tax increases and refusing to disavow higher taxes in the future. Most likely, he will again.

FLORIO BURNS HOLE IN TAXPAYERS' WALLETS

James J. Florio (D-NJ) is a spender -- a BIG spender. He likes to spend taxpayers' money. As evidence, consider the following:

Florio consistently finds himself at or near the bottom of the Congressional barrel in the vote ratings of groups interested in controlling excessive government spending.

- In the Competitive Enterprise Institute's vote rating for the 100th Congress, 1st session, Florio's vote record earned a whopping 6 out of 100 on "pork and subsidy" issues, a 7 on "budget" issues, and a 0 (!) on "tax" issues. Compare these dismal figures with those of the "average" House Representative, who rated 29, 40, and 47 respectively on the same votes. Even Florio's fellow House Democrats fared better on average: 14, 14, and 14 respectively.

- The "Congressional Spending Study" of the National Taxpayers' Union, for the 100th Congress, first session, rated Florio at 22 out of 100, winning him the dubious distinction of "big spender." House Democrats, on average, scored 25. For the 99th Congress, 2nd session, Florio rated a 24, again earning the title "big spender."

- The "Economy Voting Record" (100th Congress, 1st session) of the Watchdogs of the Treasury, Inc. found that in 19 out of the 25 votes considered, Florio opted for "spending" over "economy," voting in favor of "economy" only 21% of the time.

- The "Congressional Scorecard" of the National Tax Limitation Committee rated Florio at 12 out of 100 for the 100th Congress, down from a poor 13 out of 100 for the 99th Congress.

- Citizens for a Sound Economy's vote rating for the 99th Congress also found Florio among the fiscally irresponsible. His voting record earned a low 13 out of 100, as compared to an average for all House members of 39.

Florio has voted in favor of increased government spending for a number of special-interest boondoggles; in favor of an increase in the Congressional budget and Congressional salaries; and, in favor of increasing the government burden on taxpayers with higher taxes.

- In 1981, Florio voted against the Reagan administration's "revolutionary tax cut policies," HR 4242, which cut individual income tax rates by a total of 25 percent (Congressional Quarterly, August 8, 1981). Going against the majority in Congress, Florio voted to keep tax rates high.

- In 1985, Florio voted against HJ Res 372, the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings sponsored bill to control runaway government deficits and spending. Again in the Minority of Congress, Florio voted against fiscal responsibility.

- During deliberations over HR 4587, 100th Congress, 1st session, which appropriated funds for for Congressional salaries and other operations for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1989, Florio opposed a number of attempts to hold the line on excessive government spending. He voted against the Hefley amendment, which sought to slash $1.23 million from funds earmarked for Congressional operations such as salaries, expenses, committee employees, and other contingent expenses. He also opposed the Frenzel amendment, an attempt to to trim each appropriation in the bill by 1.6%. And he voted against the Gingrich amendment, which would have reduced the appropriation for official mail costs by $20 million. Florio opted for higher spending at the expense of taxpayers.

- Florio voted in favor of H. Res. 148, which allowed for consideration of H. R. 1827, the Supplemental Appropriations bill. The Rule waived the 1974 Budget Act so that the bill could exceed the ceiling set by the current budget. While eager to raise the ceiling on new spending, Florio voted against the Armey amendment to the bill, which would have struck language prohibiting the Department of Transportation from even studying the possibility of privatizing Amtrak as a way of improving services and reducing the deficit. He also voted against the MacKay amendment to the bill, which proposed to reduce discretionary budget authority. The amendment would have cut spending by 21% across the board, thereby meeting the ceiling set by the 1987 budget resolution. Once again, Florio chose higher spending, not fiscal responsibility.

- Florio voted against the Michel amendment to the Budget Reconciliation Act (HR 3545, 100th Congress, 1st session) which sought to replace $10.6 billion of a proposed $11.9 billion tax increase with funds to be saved by freezing spending in other areas. He went on to vote in favor of the Reconciliation with all its new taxes intact. Florio voted for more spending and higher taxes.

Is Superfund -- Representative Florio's brainchild -- the biggest boondoggle of all?!!

- Following Jimmy Carter's lead in 1980, Florio introduced "superfund" legislation (HR 5790), a $1.3 billion dollar plan to clean up hazardous waste sites. Unable to persuade Congress to vote for such a massive spending program, Florio introduced H. R. 7020, which provided for a less massive, $600 million superfund. This bill passed in the final days of the 96th Congress. At the time, Representative Edward Madigan (R-Ill.) argued against passage: "We have been left with a take-it-or-leave-it situation, and I would like to recommend that we leave it." His warning went unheeded.

JIM FLORIO: HAVING HIS CAKE AND EATING IT TOO

Although Representative James Florio often decries the massive Federal budget deficit, for most of his career as a legislator he has fought against fat-trimming cuts in federal programs. But he can't have it both ways. He can't have his cake and eat it too.

Florio often denounces the federal budget deficit.

> "Florio emphasized that the administration's top priority is to reduce the federal deficit."
>
> (Gloucester Times, 11/28/84)

But he is even more critical of attempts to control growing government debt. In 1985, Florio fought hard against the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings attempt to bring government spending and the federal budget deficit under control. More recently, he still complains of deficit-reduction measures. Consider the following, inserted into the Congressional Record by Florio, which, according to him, "'... sounds a clear warning regarding America's debt that we cannot affort [sic] to ignore.'"

> "... the government's annual deficit has tripled since 1981, and the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings remedy is now seen as a sham."
>
> (Congressional Record, 3/31/87)

> "'I am disturbed by this trend of abdication of responsibility. We saw it when Gramm-Rudman-Hollings was born and some invisible ax fell out of the sky to cut programs that helped keep people off the streets.'"
>
> (Congressional Record, 4/12/89)

The fact is, Jim florio likes to spend the taxpayers' hard-earned money. He often decries not-high-enough increases and/or cuts in the federal budget.

> "Representative James J. Florio, the Democratic candidate for Governor; today assailed President Reagan's latest proposals to cut Federal spending as 'another giant leap into the unknown.'"
>
> (New York Times, 9/26/81)

In 1981, Tom Keen recalled a conversation he had had with former President Gerald Ford. As former President Ford recalled,

> "'... every single time when I was trying to hold down the inflation rate and balance the budget, Florio and alot of others voted again and again and again to override me -- $11 billion more in expenditures for that Federal Budget if Jim had gotten his way with those overrides.'"
>
> (1981 Kean/Florio Debate)

Florio on Reagan's proposed Federal Railway Administration budget...

> "'This crazy administration wants to cut their funds way beyond where anyone else wants to cut their funds,' Florio said."
>
> (Camden Courier Post, 1/14/82)

And Amtrak:

> "Rep. Florio called the proposed cut in Amtrak's operating subsidy 'the death knell for intercity passenger rail service in the United States.'"
>
> (Asbury Park Press, 2/5/85)

Florio on veteran, health care, and retirement programs:

> "The Reagan administration shouldn't cut back on veteran, health care or retirement programs to alleviate its $200 billion deficit, Rep. James J. Florio told more than 100 members of the Greenwich Township Senior Citizens Association. ...
>
> "Florio emphasized that the administration's top priority is to reduce the federal deficit. He also said he is 'convinced that there is an agenda to get rid of veteran administration and health care programs.'"
>
> (Gloucester Times, 11/28/84)

Florio on the Enviornmental Protection Agency and superfund:

> "Florio, a leading critic of the EPA and its administration of the superfund, charged that the budget calls for a reauthorized superfund at $5.3 billion for five years, a figure he said is far too low. Florio added that the Administration's recommendation of a $1.3 billion agency budget is also too low."
>
> (Newark Star-Ledger, 2/5/85)

JIM FLORIO: THE KING OF CAMDEN

Congressman James J. Florio is a member of the Democratic Party's "Class of '74." Other prominent members of this class' of "Watergate babies" elected to public office in the turbulence of the 1974 elections include: Michael Dukakis, Jerry Brown and Gary Hart.

Like his colleagues in the "class of '74," Florio strives for a reputation as a politician interested in issues.

However, too often, Florio's high-minded ethical rhetoric becomes hypocritical when judged by the congressman's ethical practices and the actions of his closest political allies and advisers.

Too often, on the question of ethics, Florio seems to want his constituents to watch what he says, not what he does.

Jim Florio wants to run New Jersey. His influence over Camden County is an indication of how he would manage the state from Trenton.

Jim Florio's brand of "good-government" is costly and inefficient. Under a Florio adminstration, cronyism might become a growth industry. The governmental revolving-door that has made Florio and his aides rich could churn-out a state-wide legion of hacks making a quick buck off their connections.

Florio's record in Camden County exposes his philosophy of government: "Enter public service for private gain."

The evidence is convincing. Jim Florio, his aides and the taxpayers of New Jersey are not perfect together.

If you listen to Jim Florio long enough, you realize the more things change the more they stay the same. Florio reflects on his emergence from the "cesspool" [his word] of Camden County politics:

> "I saw people who became totally dependant on that cast of characters [the former Camden Democratic bosses]. They were pressured, overtly or less overtly, to do things they didn't want to do. I didn't want to be in that position, so I built my own army of followers in different constituencies."
>
> (The New York Times, 10/15/81)

Does Jim Florio, really want to clean up Camden? Once on the Camden County throne, Florio entrusted his political fiefdom to a "trusted advisor":

> "When he completed his studies at Columbia in 1964, he set his goals with the cool deliberation that is now considered typical of him. His goal: to be a Congressman from a city in the industrial Northeast with a political organization in need of new blood. He chose Camden."
>
> (Courier-Post, 9/27/87)

> "... once he had gained the upper hand, Florio delegated operation of the Camden County Democratic organization to his most trusted advisor, Joseph C. Salema. Florio distanced himself from the organization."
>
> Courier-Post, 9/27/87

After Florio overthrew the bosses things changed, right? Wrong. Welcome to the neo-bosses of Jim Florio's Camden County ...

> "Actually, I [Dr. Frank Kelly, Lakeland County Hospital administrator] was a bit naive when I first got here, but Dr. (Frank) Urban was the executive director then and Ed Sayers was the Demcoratic freeholder in charge of Lakeland and they explained to me the political facts of life.
>
> "The most famous words around here, the words I always heard from the politicians was: 'quid pro quo ... you do for me and I'll do for you.' I heard that a hundred times.
>
> "No one demands that you buy a ticket to a fund-raiser. They ask you to buy and if you elect to buy one, fine. If you elect not to buy one, that's fine too, but don't expect to get something down the line."
>
> Dr. Frank Kelly, Courier-Post, 10/1/87

Listen to the ethical relativism of Jim Florio's closest advisers, the neo-bosses:

> "[Former Florio chief of staff Joseph C.] Salema believes there is nothing wrong with government officials entering the public sector and doing business with people who had benefitted from their actions while in public office.
>
> "The test of impropriety, he said, is whether the business relationship is a quid-pro-quo payback for the former public official's actions while working for the taxpayers."
>
> Courier-Post, 9/28/87

> "[Florio finance-whiz Nicholas A.] Rudi said there is 'nothing inappropriate' with converting his political connections and governmental experience into business opportunities, even when he is benefitting from policies that he implemented himself as a public official."
>
> Courier-Post, 9/28/87

Listen to the ethical relativism from Florio:

> "Florio said there is nothing inappropriate 'unless you say that somone who works for the county could never become involved in business with the county for one year. While I can't say the appearance (of Rudi's post-government employment actions) looks good, I'm not prepared to say someone did something wrong.'"
>
> Jim Florio, Courier-Post, 9/30/87

Florio's political aides earned hundreds of thousands of dollars selling their political connections and the expertise they gained in the public sector. After Florio's cronies cashed-in, they dealt-in the "boss," Jim Florio.

At the federal level, Florio supports a law, the Ethics in Government Act, that if enacted at the state level would have prohibited the public service-private profit revolving door masterfully utilized by Florio and his cronies.

Why would Salema fear Florio's connection to Steinberg being made public?

"Steinberg has been a substantial contributor to Florio campaigns and is now chairman of Continental Bank of New Jersey ...

"... the other publicly recorded partners of Continental Realty Investment Co. are Rudi, Salema and Lee Sherman, Steinberg's Cherry Hill lawyer who negotiated the Lakeland contract with the county."

Courier-Post, 9/28/87

Or is Salema just covering his flanks?

"Since 1984, the [Steinberg-Lakeland] contract [to provide doctors at the county hospital] -- which does not have to be offered for bidding under state law because it is for professional services -- has been awarded to [Steinberg's firm] Coordinated Health Services Inc. of New Jersey.

"The Democratic freeholders rejected two lower bids for the contract this year and discouraged the University of Medicine and Dentistry of New Jersey from competing for the contract.

"Approval of first Coordinated contract was orchestrated in 1984 by then-Camden County Administrator Nicholas A. Rudi Jr. and Joseph C. Salema, then Florio's chief of staff."

Courier-Post, 9/29/87

Florio explains his proficient business instincts. Notice Congressman Florio never bothers to ask about the legality of the venture.

"Joe came to me and said he had a good business opportunity for me. I told to talk to my accountant, my accountant recommended it, and I got involved."

Jim Florio, Courier-Post, 9/28/87

Florio's cronies demonstrate their canny business skills:

"All the money used to finance the deal, including a $90,000 note that Rudi and Salema signed for their down payment, Salema explained, was financed by the lease-back agreement with Continental."

Courier-Post, 9/28/87

A chronology of the politics, power, connections and money that made Florio and his cronies hefty sums of cold-cash.

o **First, the poltically connected discover a disaster:**

"When bank regualtors ordered Continental Bank of New Jerey to get a $4.5 million cash transfusion in 1984 its chairman knew the doctor to call: Dr. William Steinberg.

o **Luckily, the person in trouble happens to be connected to powerful people:**

"But Robert Messick -- who in 1984 was chairman of the bank's board of directors and also served as U.S. Rep. James J. Florio's handpicked chairman of the Camden County Democratic Committee -- didn't know Dr. Steinberg as intimately as his close friend and political mentor, Joseph C. Salema did."

Courier-Post, 9/28/87

o **In fact, the troubled were already receiving assistance from the powerful:**

"[Nicholas A.] Rudi, who as county administrator had orchestrated the awarding of the county's medical service contract to Steinberg's Coordinated Health Services, was also the Camden County treasurer. In that capacity, he deposited $2 million of the county funds in the Continental Bank while serving on the bank's board of directors."

Courier-Post, 9/28/87

o **But sometimes this kind of friendly help is misconstrued:**

"'There was no conflict of interests,' said Rudi. He said he advised then-County Counsel Suzette Bonfiglio and then-Freeholder Director Joseph Borreggine that he was on the bank's board and would be, as county treasurer, depositing county funds at Continental Bank whenever the bank paid the highest interest rates."

Courier-Post, 9/28/87

o **When their scheme develops perception problems, they call on other appropriately placed friends:**

"Neither Borreggine -- currently executive director of the Camden County Improvement Authority which is headed by Rudi -- nor Bonfiglio, who is now acting Camden County Administrator -- saw any thing inappropriate.

"Nor did Salema."

Courier-Post, 9/28/87

o **Then the powerful people work their connections to the wealthy people:**

"A month before Messick made his call to Salema for help, Steinberg had impressed himself on Camden Democrats by holding a $500-a-ticket cocktail party for Florio that raised close to $15,000.

"Salema was in the center of the events. He had urged the freeholders to adopt policies that resulted in Steinberg's contract with the Camden County government. He had been in charge of Florio's fund-raising efforts. He had been instrumental in bringing Rudi into the county's government.

"Early in 1984, Rudi, as county administrator, had advised the freeholders to give Steinberg the medical services contract for the county hospitals at Lakeland."

Courier-Post, 9/28/87

"With the Lakeland contracts on track, Rudi resigned his administrator post April 30, 1984."

Courier-Post, 9/29/87

"Within weeks [after Messick's call for help], the Steinberg-Salema connection came to the rescue of Messick's bank and eventually took control of it."

Courier-Post, 9/28/87

"Seven months later [after Rudi's April resignation], Salema -- at Rudi's urging -- resigned as Florio's chief of staff. He formed a partnership with Rudi, Steinberg and Sherman called Continental Realty Investment Co. to bail out and take over a politically connected bank."

Courier-Post, 9/29/87
emphasis added

"In the month after getting Messick's call, Salema resigned as Florio's chief of staff to become assistant to the president of First People's Bank of Haddon Township. And another month later, in December 1984, the Democratic freeholders gave Steinberg an additional $775,000 contract at Lakeland. And Continental Realty Investment Co. was formed."

Courier-Post, 9/28/87

- **Logically, the powerful people and the wealthy people strike a deal for their mutual benefit:**

"On December 27, 1984 Stenberg and his three partners bought the Gloucester Township headquarters of Continental Bank of New Jersey for $855,000. The bank, whose chairman was Camden County Democratic Chairman Robert Messick, then leased the building back from the syndicate for $1,392,499 over a 10-year period."

Courier-Post, 9/29/87

- **With the gritty details of the take-over complete, the powerful silently deal-in their patron, Jim Florio:**

"Six months later -- after Steinberg, Rudi, Salema and Sherman had been elected to the bank's board -- Florio quietly became a partner in the real estate deal. He was given one-third of Rudi and Salema's 45 percent share."

Courier-Post, 9/28/87

- **And pay-off their financier:**

"Steinberg was later granted a contract to provide doctors for the emergency room of Our Lady of Lourdes Medical Center, Camden.

"'We kind of expected it,' said Dr. Martin Gallager, an executive of the firm bounced out of Lourdes in Steinberg's favor.

"'We knew Steinberg had an in, he had someone on the board.'

"The vice chairman of Lourdes' board of trustees was -- and is -- Nicholas A. Rudi Jr."

Courier-Post, 9/28/87

o **Robert Messick seems to speak for all the conspirators:**

"'**We're making money,**' beams Messick, who relinquished his bank chairmanship to Steinberg and now serves as another board member. 'Billy Steinberg turned it around and it's a good investment now.'"

Courier-Post, 9/28/87,
emphasis added

The Florio-Salema-Rudi-Steinberg alliance illustrates the multi-layered network of back-slapping that made the Continental Bank deal possible:

o **Making a mutually beneficial contact:**

"Salema remembers that he was introduced to Steinberg in 1981 by Dr. Thomas Falone, a Deptford osteopath who served as Florio's campaign physician that year, and worked for Steinberg at Methodist Hospital in Philadelphia.

..." Eventually, Salema was to pay Falone $5,000 in political action committee funds to serve as a consultant to help raise contributions from the health care industry. The Florio organization also got Falone's sister a post as assistant counsel for the Gloucester County Sewerage Authority.

Florio Friends always seem to get lucky.

o **The first contract:**

"The first contract was awarded by the freeholders Feb. 7, 1984."

Courier-Post, 9/29/87

o **Fundraising:**

"Twelve days later, Dr. Steinberg loaned $5,000 to 'The Committee for a Better New Jersey,' a Florio political action committee administered by Salema.

"The loan has never been repaid.

"Two days after the loan, Steinberg and his wife, Jill, contributed $1,000 each to the Florio congressional election campaign."

Courier-Post, 9/29/87

o **The second contract:**

"On April 3, 1984, the freeholders, on Rudi's recommendation, awarded a second contract to Coordinated Health Services for $530,833 to provide seven physicians and psychiatrists at Lakeland.

"Edward Sayers, then the freeholder in charge of Lakeland, recalls, 'I was in favor of contracting out the services so I voted for the contracts, but **Rudi is the one who worked them out and advised us to approve them.**

"The contracts got the enthusiastic support of then-freeholders Joseph Roberts and Brenda Bacon. The two are former Florio congressional aides who have since gone on to new opportunities.

"Roberts was elected this summer to the Camden City State Assembly seat that Florio once held.

"Bacon, ... an adviser to Florio on health care issues, has emerged as a business partner with Salema, Rudi, Florio and other members of the inner-circle."

Courier-Post, 9/29/87,
emphasis added

o **More fundraising:**

"In September 1984, many of Steinberg's doctors, lawyers and business associates attended a $500-a-head fund-raising cocktail party for Florio at Steinberg's Meadowbrook, Pa. home.

"Among those buying the $500 tickets were the Steinberg doctors at Lakeland.

"Although Steinberg and most of the guests weren't eligible to vote for Florio, campaign records indicate $15,000 was raised for Florio that night, the largest single source of contributions for his campaign that year."

Courier-Post, 9/29/87

o **More contracts:**

"On Dec. 18, 1984, the Camden County freeholders, a month after the Democratic majority was swept into office on the Florio-led ticket, gave Steinberg a $775,000 no-bid contract to provide therapists for Lakeland. Months later the contract was voided by a state judge who ruled the contract had to be offered for bids or dropped. It was dropped.

..."On Dec. 29, 1985, the last meeting at which the Democrats held all seats on the freeholder board -- they approved Steinberg's 1986 contract of $1,039,450 in advance."

Courier-Post, 9/29/87

o **More fundraising:**

"Steinberg once again tossed a $500-a-head Florio cocktail party at his home in September 1986. Again there is no direct campaign accounting figures to show how much was raised by the party but those records do indicate that upwards of $25,000 or about 7.5 percent of all the money raised for Florio's successful 1986 re-election campaign was raised on the date the party was thrown."

Courier-Post, 9/29/87

o **Another contract, in spite of two lower bids:**

"The job of analyzing the three proposals [from Coordinated, Pennhurst Group and Liberty Health Care] fell to Camden County Counsel Suzette Bonfiglio, loyal-Democrat and frequent Florio financial contributor who in five years rose from a $27,000-a-year assistant counsel to chief counsel in 1987 at $64,480 a year. When Siegfried Dahms resigned his county administrator's post in July, Bonfiglio was appointed as his temporary replacement.

"Although Steinberg's two competitors were bidding as much as $200,000 less than his $1.070 million proposal, Bonfiglio concluded that neither [of the new bidders] had a reliable track record on which to judge their performances.

..."The Republican freeholders complain that while Pennhurst and Liberty were giving their detailed proposals, Steinberg was treated to coffee and a soft couch in Dahms' office. Once his competitors revealed their bids, Steinberg came into the caucus with this three-and-a-half-page counterproposal and won the contract while his competitors cooled their heels in the hallway.

..."Voting along party lines, the Camden County Democrats gave Steinberg the $1.070 million contract for 1987."

Courier-Post, 9/29/87

o **Fundraising mixed with political connections:**

"Bonfiglio's endorsement of Coordinated was supported by Lakeland's executive director, Dr. Frank J. Kelly. He bought $500 tickets to the 1984 and 1986 Florio fund-raising parties at Steinberg's house and praised the work of the Coordinated doctors at Lakeland and worried aloud what a transition would do to state recertification of the hospitals."

Courier-Post, 9/29/87

o **Merit contracting, Florio style:**

"Why change? ... If you have competitors for a county contract and everything is equal: money, service, quality of work, what's wrong with giving it to a friend, to someone who helped get you elected?"

Democratic Freeholder Joseph F. Carroll, Courier-Journal, 9/29/87

Those outside the Florio political and financial machine, like Republican Camden County Freeholder Michael J. DiPiero, explain the detriments of the "public politics for private gain" game:

"But the taxpayers got screwed with the Coordinated Health Services contract. They're paying between $200,000 and $300,000 too much and they could get better-qualified doctors, but the Democrats wanted to help a heavy hitter to the Florio and Camden County Democrat campaigns make a fat $300,000 to $400,000 profit."

Michael DiPiero, Courier-Post, 9/29/87

Freeholder DiPiero verbalizes "The Florio Threat": He'll Do for New Jersey What He's Done to Camden County:

"Florio has an excellent chance of becoming governor next time. The Coordinated Health Services contract is a preview of the future."

Michael DiPiero, Courier-Post, 9/29/87

- **Preparing for his third gubernatorial run, Jim Florio feels the pangs of a guilty conscience:**

"Rep. James J. Florio, protecting his image for another run for governor, has sold his share in a questionable real estate deal and said he plans to donate the $25,000 profit to charity."

Courier-Post, 11/20/88

- **On the record, Florio is ethically pious ...**

"It was obvious in the congressional campaign that people are going to make misrepresentations about the appropriateness of this business investment. And in this new era of public accountability, one has to be even more sensitive to perceptions. I don't want to leave even the potential for anyone creating any doubts whatsoever."

Jim Florio, Courier-Post, 11/20/88

- **According to a frind of Florio's, the congressman won't take a deduction on his new-found charity:**

"Its [the $25,000 Florio gains by selling his interest in the bank building] all of the profits he would have made if the property were sold. He [Florio] get zip. He'll donate the money to a college and to make sure nobody starts hollering that he's using this as some sort of tax break, he won't use the $25,000 as a charitible deduction on his taxes."

A source close to the deal,
Courier-Post, 11/20/88

- **On background, Florio's motives become less pure and more expedient:**

"Sources close to Florio said he still considers the transaction to be above reproach, but decided to unload his share because opponents in his yet-to-be-announced run for governor might try to portray the deal as corrupt."

..."Privately, sources close to Florio said, the congressman was so convinced that he had done nothing wrong that **he stubbornly wanted to hold onto the property as a matter of principle.**

"However, they said, he began to change his mind during the past election as it became clear to him that political opponents intended to use the real estate transaction as an inference of possible coruption."

Courier-Post, 11/20/88
emphasis added

THE CAMDEN WAREHOUSE DEAL

The success of the bank deal spurred the Florio gang to move on another real estate deal. This time, Jim Florio and his cronies bought a Camden warehouse without paying a cent!

> "Similar to a bank real estate deal in Gloucester Township, the Florio syndicate paid nothing for their Camden warehouse."
>
> Courier-Post, 9/28/87

Like the bank deal, the politically-connected spot an opportunity:

> "In the autumn of 1985, [U.S. Sen. Bradley's campaign treasurer Peter J.] Burke learned that Cherry Hill Moving and Storage Co. wanted to sell its Camden warehouse for $77,500 and he brought the idea to his CFM partners."
>
> Courier-Post, 9/28/87

The cronies circle-the-wagons, deal-in the "boss" and formulate a "get rich quick" plan:

> "The group formed Pine and Haddon Associates which included: Burke, Salema, Rudi, [former Camden County freeholder Brenda] Bacon, Joseph P. Marino Jr. and Florio.
>
> "Florio, Salema said, was cut into the deal out of friendship."
>
> Courier-Post, 9/28/87

A tenant signed, the cronies go to a friendly bank for the mortgage:

> "The partnership agreed to buy the warehouse for $77,500. Armed with a lease, Burke went to First People's Bank of New Jersey which gave them an $80,000 mortgage."
>
> Courier-Post, 9/28/87

Mortage in hand, the cronies roll in their dough:

> "While not disclosing the terms of the lease nor the terms of the mortgage, Salema said the lease pays for the mortgage and all of the partnership's expenses."

You can almost hear one of these guy's exclaiming "we're making money!" Can't you?

CHRONICLES OF CRONYISM

The recurring story of Jim Florio and his political cronies entering public service for private gain.

Nicholas A. Rudi: A Profile of a Well-Connected Businessman and Part-Time Political Hack.

> "... [Rudi] said he wasn't motivated [to get involved in politics and government] by some great social crusade. 'I was interested in developing contacts' that could later lead to business opportunities, he said."
>
> Nicholas Rudi, Courier-Post, 9/29/87

Rudi carefully forges his connection to U.S. Rep. Jim Florio ...

> "Seeing politics as a stepping stone to future business success, Nicholas A. Rudi Jr. hitched his ambitions to U.S. Rep. James J. Florio's political star and today is reaping his rewards."
>
> Courier-Post, 9/28/87

Rudi's connections to Congressman Florio run deep:

> "Rudi served variously as treasurer or finance director of Florio campaign committees and has been chairman of The Committee for a Better New Jersey, a now defunct political committee that raised hundreds of thousands of dollars to support Florio's political ventures."
>
> Courier-Post, 9/28/87

> "[Rudi] served first as treasurer of Florio's unsuccessful campaign for governor in 1981. In 1982, he was appointed Camden County administrator ... assuming the post of county treasurer, too."
>
> Courier-Post, 9/28/87

Rudi's "pubic service" career provides a spring-board for private gain:

> "Rudi consolidated the [county's] money pouring into a myriad of accounts into one investment account that he controlled ...
>
> "Rudi's resignation as county administrator in 1984 came at a time when interest rates were tumbling and governing bodies across the country were refinancing billions of dollars in bonds to take advantage of lower rates.

"In Camden County alone that would mean nearly $1 billion in refinancing and for the firm appointed as the county's financial advisers it would mean $1 million in fees.

"The county chose as its financial adviser Consolidated Financial Management, a Clementon firm that had among its partners Rudi, Salema, and the man who brought them together in 1980, [U.S. Senator Bill Bradley's campaign treasurer] Peter J. Burke Jr. They landed contracts worth close to $1 million in fees to serve as financial advisers to Camden County, Camden County Municipal Utilities Authority, and the Gloucester County Utilities Authority."

Courier-Post, 9/28/87

A Camden County official, who help engineer Rudi and Salema's appointment as financial consultants to the Camden County Municiple Utilities Authority, comments on the competitive bidding procedures in Florio's fiefdom:

"I get calls every day from people, all with great credentials, but most of these people you don't know. So I get a call from Nick Rudi. I've worked with him before, so I return his call. I know he's good, he knows the financial business and it doesn't hurt that Joe (Salema) is his partner and they have that Florio connection. So they get the contract."

Courier-Post, 9/28/87

Rudi's private business ventures include:

- A partner with Joseph C. Salema, Florio's most trusted adviser, in a financial consultants' firm that has landed close to a million dollars in contracts from Camden and Gloucester counties and is expanding its influence throughout New Jersey.
- A partner with Florio and Salema in two real estate deals, both of which didn't cost them anything.
- A partner with Salema and several other members of Florio's inner-circle in a nursing home being built in Monroe Township.
- Vice chairman of the board of Our Lady of Lourdes Medical Center, Camden.
- Chairman of the Camden County Improvement Authority.

Courier-Post, 9/28/87

FLORIO AND HIS ASSOCIATES: MINING GOLD IN GARBAGE

Once again, Jim Florio's neo-hacks spot a public problem, create a solution and cash-in. Tough environmental standards closed landfill trash dumps. So Florio's cronies developed an innovative trash-to-steam system, left government and billed their former county employers at private-sector rates for their expertise. Along the way, they cut-in several friends and their political parton, Congressman Jim Florio. In deals such as this one, these Camden County neo-hacks prove their acumen in implementing Jim Florio's philosophy of government: enter public service for private profit.

Florio's cronies confront a public problem, Florio-style:

> "When tougher environmental laws closed most landfills, the Camden County Democrats in early 1984 responded with an innovative $108 million resource recovery plant.
>
> "As one of his final acts as county administrator, Nicholas A. Rudi Jr. helped the project through its embryonic stages and set it safely on track for development."
>
> Courier-Post, 9/30/87

Now out of government, they cash-in ...

> "Quickly Rudi and Salema's firm -- Consolidated Financial Management of Clementon (CFM) -- landed contracts with the Pollution Control Financing Authority of Camden County, the board of freeholders, and the county municipal utilities authority. These contracts have brought them more than $600,000 in fees so far and they stand to collect another $810,000 when the utilities authority goes out for permanent financing of $810 million in bonds."
>
> Courier-Post, 9/30/87

Never forgetting to take care of their friends who make a "contribution":

- **Send in the lawyers ... jack-up the legal fees:**

> "In the seven years since forces of Rep. James J. Florio took control of Camden County government, the county's legal staff has doubled in size with the congressman's disciples picking up $3 million in that time for patronage jobs.

"In 1980, excluding costs for bond counsel and labor relations, the county had 10 part-time lawyers on its payroll at a yearly cost of $203,885.

"This year the county has six full-time and 12 part-time lawyers who draw salaries of $485,224."

Courier-Post, 9/30/87

"Steven Weinstein, another close Florio adviser [Weinstein managed Florio's unsuccessful 1972 race for Congress], quit as county counsel in 1984 to join the Philadelphia law firm of Blank, Rome, Comisky and McCauley.

"The firm, whose lawyers have been generous contributors to Florio's campaigns, has received $610,000 in fees as the Camden County Municipal Utilities Authority's (CCUMA) bond counsel, and like CFM, stands to get $810,000 more when the authority obtains permanent financing."

..."In 1984, with the authority approaching the day it would have to issue $600 million in bonds, Blank, Rome lawyers contributed more than 9 percent of all the funds used in Florio's re-election campaign that year.

"The firm was named bond counsel to the CCMUA. It also was named bond counsel to the Gloucester County Utilities Authority, whose chairman, former Gloucester County Democratic Chairman Francis Witt, said he considers himself a Florio Democrat.

Courier-Post, 9/30/87

"... allies like former Camden County Democratic Chairman Robert L. Messick and Thomas A. Cucinotta -- Florio's close friend and law school chum -- have received patronage appointments as part-time lawyers for Camden County.

..."Messick, for instance, has been paid $154,564 since 1980 to represent the county when someone is committed to a mental institution.

"Cucinotta has been paid $179,500 since 1980 to serve as one of Camden County Sheriff William J. Simon's three part-time lawyers."

Courier-Post, 9/30/87

"For instance, the law firm of former Democratic freeholder Thomas Higgins has received $1.5 million in fees from the CCUMA since 1980.

..."After [former Camden County Democratic Chairman James] Joyce's death and [Camden Mayor Angelo] Errichetti's conviction on in the Abscam bribery investigation of federal and state officials, Higgins and his firm became generous contributors to Florio campaign committees, shelling out more than $7,000 since 1980."

Courier-Post, 9/30/87

The Florio revolving-door continues to turn ...

"Another Florio disciple, former Democratic freeholder M. Allan Vogelson of Haddonfield, who regularly contributes $500 to $1,000 a year to Camden County Democratic freeholder campaigns and $1,000 to the Florio campaigns, got an $80,000 retainer to negotiate contracts between the authority and Foster-Wheeler Co. of Livingston, the owner-operators of the plant. Foster-Wheeler made a $500 contribution to the 1985 Camden County Democratic freeholder campaign.

"Bear Stearns, a New York bond underwriting firm which contributed $3,000 May 6, 1986, to the Salema-administered 'Committee for a Better New Jersey' was given the $1.1 million job of selling the bond issue.

"Hayden-Wegman Inc., a New York engineering firm which received $443,362 in fees so far from the project, contributed $2,000 to the county Democrats' 1986 'New Direction' campaign committee and another $2,500 to the Salema-administrated 'Committee For A Better New Jersey.'"

Courier-Post, 9/30/87

The second-stringers follow the principles of their leaders:

"[John R.] Purves [a young attorney from the state Department of Environmental Protection] has resigned his full-time post as solid waste administrator and serves as the part-time executive director of the Pollution Control Finance Authority of Camden County. That role allows him to sell his expertise to government agencies elsewhere.

"Dahms resigned this summer as county administrator and as treasurer of the finance authority to form a partnership with Purves called Eastern Resources Management Co.

"Dahms, a private pilot who has served as Florio's aerial chauffeur in election campaigns, doesn't want to discuss what governmental agencies he is now negotiating with."

Courier-Post, 9/30/87

Another pot-of-gold looms on the horizon ...

"A 1984 study by the U.S. Agricultural Department suggested the construction of a wholesale food depot in Camden County to serve farmers from the state's seven southern counties.

"The freeholders asked the Camden County Improvement Authority in 1985 to recommend a site. A year and $35,000 later, authority chairman Nicholas A. Rudi Jr. -- with a consultant's study under his arm -- recommended that the freeholders use 400 acres of the county's 600-acre Lakeland hospital complex for the food distribution center.

..."Although the food distribution center is being proposed as a private venture, [Camden County Freeholder Matthew] Segal said it would be financed with bonds floated by the county, similar to the method the county used to finance a $108 million resource recovery.

"For that project, the freeholders created the Pollution Control Financing Authority of Camden County which paid Rudi and Salema's Consolidated Financial Management (CFM) $176,000 as its financial consultant."

Courier-Post, 9/30/87

Camden County conquered, Florio now sets his sights on the State of New Jersey. Can the taxpayers of the Garden State afford a governor and his closest associates who view the governor's mansion as the path to a bigger pot of gold?

Florio on the Office of Organ Transplantation:

"'... the budget submitted by the president is missing something. It's missing the $500,000 for the Office of Organ Transplantation. It's missing the $1.2 million for the national computer network to match donors with the people who are waiting.'"

(Congressional Record, 1/27/87)

Florio on the Consumer Product Safety Commission:

"'... for the past 8 years, the Consumer Product Safty Commission has suffered as a result of serious budget and personnel cuts... .'"

(Congressional Record, 2/6/89)

How does Florio propose to cut government waste and excessive spending? One solution he suggested was to create a new bureaucracy to monitor government spending.

"'The result of the Administration's budget cuts on the state next year will be approximately $33 million. I strongly feel that by trimming the state government we can bridge that gap. I am proposing an agency made up of current State employees that will systematically review State opperations and identify duplication and waste.'"

(New Jersey Professional Engineer, 10/81)

His favorite solution to excessive government deficits is even simpler: Just raise taxes.

"Florio also said the deficit could be trimmed by raising additional revenue. ...

"Congress should consider enacting a minimum corporate income tax, Florio said. 'For example, the insurance industry pays no taxes and the chemical industry pays no taxes,' he said"

(Trentonian, 12/8/84)

Jim Florio, as much as he complains about the federal budget deficit, always fights against cuts and for increases in the opperating budgets of all his favorite programs. His solution to problems of excess government spending is simple. Don't cut programs, just raise taxes.

- What is the assessment of Florio's superfund today? Speaking on the "MacNeil Leher News Hour," October 25, 1988, Florio summed it up best: "The Superfund at the federal level is an atrocity. The first five years of this program for cleaning up toxic waste dump sites resulted in, literally, billions of dollars being spent and not a single toxic waste site being cleaned up." Florio's greatest claim-to-legislative-fame is also his biggest boondoggle.

Florio has been burning a hole in taxpayers' wallets for too many years. Do you suppose that he will do better as Governor of New Jersey?

"If the federal Ethics in Government Law, which Florio voted for in 1977, applied to county officials in New Jersey, applied to county officials in New Jersey, that revolving door would close"

"The rationale behind the law, in Florio's view, was that while a person was in government he would not be tempted by the 'I'll-take-care-of-you-and-then-when-I-get-out-you-take-care-of-me" syndrome."

"It is the law under which President Reagan's former Chief of Staff Michael K. Deaver and former White House political adviser Lyn Nofziger were indicted on charges of lobbying the federal government soon after leaving the government.

"The law bars government officials who have had a 'significant decision-making or supervisory authority ... from representing anyone formally or informally on any matter pending before their former agency for one year after leaving government.

"The law provided a lifetime ban on former federal employee from representing anyone, including themselves, before their former agencies in connection with any proceeding that they 'personally and substantially prticipated in while working in the government.'

..."If I were in the State Legislature and someone offered that, yeah, I'd vote for it," Florio said in an interview.

Courier-Post, 9/30/87

"But Florio said he wouldn't have any difficulty extending such a law to the state and county government. 'You spell out the law and everyone then has to adhere to it.'"

Courier-Post, 9/30/87

Florio's rhetoric does not match his record. As a member of the New Jersey State Assmebly, Florio did not vote on three ethics in government bills similar to the federal law. On ethics, Florio voted in Trenton with his feet, not his conscience.

Florio relishes the perks of his Congressional power. As a result of his powerful sub-committee chairmanship, Florio receives numerous opportunities to speak for special-interest cash. Florio seldom declines these invitations ...

"I like the meetings because I can go and insult the hell out of them and still take their money."

Jim Florio, Courier-Post, 12/9/79

THE CONTINENTAL BANK OF NEW JERSEY DEAL

Florio Friends come bearing "gifts":

> "U.S. Rep. James J. Florio is a 15 percent owner of the Gloucester Township headquarters of Continental Bank of New Jersey. **Although his share is valued conservatively at $128,000, it didn't cost him a cent.** It was a gift to Florio from two of his most trusted advisers: his former chief of staff Joseph C. Salema and former Camden County Adminstrator Nicholas A. Rudi Jr ...
>
> "'I have a $30,000 liability,' [Florio] said. 'I don't consider it a no-risk obligation. What if the bank [that leases the building] doesn't pay the lease?'"
>
> Courier-Post, 9/28/87, emphasis added

Florio, the disappearing partner:

> "Salema insists that Florio is not a partner in the company that owns the bank real estate but is merely an 'untitled partner' of Rudi and Salema ...
>
> "The name of the company that owns the land and building where the bank office is located is Continental Realty Investment Co. Florio's own congressional financial disclosure form lists him as a partner in Continental Realty Investment, and not just a partner of Salema and Rudi."
>
> Courier-Post, 9/28/87

Further investigation into the bank deal indicates why Salema wants to keep the identity of this political patron secret:

> "[Salema's] insistance [Florio was an 'untitled partner'] was intended to separate Florio from other partners in the property, among them Dr. William Steinberg, head of a company that holds a no-bid, million-dollar-a-year contract to provide doctors for Camden County's Lakeland hospital complex."
>
> Courier-Post, 9/28/87

The Florio-Salema union is cemented in blood. In order to rule Camden County, "Brutus" Florio and "Cassius" Salema brought down "Caesar" Errichetti:

> "Salema marshalled that support into a guerrilla war on the Camden Democratic organization and continued to expand Florio's influence until June 1979 when Florio led a revolt that overthrew his mentor, then-Camden Mayor Angelo J. Errichetti, as king of the Camden County Democrats."
>
> Courier-Post, 9/28/87

The Camden County take-over complete, the patronage follows:

> "... Salema conceded he has successfully recommended the appointment of several county officials. His sister, Roberta Acampora, who was a Florio campaign aide, is the county's $48,000-a-year finance director. His cousin, Joseph S. 'Big Joe' Salema -- a retired policeman who chauffeured Florio during the 1974 campaign when his cousin wasn't available -- retired this summer from his job as the county's $45,760-a-year public safety director. He moved to Florida where he works part-time for his cousin's financial consulting firm."
>
> Courier-Post, 9/28/87

The public service revolving door leads to success in the private sector:

> "With former Camden County Administrator Nicholas A. Rudi and Peter J. Burke Jr. -- U.S. Senator Bill Bradley's campaign treasurer -- Salema formed Consolidated Financial Management Co. (CFM), whose major client is the government and agencies of Camden County.
>
> "In Camden County alone, CFM has landed $700,000 in fees and is positioned to pick up another $300,000 from the Camden County Municipal Utilities Authority alone.
>
> "Using their political contacts as well as the expertise that they developed in government, particularly in the financing of trash-to-steam plants, Salema and his partners have also landed government contracts in Gloucester, Morris, Bergen and Passaic counties in New Jersey and St. Lucie County, Florida."
>
> Courier-Post, 9/28/87

Joseph C. Salema: A Portait of a Political-Hack-Turned-Entrepreneur.

Salema's ties to Florio go back far and have taken him a long way:

"As a shaggy haired youth, Salema chauffered Florio around in his first unsuccessful bid for Congress in 1974 [note: This date is wrong. Florio's first campaign for Congress was in 1972.]. Now at 39, Salema has emerged as prime minister of Florio's South Jersey political kingdom."

Courier-Post, 9/28/87

Salema is the undisputed "boss" of Florio's finely tuned Camden County political machine:

"He's Jimmy's [Florio] best and most trusted adviser, stategist, whatever."

Robert Messick, Courier-Post, 9/28/87

"When Salema speaks, he speaks for Florio."

Former Democratic Freeholder Edward Sayers, Courier-Post, 9/28/87

"Florio said [to the Courier-Post] may be the only person whom he totally trusts and in whose integrity, loyalty and friendship he has great confidence."

Courier-Post, 9/28/87

"Joe ran everything in the county. Jimmy [Florio] isn't interested in getting his hands dirty."

A source close to Salema, Courier-Post, 9/28/87

(Smith/Blessey)
September 20, 1989
Draft Six
JERSEY
10:00p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GOP FUNDRAISER
NEWARK, NEW JERSEY
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1989

Governor Kean, Congressman Courter, Other superb members of the New Jersey Congressional delegation -- Dean Gallo, Marge Roukema, Chris Smith, Matt Rinaldo, Jim Saxton. Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Bathgate, Ms. Donovan, and other great New Jersey Republican leaders.

Let me begin, Jim, by saying how much I appreciate that introduction. And by adding that I am pleased to be with you.

It is always good to be back in a State whose motto is "Liberty and prosperity." And which in the last eight years has had a Governor devoted to both. If I could borrow a phrase, under Governor Kean liberty and prosperity have been "perfect together."

It is always a pleasure, too, to return to a State which was so very kind to me in 1988. And to salute the entire Republican ticket. Its candidates. Its ideas and vision. And especially, those of you who toil so long and hard at the grass-roots level.

But I've come to Newark today for an even more important reason. This reason goes beyond party to the essence of this campaign. **New Jersey's elections are among the most crucial in America.**

This election will decide whether New Jersey builds on what you began eight years ago. Or whether it risks everything by

returning to the past. Whether New Jersey has the inspired leadership it needs to win the war on drugs and crime. Or whether it reverts to failed social policies that blame everyone but the criminal.

This election will decide whether New Jersey continues to have the kind of leadership which balances a sound economy and sound ecology. And whether its leadership says "No" to higher taxes and "Yes" to extending the prosperity of the last eight years.

That's what this election will decide. It's that important. It's that clear-cut. And today I make a prediction. This November, New Jersey will make the right decision. A decision to cast its vote for the future . . . for the cause of good government . . . for the Republican Party [PAUSE] . . . A vote, in short, for the new New Jersey.

That means a vote for Republicans running for the General Assembly -- Republicans who will help ensure fair redistricting in the 1990s. And a vote for Republicans running at the local and county level. It means a vote for candidates who'll take a tough approach to crooks and thugs. And perhaps most of all, it means a vote for the man who can move your State into the coming decade stronger than ever. Your next Governor -- Congressman Jim Courter.

Now, Jim's a long-time friend -- and I wanted to come up here and, personally, support him and the great party that's behind him. I know you wanted to hear a few words from a

prominent national figure who can really fire up a crowd and generate some excitement [PAUSE] . . . Unfortunately, Arnold Schwarzenegger had to go back to Los Angeles -- so I'm here instead.

Believe me, I'm delighted. And believe me, too, when I say that the entire Republican ticket -- led by Jim Courter -- can help "keep New Jersey proud," as the banner behind me says. How? By keeping a Republican Governor. And a Republican General Assembly. By "keeping" New Jersey Republican." Let me quote one of New Jersey's favorite adopted sons -- the noted philosopher, Montclair's Yogi Berra. Once, Yogi ruminated, "You observe a lot by watching." Well, we've observed a lot by watching New Jersey Republicans over the years.

We've seen them fight to clean up our environment. And to clean up our schools. We've seen them fight the scourge of drugs and crime. We've seen them create over 500,000 new jobs in the last eight years. And school test scores go up twice the national rate. And we've seen them oppose those liberal Democrats who cherish new taxes like moths drawn to a flame.

These Republican positions embody the new New Jersey -- old values plus new thinking. And will reinforce the progress of the last eight years. Eight years of enlightened leadership -- Republican leadership. Yet Republicans know that a record is something not to stand upon -- but to build upon. And our party's leadership into the '90s will reaffirm the renaissance that makes New Jersey's success story worth retelling.

First, the environment. For here, as elsewhere, Republicans has helped build the new New Jersey. Republicans have blocked oil drilling off the Jersey shore to save our beaches. Pushed legislation to ban ocean dumping. Made New Jersey the first State to mandate recycling. And launched the most aggressive toxic waste cleanup program in America.

Next, education. For here, too, Republicans have moved forward, not back. In 1983, Tom Kean unveiled a great idea called Alternative Certification. A concept allowing talented Americans to teach in the classroom. Today, Alternative Certification is a flagship of the Federal plan we introduced earlier this year. Tom Kean has been the Education Governor. Republicans -- led by Jim Courter -- can keep academic excellence a New Jersey byword.

Then, we come to taxes. And here, the difference between the old and new New Jerseys is especially clear.

The new New Jersey knows that creating opportunity can help meet the needs of distressed locales from Camden to Paterson. And in particular, let me salute Tom Kean's pioneering concept of Urban Enterprise Zones. The new New Jersey -- a Republican New Jersey -- knows that the decade's tax cuts helped make prosperity a reality. For the more money people have to spend, the more they can help create growth, jobs, and progress.

That's the new New Jersey. The old New Jersey -- the Democratic Party's New Jersey -- believes something quite

different. It regards the private sector as an enemy, not ally. And in policy of, by, and for the government.

Sound outdated? It is. In fact, I heard a story recently which typified this thinking. Two men were sitting in a Trenton restaurant talking about politicians. One of them said he thought the syntax of a public official needed a lot of work.

Well, naturally, at first I thought he meant me. But then the fellow said he was really talking about a liberal Congressman. "Sintax?" roared the second man. "You mean to tell me those Democrats down in Washington are putting a tax on that, too?"

That says it all for our Democratic opponents: "Tax and tax, spend and spend." I'm sure you've heard the adage, "You're not getting older, you're just getting better." Well, when it comes to the Democrats' notion of "fiscal sanity," their ideas never get any better. Just older and more discredited.

Nowhere is the division of new versus old more clear-cut than in the areas of crime, drugs, and punishment.

Republicans believe that when ask what kind of society Americans deserve, our answer must be: a Nation in which people are safe and feel safe. That's why ~~they~~ we want to change the rules of the game dramatically -- <u>new</u> solutions for a <u>new</u> New Jersey.

For instance, ~~they~~ we are strong advocates of America's first national comprehensive strategy to end drug use, which I announced earlier this month. Republicans want tougher enforcement. More prisons, more courts, more prosecutors. And

tougher sentences -- many, like Jim Courter, have spent a career demanding them. You know where drug dealers belong? **Republicans** say: **In jail.** They back more interdiction and treatment. And our plan to stop use before it begins. Through education and prevention. From grade school to graduate school.

Republicans like Jim Courter want to fight drugs on any and every front. Facing new problems in a new way -- by putting emphasis where the crisis is -- in the community. The communities that will decide the future of New Jersey. And with a Republican Governor and ~~State~~ General Assembly, that future will also include not just a war against drugs -- but a crusade against all crime. Supporting tougher laws. Giving our lawmen more resources. Declaring open warfare on the con-artists and the hoods.

Look at Jim Courter, who's spent a lifetime fighting crime. For he embodies the values and positions I'm talking about -- all that's best in the Republican Party.

Look at Jim's background. Peace Corps volunteer. Legal aide to the poor. Lawyer, author, prosecutor, Congressman. A moral man, a family man. A man respected by his colleagues. A man you can trust.

Look, next, at Jim's record on the environment. He has helped renew, and recover, our national heritage. As Governor, Jim Courter will put polluters in prison. Or education. Where Jim has been a vocal advocate of Alternative Certification. Or

taxes. Jim doesn't want government to tax more. He wants to cut taxes -- so that people will be able to spend more.

Look, then, at Jim's opposition to drugs. He has strongly supported bills to coordinate law enforcement efforts and involve the military in combating drugs. Or his magnificent record in combating crime. Jim served as first assistant prosecutor in his home county of Warren. He's seen the drug peddlers and users. He knows the terrible toll caused by crime.

That's why Jim wants mandatory time for firearms offenses. And no deals when criminals use a gun. And unlike his opponent, he wants to amend New Jersey's Constitution so that the death penalty law on the books will be strengthened and enforced.

Let me ask you a question. You make the choice. Do you want a Democratic Governor -- and a Democratic State Assembly -- who thinks New Jersey's death penalty law is fine as it is? [PAUSE] . . . Or do you want a Republican Governor -- and a Republican State Assembly -- who says that murderers, drug kingpins, and cop-killers should get exactly what they deserve? [PAUSE] . . . I agree. We need a Governor who will make the death penalty law even stronger. And we need a State Assembly which will help get the job done.

For when all is said and done, here's what the 1989 elections come down to. On the one hand, Democratic candidates whose policies produced the bad old days of the 1970s. High unemployment. Failing schools. Criminal-coddling and rampant corruption. And on the other hand -- for New Jersey, a winning

hand -- honesty and independence. Republican candidates who reject the liberalism practiced by the national Democratic Party.

Because those failed policies aren't good enough. Not for New Jersey. Or America. They're not good enough to tackle drugs or crime. Or to protect the environment and education. And they're not good enough for our kids. Because they won't "keep New Jersey proud."

Tom Kean knows that. That's why he's becoming President of Drew University. And why he agreed to serve as honorary chairman of our "Points of Light Initiative" to bring community service to every corner of America. And Jim Courter -- he knows it, too. For he knows what's on New Jersey's mind, and in its heart. And his goal is to use that heart to build a better life for all.

Can we achieve that goal? Of course we can -- both here and across America. How? Through a unified Republican Party -- working together to support the entire ticket. And through the old values and new thinking embodied by this campaign.

The future versus the past. Policies that work versus policies that don't. A better future for our children, or one of lost opportunity. Yes, there's a lot at stake. And let me remind you: Election Day is only 46 days away.

So, let's lift up our sights. And roll up our sleeves. Let's "keep New Jersey proud by keeping it Republican." And together, help Jim Courter and a Republican State Assembly preserve the new New Jersey.

God bless you, and God bless the United States of America.

# # # #

(Smith/Blessey)
September 20, 1989
Draft Six
JERSEY

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: COURTER FUNDRAISER
NEWARK, NEW JERSEY
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1989

Governor Kean, Congressman Gallo, Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Bathgate, Ms. Donovan, Ladies and gentlemen, friends.

Let me begin, Tom, by saying how much I appreciate that introduction. And by adding that I am pleased to be with you.

It is always good to be back in a State whose motto is "Liberty and prosperity." And which in the last eight years has been devoted to both. If I could borrow a phrase, under Governor Kean liberty and prosperity have been "perfect together."

It is always a pleasure, too, to return to the State which was so very kind to me in 1988. And to salute the entire Republican ticket. Its candidates. Its ideas and vision. And especially, those of you who toil so long and hard at the grass-roots level.

But I've come to Newark today for an even more important reason. This reason goes beyond party to the essence of this campaign. **New Jersey's election is among the most crucial in America.**

This election will decide whether New Jersey builds on what you've begun since 1982. Or whether it risks everything by returning to the past. Whether -- on the one hand -- New Jersey has the leadership it needs to win the war on drugs and crime.

Or whether -- on the other -- it reverts to failed social policies that blame everyone but the criminal.

This election will decide whether New Jersey continues to have the kind of leadership which balances a sound economy and sound ecology. And whether its leadership says "No" to higher taxes and "Yes" to extending the prosperity of the last eight years.

That's what this election will decide. It's that important. It's that clear-cut. And today I make a prediction. This November, New Jersey will make the **right** decision. A decision to cast its vote for the **future** . . . for the cause of **good government** . . . for the **Republican Party** [PAUSE] . . . A vote, in short, for the **new** New Jersey -- **Tom Kean's New Jersey.**

That means a vote for Republicans running for the General Assembly -- Republicans who will help ensure fair redistricting in the 1990s. And a vote for Republicans running at the local and county level. It means a vote for candidates who'll take a tough approach to crooks and thugs. And ~~perhaps most of all~~, it means a vote for the man who can move your State into the coming decade. **Your next Governor -- Congressman Jim Courter.**

Now, Jim's a long-time friend -- and I wanted to come up here and, personally, support him and the great party that's behind him. I know you wanted to hear a few words from a prominent national figure who can really fire up a crowd and generate some excitement [PAUSE] . . . Unfortunately, Arnold

Schwarzenegger had to go back to Los Angeles -- so I'm here instead.

Believe me, I'm delighted. And believe me, too, when I say how much I admire Jim Courter. Like you, I know the kind of person he is. Peace Corps volunteer. Legal aide to the poor. Lawyer, author, prosecutor, Congressman. Like you, I know how he cares about New Jersey -- how he's already helped make it a wonderful place. Now, let's help him so that come November 7, he can -- and will -- get the chance to do even more.

For Jim Courter -- like the entire Republican ticket -- can help "keep New Jersey proud," as the banner behind me says. How? By "keeping it **Republican.**" Let me quote one of New Jersey's favorite adopted sons -- the noted philosopher, Montclair's Yogi Berra. Once, Yogi ruminated, "You observe a lot by watching." Well, we've observed a lot by watching Jim over the years.

We've seen him fight to clean up our environment. And to fight the scourge of drugs and crime. We've seen him fight to slash auto insurance rates through a progressive and pioneering plan. And we've seen Jim embrace six of the most beautiful words in the English language [PAUSE] . . . **"Read my lips -- no new taxes."**

These positions embody the **new** New Jersey -- **old values plus new thinking.** And will reinforce the progress of the last eight years. Eight years of enlightened leadership -- Republican leadership. Yet Jim knows that a record is something not to stand upon -- but to expand upon. And his leadership into the

'90s will reaffirm the renaissance that makes New Jersey's success story worth retelling.

First, the environment. For here, as elsewhere, Jim Courter has helped build the **new** New Jersey. He has drafted initiatives for plastic recycling. And co-sponsored legislation to ban ocean dumping. He delivered New Jersey's first successful Superfund cleanup. And blocked oil drilling off the Jersey shore to save our beaches. Congressman Jim Courter has helped renew, and recover, our national heritage. **Governor Jim Courter will put polluters in prison.**

Then, we come to taxes. And here, the difference between the old and new New Jerseys is **especially** clear.

The **new** New Jersey knows that private enterprise can help meet the needs of distressed locales from Camden to Paterson. The **new** New Jersey -- a **Republican** New Jersey -- knows that the decade's tax cuts helped make prosperity a reality. For the more money people have to spend, the more they can help create growth, opportunity, and progress.

That's the new New Jersey. The old New Jersey -- Jim Florio's New Jersey -- believes something quite different. It regards the private sector as an enemy, not ally. And in policy of, by, and for the government.

Sound outdated? It is. In fact, I heard a story recently which typified this thinking. Two men were sitting in a Trenton restaurant talking about politicians. One of them said he thought the syntax of a public official needed a lot of work.

Well, naturally, at first I thought he meant me. And I got ready to say, "Sir, I resemble that charge." But then the fellow said he was really talking about a liberal Congressman. **"Sintax?"** roared the second man. **"You mean to tell me those Democrats down in Washington are putting a tax on that, too?"**

That says it all for Jim's opponent: "Tax and tax, spend and spend." I'm sure you've heard the adage, "You're not getting older, you're just getting better." Well, when it comes to the Democrats' notion of "fiscal sanity," their ideas **never** get any **better. Just older and more discredited.**

Nowhere is the division of new versus old more clear-cut than in the areas of crime, drugs, and punishment.

Jim Courter served as first assistant prosecutor in his home county of Warren. He's seen the drug peddlers and users. He's seen the terrible toll caused by crime. And he believes that when we ask what kind of society Americans **deserve**, our answer must be: a Nation in which people **are** safe and **feel** safe.

That's why Jim wants to change the rules of the game dramatically -- new solutions for a new New Jersey.

For instance, he is a strong advocate of America's first national comprehensive strategy to end drug use, which I announced earlier this month. He wants tougher enforcement. More prisons, more courts, more prosecutors. And tougher sentences -- he's spent a career demanding them. You know where drug dealers belong? **Jim says: In jail.** He backs more interdiction and treatment. And our plan to stop use **before** it

begins. Through education and prevention. From grade school to graduate school.

Congressman Courter strongly supported bills to coordinate law enforcement efforts and involve the military in combating drugs. **Governor** Courter can fight drugs on **any** and **every** front. Facing new problems in a new way -- by putting emphasis where the crisis is -- in the community. The communities that will decide the **future** of New Jersey.

Fellow Republicans, if Jim Courter is Governor, that future will also include not just a war against **drugs** -- but a crusade against **all crime.** He wants **mandatory** time for firearms offenses. No deals when criminals use a gun. And unlike his opponent, he wants to put **real teeth in what Jim has called "a paper-tiger death penalty law" -- a law that protects you in theory but not in practice.**

Unlike Jim Florio, Jim Courter says: "Enough is enough." Unlike Jim Florio, Jim Courter wants to amend New Jersey's Constitution **so that the death penalty on the books will be enforced.** Jim Florio disagrees. Well, **you** make the choice. Do you want a Governor who thinks New Jersey's death penalty law is fine as it is? [PAUSE] . . . Or do you want a Governor who says that murderers, drug kingpins, and cop-killers **should get exactly what they deserve?** [PAUSE] I agree. My fellow Americans, **anyone who supports the status quo doesn't deserve to be Governor of New Jersey.**

Instead, we need a Governor who is independent and tough-minded. And unburdened by a liberal ideology which has failed before -- and which will fail again. We need a Governor who has the vision that Jim has shown, for instance, in his auto insurance plan. Rejecting -- unlike his opponent -- the kind of policies cherished by the national Democratic Party.

Because those failed policies aren't good enough. Not for New Jersey. Or America. They're not good enough to tackle drugs or crime. Or to protect the environment. And they're not good enough for our kids. Because they won't "keep New Jersey proud."

Tom Kean knows that. That's why he's becoming President of Drew University. And why he agreed to serve as honorary chairman of our "Points of Light Initiative" to bring community service to every corner of America. And Jim Courter -- he knows it, too. For he knows what's on New Jersey's mind, and in its heart. And his goal is to use that heart to build a better life for all.

Can we achieve that goal? Of course we can -- both here and across America. How? Through a unified Republican Party -- working together to support the entire ticket. And through the old values and new thinking embodied by this campaign.

Look at Jim Courter -- a man respected by his colleagues. A man you can depend upon. Next, look at how he knows this State. Pearl Buck once said, "I do not need books to tell me about New Jersey." Well, neither does Jim. He knows its market gardens and dairy farms. Its wetlands and highlands. He loves its Pine Barrens and the Eastern Shore. Its diversity and beauty.

or religion, John Woolman

Look, then, at the State itself -- a State of pioneers and heroes. In ~~diplomacy~~ entrepreneur, look to Alexander Woolcott. Or in science, to Thomas Edison. Or in sports, to an American icon: Vince Lombardi. Their values -- like Jim's -- reflect the new New Jersey.

Look, finally, to the kids -- and how new thinking can help build the New Jersey of tomorrow. You know, the great statesman Tom Paine lived in Bordertown. And once he said, "We fight to make room upon ~~this land~~ the earth for honest men to live in." **Well, this election is about ensuring a great State for our kids to live in.**

The future versus the past. Policies that work versus policies that don't. A better future for our children, or one of lost opportunity. Yes, there's a lot at stake. And let me remind you: Election Day is only 46 days away.

So, let's lift up our sights. And roll up our sleeves. Let's "keep New Jersey proud by **keeping** it Republican." And together, help Jim Courter preserve the **new** New Jersey.

God bless you, and God bless the United States of America.

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It comes from

Comrades speech.

Comments Please

Does Unit

(Smith/Blessey)
September 13, 1989
Draft Three
JERSEY

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: COURTER FUNDRAISER
NEWARK, NEW JERSEY
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1989

Let me begin, Tom, by saying how much I appreciate that introduction. And by adding that I am pleased to be with you.

I say that for several reasons. First, because it is always good to be back in a State whose motto is "Liberty and prosperity." And which in the last eight years has been devoted to both. Indeed, if I could borrow a phrase, under Governor Kean liberty and prosperity have gone "perfect together."

Then, there's a second reason I am pleased to be here. Perhaps a writer best expressed it when -- referring to New Jersey -- he called this State "America's main road."

Garden State

Tonight, we are headed down that road toward a November victory for the cause of good government. A victory for our generation. And our children's generation. A victory for the new New Jersey -- Tom Kean's New Jersey. And for the man who can build upon what Tom's begun. Your next Governor -- Congressman Jim Courter.

Now, Jim's a long-time friend -- and I wanted to come up here and, personally, support him. I know you wanted to hear a few words from a prominent national figure who can really fire up a crowd and generate some excitement [PAUSE] . . . Unfortunately, Boris Yelstin had to go back to Moscow -- so I'm here instead.

Believe me, I'm delighted I am. And believe me, too, when I say how much I admire Jim Courter. Like you, I know how Jim has already enriched the length and breadth of the Garden State. And how come November 7, he can -- and will -- do infinitely still more.

And the thing is: We must ensure that Jim gets that chance. For he can help keep New Jersey proud. And its economy strong. How do I know that? Let me quote one of New Jersey's favorite adopted sons -- the noted philosopher, Montclair's Yogi Berra. Once, Yogi ruminated, "You can observe a lot just by watching." Well, we've observed a lot about Jim by watching him over the years.

We've seen Jim fight to clean up our environment. And to clean up our schools. We've seen him fight the scourge of crime. And its companion midwife, drugs. We've seen him fight to slash auto insurance rates through a progressive and pioneering plan. And we've seen Jim embrace six of the most beautiful words in the English language [PAUSE] . . . Yes, you've got 'em [PAUSE] . . . "Read my lips -- no new taxes."

These positions embody Tom Kean's new New Jersey -- old values plus new thinking. And will reinforce, not wreck, the glory of the last eight years. They express the belief that a record is something not to stand upon -- but to expand upon. And will reaffirm the renaissance that makes New Jersey's success story worth retelling.

First, education: For here, as elsewhere, that story includes many chapters bearing Jim Courter's name. In Trenton, Tom Kean has been the Education Governor. And in Washington, our Administration has proposed an "Educational Excellence Act of 1989" to reward excellence, demand accountability, and increase local flexibility. Congressman Jim Courter avidly supports this legislation. Governor Jim Courter can ensure that what Tom Kean has started is continued and enhanced.

Secondly, the environment -- for here too, Jim has been a visionary. He has drafted initiatives in the area of plastic recycling. And co-sponsored legislation to ban ocean dumping. He delivered New Jersey's first successful Superfund cleanup. And blocked oil drilling off the Jersey shore to save our beaches. Congressman Jim Courter has helped renew, and recover, our national heritage. Governor Jim Courter will put polluters in prison.

Then, we come to taxes. And here, the cleavage between the old and new New Jersies is especially clear.

The new New Jersey has been shaped by Tom Kean. It believes that economic development can help the powerless -- not merely powerful -- be heard and understood. And that private enterprise can meet the needs of distressed locales from Camden to Paterson. The new New Jersey -- Jim Courter's New Jersey -- knows that 1980s tax cuts helped make prosperity a reality. For the more money people have to spend, the more they can help create Growth, Opportunity, and Progress -- yes, a non-partisan "GOP."

That's the new New Jersey. The old New Jersey -- Jim's opponent's New Jersey -- enshrines quite another creed. For it believes in policy of, by, and for the government. It regards the private sector as an enemy, not ally. And it repeats this equation, like sleepwalkers in the night: If it's commerce, regulate it. If it's a budget, break it. If there's a problem, Federalize it. And if it's income, penalize it.

Sound discredited? It is. In fact, I heard a story recently which typified this thinking. It seems these two men were sitting in a Trenton restaurant talking about politicians. The first noted that the syntax of a certain official needed a lot of working on. "Sintax?" roared the second man. "You mean to tell me those liberals down in Washington are putting a tax on that, too?"

Well, that says it all for the ideas of Jim's opponent: "Tax and tax, spend and spend." I'm sure you've heard the adage, "You're not getting older, you're just getting better." Well, the ideas I'm referring to are quite the opposite. You see, they're not getting better. They're just getting older.

Nowhere is the division of new versus old more clear-cut than in the areas of crimes, drugs, and punishment.

On the one hand -- the left hand, naturally -- Jim Courter's opponent thinks New Jersey's death penalty law is fine as it is. Even though not one cop-killer has ever been executed. Well, I'll tell you what I think: Anyone who believes that doesn't deserve to be Governor of New Jersey.

On the other hand, here's what Jim Courter believes. And I support his beliefs. As a former local prosecutor, he believes that when we ask what kind of society Americans deserve, our answer is a Nation in which law-abiding people are safe and feel safe. And toward that end, he supports our plan which attacks violent criminals on four fronts. New laws -- to punish them. New agents -- to arrest them. New prosecutors -- to convict them. And new prisons -- to hold them.

Jim Courter proposes to change the rules of the game dramatically -- new and honest solutions for a new New Jersey. He wants mandatory time for firearms. And no deals when criminals use a gun. And for the most heinous crimes -- well, Jim believes no penalty is too tough. For anyone who kills a law-enforcement officer, here is Jim's response -- To riff-raff and cop-killers, you deserve not charity -- but the recompense of the chair.

To repeat: New solutions -- honest solutions -- for a new New Jersey. And that's especially true in our crusade against drugs.

Two weeks ago, I announced America's first national comprehensive strategy to outlast drug abuse. Our drug budget totals almost $8 billion. And our plan has four major elements.

First, enforcement. We need more jails, more prisons, more prisons, more courts, more prosecutors. And tougher sentences. You know where drug dealers belong? They belong in jail. And the second part of our plan is interdiction. Working with other

governments, we're going to break the international drug rings who grow and process cocaine and crack.

Then, there is the third part of our strategy: treatment to help addicts who want to get clean. With special emphasis on expectant mothers. And, finally, our drug program aims to stop use before it starts. Through education and prevention. From grade school to graduate school.

We can win this war, and will. Through the values of self-discipline, self-reliance, and accountability. Perhaps no one more embodies those values than Jim Courter. And not surprisingly, no one has been more supportive of our drug program than Jim. For no one knows better that the old ways don't work.

Congressman Courter sponsored bills to toughen drug penalties, coordinate law enforcement efforts, and involve the military in combating drugs. Governor Courter can fight drugs on any front, and every front. Fighting block-by-block. Winning kid-by-kid. Facing old problems in a new way -- by putting emphasis where the crisis is -- locally, in the community. The communities that will decide the future of New Jersey.

That future will demand independent, tough-minded thinking. Thinking unencumbered by bosses or graft. It will require leaders who know, with Jefferson, that "The whole art of government lies in being honest." And who have the vision that Jim has shown, for instance, in his auto insurance plan. Discarding what has not worked. Trying what may work. Rejecting -- unlike his opponent -- the failed policies of pre-Tom Kean.

Because those policies aren't good enough. Not for New Jersey. Or America. Not in terms of drugs, or crime, or education, or the environment. Not in our hope -- our children's hope -- for a tomorrow even brighter than today.

Tom Kean knows that. That's why he's becoming President of ___. And why he agreed to serve as honorary chairman of our "Points of Light Initiative" to bring community service to every corner of America. And Jim Courter -- he knows it, too. For he knows what's on New Jersey's mind, and in its heart. And his goal is to use that heart to build a better life for all.

Can we achieve that goal? Of course we can -- both here and across America. How? Through the old values and new thinking embodied by this campaign.

Look at Jim Courter -- a moral man, a family man. A man respected by his colleagues. A man you can depend upon. I mean, if the voters of New Jersey want to gamble, they can go to Atlantic City. They don't need to risk everything on a big-spending liberal like Jim's opponent.

Next, look at Jim's background. Peace Corps volunteer. Legal aide to the poor. Lawyer, author, prosecutor, Congressman. Look at how he knows this State. Pearl Buck once said, "I do not need books to tell me about New Jersey." Well, neither does Jim. He knows its market gardens and dairy farms. Its wetlands and highlands. He loves its Pine Barrens and Eastern Shore. Its diversity and beauty.

Look, then, at the State itself -- a State of pioneers, architects, and heroes of enterprise. Look at James Fenimore Cooper [PAUSE] . . . yes, New York claims him -- but the Garden State knows better. Look in science, to Thomas Edison. Or in sports, to an American icon: Vince Lombardi. Their values -- like Jim's -- embody the new New Jersey.

Look, finally, to the kids -- and how new thinking can help build their new New Jersey. You know, the great statesman Tom Paine lived in Bordentown. And he once said, "We fight to make room upon honest men to live in." Well, this election is about ensuring a great State for our kids to live in.

You know, 46 days from tonight is Election Day. Not a lot of time. A lot to do. And I know some are concerned with what polls say about this race. Well, I'm not. At one point in last year's Presidential campaign I was 17 points behind, and if you want to know what happened, just ask President Dukakis.

So, let us help Jim Courter build the new New Jersey -- Tom Kean's New Jersey. And help this State enrich our future, and our kids.

To New Jersey's Republican Party, a splendid fall of 1989.

To Jim Courter come November 7, many happy returns.

And to all of you personally, my deepest thanks for allowing me to share this exciting occasion. God bless you, and God bless this land we love -- the United States of America.

# # # #

Edison

VOLUME 9

Desert to Egret

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA

AMERICANA

INTERNATIONAL EDITION

COMPLETE IN THIRTY VOLUMES

FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1829

GROLIER INCORPORATED

International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816

HENRY FORD MUSEUM, DEARBORN, MICH.

EDISON'S LABORATORY was moved from Menlo Park, N. J. to Greenfield Village in Dearborn, Mich., in 1929. It has been restored and houses models of his inventions. A statue of Edison by James Earle Fraser is at left.

EDISON, Thomas Alva (1847–1931), American inventor and pioneer industrialist. Rough-hewn and self-educated, Edison rose to become a folk hero in his day and one of the most prolific inventors of all time. During his lifetime more than a thousand American patents were granted on work of his own or of teams under his supervision. Three of his inventions—the phonograph, a practical incandescent light and electric system, and a moving picture camera—helped found giant industries that were to change the life and leisure of the world. Besides being an inventor, Edison was a manufacturer, a businessman, and a founder of organized research as well as one of the most colorful and paradoxical personalities of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Edison was married twice. In 1871 he married Mary G. Stilwell, and two years after her death in 1884 he married Mina Miller. He had three children by each of his wives.

EARLY LIFE

Edison was born in Milan, Ohio, on Feb. 11, 1847. He was the seventh and last child of Samuel and Nancy (Elliott) Edison. His ancestry was Dutch-English on his father's side and Scotch-Yankee on his mother's. When Edison was born, his father was a prosperous shingle manufacturer in Milan, Ohio. When he was 7 years old, however, a collapse of the family fortunes forced Samuel Edison to move his family to Port Huron, Mich., where they were to live in adequate but poorer circumstances.

Education. During childhood Edison learned eagerly by asking questions and discovering things for himself. Unable to adapt himself to the routine of school, however, he quit three months after beginning when his teacher called him "addled." His mother, a former teacher, then continued his education at home. When he was 9 years old, she gave him a primer on physics that described scientific experiments he could perform himself. He read this avidly but challenged every statement in it until he had tested it personally. The next year he set up a chemical laboratory in his cellar.

First Jobs. Needing more money for chemicals and apparatus, Edison got a job as a newspaper and candy salesman on the Grand Trunk Railway when he was 12 years old. To avoid wasting time he moved his cellar laboratory to the baggage car and read in the public library during layovers in Detroit. When he was 15, he bought a printing press and edited and printed a small local newspaper, the *Weekly Herald*, in the same baggage car.

One morning when young Edison was trying to climb onto a moving train, a trainman helped him aboard by grasping his ears. He later attributed to this incident the beginning of the deafness that was to increase through his life—an affliction that cut off many personal associations but undoubtedly helped him concentrate on his work. A history of the symptoms, however, indicates that his deafness was probably largely an aftereffect of an earlier attack of scarlet fever.

In 1863, at the age of 16, Edison learned telegraphy, and for the next four years he roamed the Middle West as an operator. It was during these years that he first dreamed of becoming an inventor. This ambition was fired to action in 1868 when, employed by the Western Union Telegraph Company in Boston, he read *Experimental Researches in Electricity* by Michael Faraday—a great experimenter whose background seemed similar to his own.

Early Inventions. Edison filed papers for his first invention, an electric vote recorder, in October 1868 and received a patent on June 1, 1869. Finding no buyer, he formed the policy he was to follow the rest of his life: he would never attempt to invent anything unless he was sure there was a commercial demand for it. His first patent under this new rule was for improvements on a stock ticker. Although he sold this, he did not receive enough money to pay the expenses he had incurred.

Hoping to change his fortune, he went to New York in 1869. Arriving penniless, he visited Laws' Gold Indicator Company, where friends invited him to study the instruments and to sleep in the battery room. The indicator, invented by S. S. Laws, was an electric device that transmitted changes in gold prices to subscribers. Edison's big chance came one day when the central transmitter broke down. Quickly spotting the trouble, he had the device running within two hours. Laws gave him a job and soon made him manager at the then high salary of $300 a month. Edison lost this position through a merger, but his fortune was to soar again. Late in 1870 he received $40,000 from the head of the combined company for improvements he made on the stock ticker.

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Diplex and Quadruplex Telegraphs. With this sudden wealth Edison equipped a shop in Newark, N.J., and began manufacturing tickers. By now his reputation as a "young wonder," able to rectify defects in the devices of others, had spread. Promoters brought him their problems. One was an automatic telegraph invented by G. D. Little, good in principle but sometimes sluggish and indistinct in operation. Backed by another $40,000, Edison put the telegraph in good working order and opened a shop to manufacture the machine. In 1873 he devised a "diplex" telegraph with which two messages could be sent simultaneously over one wire in the same direction. It was a variation of the "duplex" of J. B. Stearns, with which messages could be sent simultaneously in opposite directions. In 1874 he combined the diplex with the duplex to make a "quadruplex," which was able to carry four simultaneous messages over one wire.

MENLO PARK

Bored with manufacturing and no longer able to handle alone the ideas that filled his mind, Edison moved in 1876 to Menlo Park, N.J., where he established the world's first "invention factory"—a well-equipped and ably staffed laboratory dedicated solely to testing, improving, and inventing useful products for pay. Forerunner of the modern industrial research laboratory, this unique institution was itself one of Edison's greatest inventions and was to play a leading part in his subsequent achievements. The first important product to come from Edison's invention factory was the carbon telephone transmitter (1877–1878), a device that extended greatly the clarity and range of Bell's original system.

Phonograph. The second product of the Menlo Park laboratory was the phonograph (1877), Edison's favorite invention and considered to be his only completely original one. The idea for it came to him while he was trying to improve a telegraph repeater. In this device a paraffin-coated paper tape was drawn at high speed through a receiving instrument where a stylus or needle embossed it with the dots and dashes of an incoming message. The embossed tape was then fed into a transmitting instrument, where another stylus followed the indentations and so repeated the message.

Once, when racing through a repeater, a tape gave off a noise that sounded to Edison like "a light, musical, rhythmical sound, resembling human talk heard indistinctly." This set him thinking. What would happen if he connected a telephone diaphragm to the embossing needle in place of the telegraph arm? Could he thus impress on the tape the subtler vibrations of the human voice and so produce recording that could talk back intelligibly?

His first attempts were made with a simple adaptation of the telegraph repeater. Then he tried devices using grooved cylinders of wax and chalk, and finally of metal covered with tinfoil, instead of the tape. Into an improved machine using tinfoil, and before a small group of witnesses, he recited *Mary Had a Little Lamb*. When a stylus was run over the indented foil, all were dumbfounded to recognize Edison's high-pitched voice almost perfectly reproduced. Although the subsequent early phonographs were harsh-sounding and crude, throngs came to hear them, and the popular press began hailing Edison as a "magician" and "wizard."

EDISON NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE, NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

THE YOUNG EDISON is shown with the phonograph he invented in 1877. The machine used a tinfoil record.

Electric Lighting Industry. In 1878, Edison began the enterprise for which he is best known—the commercial introduction of the incandescent lamp. He did not invent this lamp, but he did devise and manufacture the first lamp and electrical distributing system that could be operated economically together—a feat more important than the invention of the lamp itself in promoting the general use of electricity.

Unlike previous investigators in the field of electric lighting, Edison envisioned not merely a lamp but a complete lighting system that could compete with the popular gaslight of the day. The key to such a system, he believed, was a lamp having a high-resistance, hairlike "filament," instead of the low-resistance wires and rods used by rival inventors. In October 1879, after thousands of experiments, he made such a lamp, using carbonized thread that burned for 40 hours. The next year he made lamps suitable for commercial use with filaments of bamboo. With the help of Francis R. Upton, the mathematician in his employ, Edison also devised dynamos, the feeder-and-main system, and later a three-wire system—each of which cut the cost of supplying electricity.

On Sept. 4, 1882, Edison opened his first commercial central station on Pearl Street, New York City, with about 85 customers and some 400 lamps wired in the circuits. Modest in size but revolutionary in idea, this station marked the beginning of the electric lighting industry in America.

Although this and other Edison stations built during the next dozen years demonstrated conclusively that the distribution and sale of electricity from central stations were commercially possible, the dependence of these stations on low-voltage direct current severely limited their range and size. An alternating-current power and lighting system patented in 1888 by his onetime employee Nikola Tesla (q.v.) and promoted by George Westinghouse (q.v.) broke these limitations, but Edison obstinately opposed its use. Alternating current, he maintained, was not only

Whitman

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Venice to Wilmot, John

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was elected district attorney of New York County on a fusion ticket in 1909, reelected in 1913, and in 1914 was elected governor of New York State on the Republican ticket. Whitman was chairman of the Republican National Convention in 1916, where he urged the nomination of Charles Evans Hughes for president. In September of the same year he was reelected to the governorship of New York and served until the end of 1918 when he was defeated for reelection by Alfred E. Smith, the Democratic candidate. He resumed the practice of law in New York in 1919, was appointed a commissioner of the Port of New York Authority in 1935, and became chairman of the Committee on Port Planning in 1945.

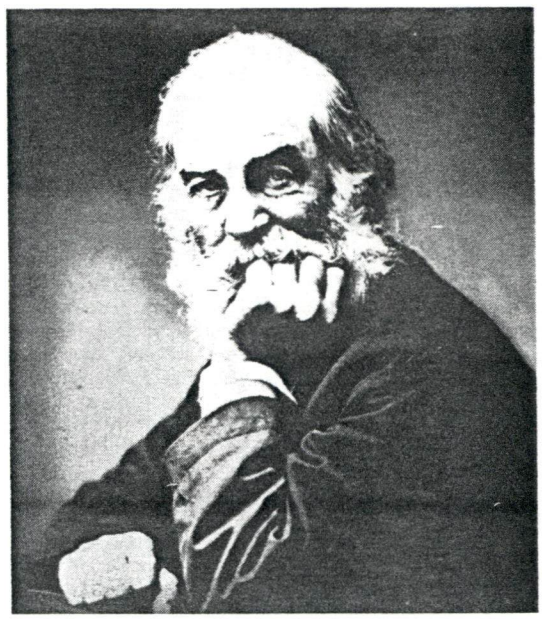
WHITMAN, Marcus, American missionary and pioneer: b. Rushville, N.Y., Sept. 4, 1802; d. Waiilatpu, Walla Walla Valley, Nov. 29, 1847. He studied medicine with a local physician and earned a degree from Berkshire Medical College, Pittsfield, Mass. and practiced this profession for eight years. In January 1835, he was accepted for missionary service among the Indians by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and in that year he accompanied Samuel Parker on an exploratory tour beyond the Rockies. After interviewing Indians from Oregon at the fur-trading rendezvous on Green River, he returned to the East to make preparations for a mission among the Nez Percé Indians. He married Narcissa Prentiss, also a missionary under the American board, at Angelica, N.Y., on Feb. 18, 1836; accompanied by the Reverend and Mrs. Henry Harmon Spalding and W. H. Gray, they journeyed west, reaching Fort Walla Walla in September. Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spalding were the first American women to cross the Rockies and reach Oregon by the overland route. Late in 1836 this party established a station at Waiilatpu, on the Walla Walla River near the present city of Walla Walla, Wash., and another station at Lapwai, near present-day Lewiston, Idaho. Progress at both missions was slow and disappointing. Whitman and Spalding helped the Indians build houses, showed them farming techniques, and taught them how to erect mills. In 1838, after the arrival of a reinforcement, two other stations were established—one at Tshimakain, 25 miles northwest of Spokane, and another at Kamiah, 40 miles southeast of Lapwai, in present-day Idaho. Because of dissension in the mission, early in 1842 the American Board ordered the recall of some of the missionaries and the abandonment of Waiilatpu and Lapwai. To persuade the board to rescind this order, Whitman made his famous 3,000-mile ride to the East in the fall and winter of 1842–1843, a ride which gave rise to the myth that he undertook this journey to save Oregon from the British. Historical research has proved, however, that Whitman rode primarily to save the Oregon mission. His effort was successful, and he returned to Oregon with the overland migration of 1843. The mission continued its work until the murder of the Whitmans and 11 of their associates by Cayuse Indians in November 1847 induced the American Board to abandon its effort in the Oregon Territory.

See also WHITMAN NATIONAL MONUMENT.

J. ORIN OLIPHANT
Professor of History, Bucknell University

WHITMAN, Sarah Helen Power, American poet: b. Providence, R.I., Jan. 19, 1803; d. there, June 27, 1878. She was married to John W. Whitman, a Boston lawyer who died in 1833, and was engaged briefly in 1848 to Edgar Allan Poe (1809–1849), afterward writing a defense of him entitled *Edgar Poe and His Critics* (1860); some of her verse was considerably influenced by his. She contributed numerous critical articles and poems to periodicals and was noted for her conversational powers. Her verse was in part collected in the volume *Hours of Life, and Other Poems* (1853), and fully in the posthumous *Poems* (1879). *Fairy Ballads* and some other works were written with her sister, Anna M. Power. Her finest poem, *A Still Day in Autumn,* has much melody and beauty of expression and retains an honored place in anthologies. In 1909, *The Last Letters of Edgar Allan Poe to Sarah Helen Whitman* was published.

WHITMAN, Walt (in full WALTER), American poet: b. West Hills, Long Island, N.Y., May 31, 1819; d. Camden, N.J., March 26, 1892. The son of a Quaker carpenter and a mother descended from New York Dutch farmers, he grew up and attended public elementary schools



The Bettmann Archive

Walt Whitman, immortal of 19th century American poetry.

in Brooklyn, spending summers in central Long Island, the Paumanok of his poems. He began his working life with teaching in rural schools, and with setting type and writing for several newspapers and magazines.

From 1846 to 1848 he was editor of *The Brooklyn Eagle,* the leading newspaper in the city at that time. In his editorials he showed himself an abolitionist; a democrat in the libertarian tradition of Thomas Jefferson; an expansionist regarding the issues of the Mexican War, like most of the intellectuals of that period; a Jacksonian in opposition to the bankers; an opponent of capital punishment; and "a free trader by instinct," as he called himself. He

was discharged from *The Eagle*, apparently because of the strength of his convictions for abolishing slavery and for free soil.

Three months on a New Orleans paper gave him a chance to see much of the country he later described so richly in his poems. Back in New York, he worked with his father and free-lanced. He edited *The Brooklyn Times* from 1857 to 1859, when he was let go because of church opposition to his frankly expressed ideas on the sexual problems of the unmarried, abortion, prostitution, and slavery. He continued to earn his living mainly from undistinguished hack work, and whatever craftmanship he learned had little relation to his poetry. But the opportunity to observe the growing metropolis—with its theaters, many occupations, and diverse national cultures—had a profound effect. Later in life, he said that his great work, *Leaves of Grass*, arose out of his "life in Brooklyn and New York from 1838 to 1853, absorbing a million people, for fifteen years, with an intimacy, an eagerness, an abandon, probably never equalled."

The slim first edition of *Leaves of Grass*, his main work and probably the most influential single volume of verse in American literature, appeared in 1855. It was not a popular success; but part of literary America, led by Ralph Waldo Emerson, greeted it with warm appreciation. In a letter to Whitman, Emerson wrote: "I find it the most extraordinary piece of wit and wisdom that America has yet contributed. . . . I greet you at the beginning of a great career. . . ." Whitman's poems about the Civil War were published in a separate volume called *Drum Taps* in 1865. With other later work, this volume was subsequently included in expanded editions of *Leaves of Grass*.

A sensitive and passionate humanitarian, he worked as a volunteer nurse in Army hospitals in Washington, D.C., during the Civil War. After acquiring some small fame for this service, he was given a clerkship in the Indian Department. But he was dismissed when his chief, Secretary of the Interior James Harlan, discovered his authorship of *Leaves of Grass* and labeled it "an indecent book." Many friends then rallied to his defense and effected his transfer to the attorney general's office. One of these friends, William Douglas O'Connor, wrote a pamphlet, *The Good Gray Poet* (1866)—a title that became a common public image of Whitman and thenceforth provided some antidote to slander and misunderstanding. Whitman collected and published his most significant prose in *Democratic Vistas* (1871).

A paralytic attack in 1873 forced the poet to give up his work in Washington. He spent almost all the rest of his life in Camden, N.J., living mainly by lecturing, sale of his books in England, and the help of friends. After living with his brother, in 1884 Whitman bought a house on Mickle Street that was turned into a memorial after his death. The details of his life before 1873 have remained obscure, so that biographers have indulged in much conjecture and debate. But the period after 1873 was chronicled by a frequent companion, Horace Traubel. The "good gray poet" was fond of sociability, and a little intellectual circle formed around him. This included John Burroughs, the naturalist; Peter Doyle, a horse-car conductor; and Mrs. Anne Gilchrist, an English author. Like Whitman himself, this circle was libertarian and nonconformist in sentiment.

Whitman conceived of literature as "a means whereby men may be revealed to each other as brothers"; and most simply, *Leaves of Grass* may be described as a long paean to brotherhood. Yet both content and artistic method reflect a rich fusion of social, political, and aesthetic conflicts of the time.

The poet's equalitarianism was a fierce affirmation accompanying awareness of an opposing spirit in America, which he saw as "pride, competition, segregation, vicious wilfulness, and license beyond example. . . ." In this ardent equalitarianism he found (paradoxically, to some readers) his central subject—himself: "I celebrate myself, and sing myself, And what I assume you shall assume, For every atom belonging to me as good belongs to you. I loafe and invite my soul, I lean and loafe at my ease observing a spear of summer grass. . . . I guess it must be the flag of my disposition, out of hopeful green stuff woven. . . And now it seems to me the beautiful uncut hair of graves. . . The smallest sprout shows there is really no death. . . ."

Thus, the central theme in *Leaves* is a symbolic identification of regeneration in nature with the deathless self. In developing this theme Whitman seems completely unaffected by that unresolved philosophical conflict between the individual and the collective that has troubled so many 19th and 20th century thinkers; "One's-Self I sing," he wrote, "a simple separate person, Yet utter the word Democratic, the word En-Masse." As "mate and companion of people" he hails all races and continents, all cities and countries, and the workmen of all occupations.

Time and again the poet refused to expurgate from new editions of *Leaves of Grass* lines with sexual content. To him a sexless individuality was inconceivable. "I am the poet of the Body and I am the poet of the Soul," he wrote; ". . . Of physiology from top to toe I sing." In 1881 an edition of *Leaves* was in effect banned in Boston because the New England Society for the Suppression of Vice threatened the publisher with suit. But most modern scholars, regardless of how they estimate other aspects of Whitman's work, find such old scandals more an indication of the surviving Puritanism of the times than a significant commentary on the poet.

As a technician, Whitman may be regarded as the father of free verse in American literature. He used rhyme rarely, as in the popular but uncharacteristic "O Captain! My Captain!" Seeking a new poetic form to fit his new poetic content, he found models in operatic recitative, the English Bible, Shakespeare, and translations of Greek and Latin oratory. Also, he searched endlessly for fresh idiom and vocabulary, adopting words freely from other languages, especially French. His poems were written to be spoken, and in rhythm and tonal volume there is great dynamic range—from fierce declamation to the aria from "the mocking bird's throat, the musical shuttle."

A complex man and artist, Whitman exhibits many seeming contradictions. He voiced a personal religion at the same time as he hailed science and materialism. While denying death, he heard on Paumanok "the sweet and delicious word death," and wrote what has often been re-

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Lombardi

WEBSTER'S AMERICAN BIOGRAPHIES

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ed in many colonial newspapers, and
ropean journals, at the time. Although
nticity has been challenged, the state
e a permanent part of American Indian
Thomas Jefferson made use of it in Query
tes on the State of Virginia as evid
it the allegedly degrading effects of living
ew World. "I appeal to any white man
ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry,
e him not meat; if ever he came cold
and he clothed him not," he is reputed
aid; "During the course of the last
body war, Logan remained idle in his
ocate for peace. [But] Colonel Cresap,
ring, in cold blood and unprovoked,
ll the relations of Logan, not even sparing
nen and children. There runs not a drop
od in the veins of any living creature.
n me for revenge. I have sought it; I have
nany; I have glutted my vengeance.
ntry, I rejoice at the beams of peace.
harbor a thought that this is the joy
gan never felt fear. He will not turn on
save his life. Who is there to mourn
Not one!" Logan continued to ravage
ttlements until his death in 1780. He died
ands of a relative near Lake Erie while
e British at Detroit during the Revolution.

ohn Alexander (1826–1886), soldier and
fficial. Born on February 9, 1826, near
now Murphysboro, Illinois, Logan had
ooling; he received only some instruction
fore taking part in the Mexican War as a
t of volunteers. He held local offices after
ated from the law department of Louis-
ersity and began to practice law in his
n in 1851 and was elected to the House
sentatives as a Democrat in 1858 and
860. He had an excellent combat record
il War. He saw action as a private sol-
Michigan regiment at the first battle of
and then returned to Illinois, where,
; the 31st Illinois regiment, he was made
; he later advanced to brigadier general
o major general after the Union capture
rg in 1863. He commanded a corps of
of the Tennessee in the Atlanta Cam-
was briefly commander of the entire
e battle of Atlanta after the death of
McPherson on July 22, 1864. However,
am T. Sherman, although acknowledg-
rage in combat, claimed that he ne-
stics and had him returned to his corps
Declining to remain in the regular
an resumed his political career as a
serving in the House of Representa-
7–1871 and, after that, except for an
1878, in the Senate until his death. A
ublican after the war, he was instru-
e formation of the Grand Army of the
GAR) and served three times as its
GAR support contributed to his selec-
ice-presidential candidate on the ticket
G. Blaine in 1884. It was as com-

of the GAR that he successfully urged
observance of Memorial Day, a practice in-
ated in 1868. He died in Washington, D.C.,
December 26, 1886.

Lomax, Alan, *see under* Lomax, John Avery

Lomax, John Avery (1867–1948), folklorist. Born September 23, 1867, in Goodman, Mississippi, Lomax went to Texas at an early age. Graduating from the University of Texas in 1897, he stayed on as registrar until 1903, when he moved to Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College to teach English. He remained there until 1910, taking time out to earn an M.A. from Harvard in 1907. He served an additional seven years (until 1917) as secretary of the University of Texas, but in the early 1900s he had begun his life's work, the collecting of folk songs that he had heard in his youth. Convinced that folk songs and ballads, up to that time considered not quite respectable music, revealed a history of the people who sang them that was otherwise undocumentable, he published *Cowboy Songs and Other Frontier Ballads* in 1910; the book included "Home on the Range" and other songs that have since earned permanent popularity. Similar volumes, including *Plantation Songs of the Negro*, 1916, and *Songs of Cattle Trail and Cow Camp, 1918*. His autobiography, *Adventures of a Ballad Hunter*, appeared in 1947. After 1917, supporting himself by selling books, he traveled extensively throughout the country collecting and recording folk ballads. During the Depression he was made the first curator of the Archives of American Folk Song in the Library of Congress and, after 1932, he devoted all of his time and the remainder of his life (he died in Greenville, Mississippi, on January 26, 1948) to recording, editing, and publicizing folk songs. Of the estimated 60,000 songs in the Library of Congress collection he is responsible for about one-third. Carried out while traveling more than a quarter of a million miles, mostly by car and often with his son Alan Lomax, his work did much to set the tone of the modern study of American song. Alan Lomax was born in Austin, Texas, on January 15, 1915, attended various preparatory schools, and received a B.A. in philosophy in 1936 from the University of Texas. Prior to graduation he had already interrupted his studies in 1933 for a recording trip with his father and had then collaborated with him in the preparation of *American Ballads and Folk Songs*, 1934, and *Negro Folk Songs As Sung by Lead Belly*, 1936, the latter book first bringing the great black singer Huddie Ledbetter to public attention. After a trip to collect songs in Haiti, Alan Lomax was made assistant to his father at the Archives, 1937–1942. He helped to prepare a new edition of his father's *Cowboy Songs and Other Frontier Ballads* that appeared in 1938 and, also, with his father, edited *Cowboys Songs*, 1937, and *Our Singing Country*, 1939. With the growth of awareness of and interest in folk music he easily made the transition to commercial broadcasting and later recording. He produced programs and also frequently sang for the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) from 1939 to 1944, and he was in charge of folk music for Decca Records in 1947–1949. In the 1950s he edited a series of recordings of songs of the American South as well as songs of Spain for Columbia Records. He also wrote and produced in the same decade a series of 30 folk-music documentaries for the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). A frequent lecturer on college campuses, he was made in 1961 a research associate in the anthropology department of Columbia University, where he had studied briefly in 1938. His last book with his father was *Folk Song: USA*, 1947. Among his other publications were *Mr. Jelly Roll*, 1949; *Folk Songs of North America*, 1960; *Penguin Book of American Folk Songs*, 1961; and *Folk Song Style and Culture*, 1968. Pioneering with his father in the documentary approach—recording unknown singers in their native settings—he helped launch several careers and contributed greatly to the systematic and scholarly study of folk song.

Lombardi, Vincent Thomas (1913–1970), football coach. Born in Brooklyn, New York, on June 11, 1913, Lombardi attended Catholic schools there and planned to enter the priesthood. He won four letters in athletics in high school, and at Fordham University, from which he graduated in 1937 after majoring in business, he was an outstanding guard on a football team with a national reputation. He began his long coaching career in 1939 at St. Cecelia High School in Englewood, New Jersey, and by 1947 the school's exceptional football team had won six state championships. His ambition to coach a college football team was then nurtured by a post at Fordham for two years, 1947–1948. In 1949 he went to West Point as assistant coach to Colonel "Red" Blaik and remained for five years. Still hoping to lead a college team, he nonetheless signed a contract in 1954 with the New York Giants professional football team as offensive coach. When the team's record improved the following year and then, in 1956, the Giants won their first National Football League championship in 18 years, his reputation as a coach was well established. In 1959 he became head coach and general manager of the Green Bay Packers, then at the bottom of the National Football League. In his first season they achieved a respectable standing and in the next eight seasons won five league championships and six titles in their Western division as well as Super Bowls I and II against the American Football League champions in 1967 and 1968. His record for nine years at Green Bay was 141 wins, 39 losses, 4 ties. In 1969 Lombardi left the Packers and it appeared that he was about to repeat the performance with the Washington Redskins. He died, however, on September 4, 1970, in Washington, D.C., after one winning season with the Redskins, the team's first in 14 years. A dedicated football man and a relentless taskmaster, he always had the respect of his players, who often played better for him than they had for anyone else. This

was especially true of the feared Green Bay Packers, whose championship team was essentially composed of the same individuals who had played so poorly before the renaissance inspired by Lombardi.

Lombardo, Guy Albert (1902–1977), bandleader. Born on June 19, 1902, in London, Ontario, Lombardo was encouraged in a musical career at an early age and was playing the violin in a trio by the age of twelve. After completing high school in 1920 he formed a band of nine (including two of his brothers), and they met with success playing at resorts. Hoping to take advantage of opportunities in the growing U.S. broadcasting industry, he brought the band to the Midwest in 1924. By 1927, success in Cleveland had brought engagements in Chicago, where he changed the band's name to the Royal Canadians, and in 1928 he signed his first radio contract. The following year the band found what proved to be a permanent winter home in New York City's Roosevelt Hotel, and their broadcast appearances at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel on New Year's Eve soon became a national tradition. In the heyday of the big bands in the 1930s and 1940s the Royal Canadians' popularity as a dance band was probably exceeded by none, despite the unfavorable opinion of many music critics of Lombardo's style. The band's staying power on radio, and later on television, as well as success in several films and with numerous recordings, brought the Royal Canadians huge earnings and enabled Lombardo to extend his business interests to include producing musicals in summer stock and music publishing. His appearance at the New York World's Fair in 1964–1965 marked 40 years of uninterrupted success at playing the "sweetest music this side of heaven." He died in Houston, Texas, on November 5, 1977.

London, Jack (1876–1916), author. Born on January 12, 1876, in San Francisco, John Griffith London grew up in poverty and at fourteen left school to lead a wandering and adventurous life. Although he was employed briefly by the fish patrol in San Francisco Bay, he spent more time on the other side of the law as an oyster pirate. His passionate interest in the sea led to little more than waterfront loafing until 1893, when he shipped as a common sailor aboard a sealing vessel that ventured as far as Japan. Upon his return he drifted from job to job and finally in 1894 he traveled east; he wandered for a time, was jailed for a month for vagrancy in New York City, and then, determined to make something of himself, returned to California and to school. He completed high school in a year and entered the University of California in 1896. His experiences as a hobo and an occasional worker, and his wide reading, particularly of Herbert Spencer, had made him by this time a Marxian Socialist. He left college after a few months, and, failing to find a market for his writing, in mid-1897 joined the Klondike gold rush; ill health forced him to return the next year and he turned again to writing. His stories finally began to be accepted by magazines and many of them were collected for his first book, *The Son of the Wolf*, 1900. In these stories, as in most of his writings, he drew on his personal experience. From the far North came *The Call of the Wild*, 1903, and *White Fang*, 1906; his earlier sea voyages was reflected in *The Sea Wolf*, 1904. and a period in 1903 spent in the slums of London furnished him with the material for *The People of the Abyss*, 1903. In 1904 he spent six months as correspondent during the Russo-Japanese War and the following year he settled permanently in Glen Ellen, Sonoma County, California. In 1907 he sailed to the South Pacific in his ketch and four years later recounted his experiences in *The Cruise of the Snark*. In much of his writing London displayed a fascination with strength, violence, and the primitive; his popularity rested on the action and adventure described in his tales and owed little to the constant tension between his Nietzschean predilections and his Socialistic convictions, a conflict he made explicit in *The Iron Heel*, 1907. His later writings included the novels *Martin Eden*, 1909, *Burning Daylight*, 1910, and *The Valley of the Moon*, 1913; three autobiographical books, *Tales of the Fish Patrol*, 1905, *The Road*, 1907, and *John Barleycorn*, 1913; and numerous essays and stories. In 1914 he sailed to Veracruz, Mexico, as a war correspondent. Beset by alcoholism, London took his own life at his ranch in Glen Ellen on November 22, 1916.

London, Meyer (1871–1926), lawyer, political leader, and public official. Born on December 29, 1871, in Suwalki, Poland (then a part of Russia), London joined his family in New York City in 1891, where he worked during the day and studied law at night. Admitted to the bar in 1898, he specialized in labor law and became prominent as a union organizer, especially among Jewish garment-trade workers. Politically active as a Socialist on New York's Lower East Side, he was one of the founders, at the turn of the century, of the Socialist party of America. In 1914 he became the second Socialist in the nation to win a seat in the House of Representatives, where he served three terms (1915–1919 and 1921–1923), despite the fusion candidates run against him by the Republicans and Democrats after 1916. While in Congress he urged labor reforms and worker's benefits and was noted for his opposition to U.S. participation in World War I. London retained his interest in Russian politics and, although he opposed the Czar, he did not support the Bolsheviks. His criticism of Allied policy toward the Russian Revolution in 1917 (which he felt aided the Bolshevist coup in October of that year) as well as his stand on the war brought him under sharp attack both outside and inside the U.S. Socialist camp. His death in an automobile accident in New York City on June 6, 1926, was mourned by thousands of workers.

Long, Crawford Williamson (1815–1878), surgeon. Born in Danielsville, Georgia, on November 1,

PN6081
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1980
WH

Lombardi

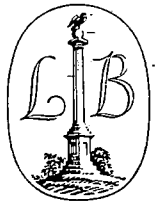
Familiar Quotations

A collection of passages, phrases and proverbs traced to their sources in ancient and modern literature

FIFTEENTH AND 125TH ANNIVERSARY EDITION
REVISED AND ENLARGED

John Bartlett

Edited by EMILY MORISON BECK
and the editorial staff of Little, Brown and Company



LITTLE, BROWN AND COMPANY • BOSTON • TORONTO

1 And when he goes to heaven
To Saint Peter he will tell:
Another Marine reporting, sir;
I've served my time in hell![1]
Epitaph on grave of Pfc. Cameron of the Marine Corps, Guadalcanal [1942]

2 Stay with me, God. The night is dark,
The night is cold: my little spark
Of courage dies. The night is long;
Be with me, God, and make me strong.
A Soldier—His Prayer,[2] st. 1

3 We sure liberated the hell out of this place.
American soldier in the ruins of a French village [1944]; quoted by MAX MILLER, *The Far Shore [1945]*

4 Spartan simplicity must be observed. Nothing will be done merely because it contributes to beauty, convenience, comfort, or prestige.
From the Office of the Chief Signal Officer, U.S. Army [May 29, 1945]

5 Education is what you have left over after you have forgotten everything you have learned. *Saying*

6 Time is a river without banks.[3]
Saying

7 Till Hell freezes over. *Saying*

8 One man, one vote.
Civil rights slogan

9 We shall overcome, we shall overcome,
We shall overcome some day
Oh, deep in my heart I do believe
We shall overcome some day.
Adapted [1960s] for the civil rights movement from an old religious song[4]

10 This is the grave of Mike O'Day
Who died maintaining his right of way.
His right was clear, his will was strong,
But he's just as dead as if he'd been wrong.
Rhyme [20th century]

11 Do not fold, spindle, or mutilate.
Instructions on punch cards and computer cards [c. 1930s]

12 That's the way the cookie crumbles.
Saying [1950s]

13 Garbage in, garbage out (gigo).
Computerists' aphorism [1950s]

14 Black is beautiful.[5] *Slogan [1960s]*

15 Winning isn't everything, it's the only thing.
Saying, often attributed to Vince Lombardi[6]

16 Eyeball to eyeball.[7]
Common expression

17 America, love it or leave it.
Slogan [1960s]

18 It became necessary to destroy the town in order to save it.
Attributed to an American officer firing on Ben Tre, Vietnam [February 8, 1968]

19 Today is the first day of the rest of your life.
Wall slogan [1970s]

20 Expletive deleted.
White House transcripts [published 1974]

Anonymous: African

21 In the time when Dendid created all things,
He created the sun,
And the sun is born, and dies, and comes again. *Old Song (Dinka)*

22 He created man,
And man is born, and dies, and does not come again. *Ib.*

23 Somewhere the Sky touches the Earth, and the name of that place is the End.
Saying (Wakamba)

24 All animals of the forest are alike, though we eat some and not others, because we the Dorobo and the animals all live side by side in the forest. *From a Dorobo*

25 Everything has an end.
Saying (Masai)

26 When elephants fight it is the grass that suffers. *Proverb (Kikuyu)*

27 Haste, haste, has no blessing.
Proverb (Swahili)

---

on 'G.I. Joe,' the 'G.I.' [Government Issue] because of its prevalence in Army talk, and the 'Joe' for the alliterative effect."

[1] From *The Marines' Hymn;* see Anonymous, 922:11.

[2] This poem, found on a scrap of paper in a slit trench in Tunisia during the battle of El Agheila, was printed in *Poems from the Desert,* by members of the British Eighth Army [1944].

[3] Title of a painting by Marc Chagall.
See Marcus Aurelius, 124:25, and Watts, 328:12.

[4] Originating in pre-Civil War days, this song was adapted [c. 1900] by C. ALBERT TINDLEY as a Baptist hymn called "I'll Overcome Some Day." It became famous as a protest theme when sung by black workers on picket lines in Charleston, S.C. [1946].

[5] See Hughes, 854:13.

[6] Winning isn't everything, but wanting to win is.—VINCE [VINCENT THOMAS] LOMBARDI [1913–1970], *interview* [1962]

[7] We're eyeball to eyeball, and I think the other fellow just blinked.—DEAN RUSK [1909–], *Conversation* [October 24, 1962] *during the Cuban missile crisis*

The new New Jersey -- a Republican New Jersey -- knows that the decade's tax cuts helped make prosperity a reality. For the more money people have to spend, the more they can help create growth, opportunity, and progress.

That's the new New Jersey. The old New Jersey -- Jim Florio's New Jersey -- believes something quite different. It regards the private sector as an enemy, not ally. And in policy of, by, and for the government.

Sound outdated? It is. In fact, I heard a story recently which typified this thinking. Two men were sitting in a Trenton restaurant talking about politicians. Onf of them said he thought the syntax of a public official needed a lot of work.

Well, naturally, at first I thought he meant me. And I got ready to say, "Sir, I resemble that charge." But then the fellow said he was really talking about a liberal Congressman. "Sintax?" roared the second man. "You mean to tell me those Democrats down in Washington are putting a tax on that, too?"

That says it all for Jim's opponent: "Tax and tax, spend and spend." I'm sure you've heard the adage, "You're not getting older, you're just getting better." Well, when it comes to the Democrats' notion of "fiscal sanity," their ideas never get any better. Just older, more harmful, and more discredited.

Nowhere is the division of new versus old more clear-cut than in the areas of crime, drugs, and punishment.

Jim Courter served as first assistant prosecutor in his home county of Warren. He's seen the drug peddlers and users. He's

seen the terrible toll caused by crime. And he believes that when we ask what kind of society Americans deserve, our answer is a Nation in which people are safe and feel safe.

That is why Jim proposes to change the rules of the game dramatically -- new and honest solutions for a new New Jersey. He wants mandatory time for firearms offenses. No deals when criminals use a gun. And for the most heinous crimes -- well, here is his response: Unlike Jim Florio, Jim Courter wants constitutional and statutory changes to toughen New Jersey's death penalty..

To repeat: New solutions -- honest solutions. And that's especially true in our war on drugs.

Two weeks ago, I announced America's first national comprehensive strategy to end drug use. Our drug budget totals almost $8 billion. And our plan has four major elements.

First, enforcement. We need more prisons, more courts, more prosecutors. And tougher sentences. You know where drug dealers belong? They belong in jail. The second part of our plan is interdiction; the third, treatment. Finally, our drug program aims to stop use before it starts. Through education and prevention. From grade school to graduate school.

We can win this war, and will. Through the values of self-discipline, self-reliance, and accountability. Perhaps no one better grasps those values than Jim Courter. And not surprisingly, he has endorsed our plan from the very start.

The very day after I announced the Natl. Drug Strat. Jim was at the N.J. Authority talking to the Coast Guard about how the drug strategy will affect N.J.

(Smith/Blessey)
August 28, 1989
Draft One
JERSEY

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: COURTER FUNDRAISER
NEWARK, NEW JERSEY
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1989

Let me begin, Tom, by saying how much I appreciate that introduction. And by adding that I am truly delighted to be with you.

I say that for several reasons. First, because it is always good to be back in a State whose motto is "Liberty and prosperity." And which in the last eight years has been devoted to both. Indeed, if I could borrow a phrase, under Governor Kean liberty and prosperity have gone "perfect together."

Then, there's a second reason I am delighted to be here. Perhaps a writer best expressed it when -- referring to New Jersey's importance -- he called this State "America's main road."

Tonight, we are headed down that road toward a November victory for the Republican Party. And the cause of good government. A victory for our generation. And our children's generation. A victory for the new New Jersey -- Tom Kean's New Jersey. And for my friend and your next Governor -- Congressman James Courter.

I know Jim Courter. Respect him, admire him. Like you, I know how Jim has already enriched the length and breadth of the

Garden State. And how come November 7, he can -- and will -- do infinitely still more.

And the thing is: We must ensure that Jim gets that chance. For he can help keep New Jersey proud. And its economy strong. How do I know that? Well, let me quote one of New Jersey's favorite adopted sons -- the noted philosopher, Montclair's Yogi Berra. Once, Yogi ruminated, "You can observe a lot just by watching." Well, we've observed a lot about Jim Courter by watching him over the years.

We've seen Jim fight to clean up the environment. And to clean up public schools. We've seen him fight the scourge of crime. And its companion midwife, drugs. We've seen him fight to slash auto insurance rates through a progressive and pioneering plan. And we've seen Jim Courter embrace -- by word, and deed -- six of the most beautiful words in the English language. You've got them. "Read my lips -- no new taxes."

These positions embody the new New Jersey -- old values plus new thinking. And will reinforce, not wreck, the doings of the last eight years. They express the belief that a record is something not to stand upon -- but to build upon. And will reaffirm the renaissance that has made New Jersey's success story an event worth retelling.

First, education: For here, as elsewhere, Jim Courter can write for New Jersey the story already written for the __th District. Our Administration has proposed an "Educational Excellence Act of 1989" to reward excellence, demand

accountability, and enhance local flexibility. Jim helped fashion these initiatives. And in the environment, too, he has been a visionary. By supporting our legislation to renew, and recover, our national heritage.

Then, we come to taxes. And here, the cleavage between the old and new New Jersies takes center stage.

The new New Jersey -- Jim Courter's New Jersey -- believes that economic development can ensure an equal right for the powerless and the powerful to be heard and understood. And that private enterprise can help meet needs of distressed locales from __ to __. The new New Jersey boasts leaders like Jim Courter whose 1980s tax cuts made prosperity a reality. For the more money people have to spend, the more they can help create growth, opportunity, and progress -- yes, a non-partisan "GOP."

That's the new New Jersey. The old New Jersey -- Jim's opponent's New Jersey -- enshrines quite another creed. For it believes in policy of, by, and for the government. It regards the private sector as an enemy, not ally. And it repeats this equation, like sleepwalkers in the night: If it's commerce, regulate it. If it's a budget, break it. If there's a problem, Federalize it. And if it's income, penalize it.

Sound discredited? It is. In fact, I heard a story recently which typified this thinking. It seems these two men were sitting in a Trenton bar talking about politicians. The first noted that the syntax of a certain official needed a lot of working on. "Sintax?" roared the second man. "You mean to tell

me those liberals down in Washington are putting a tax on that, too?"

Yes, that says it all for the ideas of Jim's opponent: "Tax and tax, spend and spend." I'm sure you've heard the adage, "You're not getting older, you're just getting better." Well, the ideas I'm referring to are quite the opposite. You see, they're not getting <u>better</u>. They're just getting <u>older</u>.

Nowhere is the division of new versus old more clear-cut than in crimes, drugs, and punishment.

On the one hand -- the <u>left</u> hand, naturally -- Jim Courter's opponent thinks New Jersey's death penalty law is fine as it is. Even though not one cop-killer has ever been executed. Well, I'll tell you what <u>I</u> think: If that law is fine, Tiny Tim is Superman.

On the other hand, here's what Jim Courter believes. And I support his beliefs. He believes that when we ask what kind of society Americans deserve, our answer must be a Nation in which law-abiding people <u>are</u> safe and <u>feel</u> safe. And toward that end, he supports our plan which attacks violent criminals on four fronts. New laws -- to <u>punish</u> them. New agents -- to <u>arrest</u> them. New prosecutors -- to <u>convict</u> them. And new prisons -- to <u>hold</u> them.

Jim Courter proposes to dramatically change the rules of the game -- <u>new</u> and honest solutions for a <u>new</u> New Jersey. He wants <u>mandatory</u> time for firearms. And no deals when criminals use a gun. And for the most heinous crimes -- well, Jim believes no

penalty is too tough. For anyone who kills a law-enforcement officer, here is Jim's response -- and my response: To riff-raff and cop-killers, you deserve not charity -- but the recompense of the chair.

To repeat: New solutions -- honest solutions -- for a new New Jersey. And nowhere more than in our crusade against drugs.

Two weeks ago, I announced America's first national strategy to outlast drug abuse. Our program aims -- through education, and prevention -- to stop drug use before its start. And second, to help addicts who want to go clean. With special emphasis on expectant mothers. Then, there's the third aspect: Giving drug dealers the security of the slammer. And finally, working with other governments to help crack international drug rings.

Ladies and gentlemen, no representative has been more supportive of our program than Jim Courter. For he knows that the old ways will not work. Instead, he wants to fight drugs on any front, and every front. Supply and demand. Education and rehabilitation. Interdiction and enforcement. Fighting block-by-block. Winning kid-by-kid.

Our war against drugs celebrates the values that will make victory possible -- self-discipline, self-reliance, compassion, accountability. The values central to Jim Courter's campaign -- and indeed, to New Jersey. And it insists that we face old problems in a new way --by putting emphasis where the crisis is -- locally, in the community. The communities that will decide the future of New Jersey.

That future will demand independent, tough-minded, forward-looking thinking. Thinking unencumbered by bosses or graft. It will require leaders who know, with Jefferson, that "The whole art of government lies in being honest." And who have the vision that Jim Courter has shown, for instance, in his auto insurance plan. Discarding what has not worked. Trying what may work. Urging re-regulation -- not merely deregulation. Rejecting -- unlike his opponent -- more of the same.

Because more of the same's not good enough. Not for New Jersey. Or America. Not in terms of drugs, or crime, or education, or the environment. Not in our hope -- our children's hope -- for a tomorrow even brighter than today.

Tom Kean knows that. That's why he's becoming President of __. And why he agreed to serve as honorary chairman of our "Points of Light Initiative" to bring community service to every corner of America. And Jim Courter -- he knows it, too. That's why he intends to build on Tom Kean's beginnings. For he knows what's on New Jersey's mind, and in its heart. And his goal is a better, fairer, more prosperous life for all.

Can we achieve that goal? Of course we can -- both here and across America. How? Through the old values and new thinking embodied by this campaign.

Look at Jim Courter -- a moral man, a family man. Look at how he knows this State. Pearl Buck once said, "I do not need books to tell me about New Jersey." Well, neither does Jim Courter. He knows its market gardens and dairy farms. Its

wetlands and highlands. He loves its Pine Barrens and Eastern Shore. Its diversity and beauty.

Look, too, at this State -- a State of pioneers, architects, and heroes of enterprise. Look at Walt Whitman [PAUSE] . . . yes, New York claims him -- but you know better. Or in science, to Thomas Edison. Look in statecraft, to Alexander Woolcott. Or in sports, to an American icon: Vince Lombardi. Their values -- like Jim's -- encapsule the new New Jersey.

Look, finally, to the kids -- and how new thinking can help us build their new New Jersey. You know, the great statesman Tom Paine hailed from __. And he once said, "We fight not to enslave, but to set a country free. And to make room upon the earth for honest men to live in." Well, this election is about creating a State for our kids to live in. Old values -- new thinking -- the definition of New Jersey.

You know, Coach Lombardi often said that, "Winning's not the best thing -- it's the only thing." Fellow Republicans, winning may not be the only thing, but -- here, I speak from experience -- it's vastly better than the alternative.

So, let us help Jim Courter build the new New Jersey. And help this State enrich our future, and our children.

To New Jersey's Republican Party, a very happy fall of 1989.

To Jim Courter come November 7, many happy returns.

And to all of you personally, my deepest thanks for allowing me to share this wonderful occasion. God bless you, and God bless this land we love -- the United States of America.

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The Deerslayer

James Lawrence
"Don't give up the ship."
War of 1812

Orel Hershiser

~~Daniel~~

David Copperfield
magician

Karl Lewis

Ref
E155
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N.J. motto

State Names, Seals, Flags, and Symbols:

A HISTORICAL GUIDE

Benjamin F. Shearer and
Barbara S. Shearer

ILLUSTRATIONS BY
Jerrie Yehling Smith

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Symbols

Words"

mpass Us As with a Shield"

the Calvert family, whose history
ond motto is derived directly from
n.[32]

e Quietem[33]

ce, but Peace Only under Liberty"

seal commissioned in 1775, after
erefore royal seals, lost legitimacy.
n Sydney, who penned it in 1659.[34]

Circumspice[35]

insula, Look About You"

35 great seal, which was designed
, paraphrased the inscription on
dral in London, so that the lower
nonument by which Christopher

he Latin motto on the territorial
ed a new state seal. The seal was
ehind Minnesota's having become

ident of education, suggested this
under consideration in 1894.[40]

Missouri

Motto: *Salus Populi Suprema Lex Esto*[41]

Translation: "The Welfare of the People Shall Be the Supreme Law"

Origin: This motto has always been found on the state seal, which was adopted in 1822. Its source is Cicero's *De Legibus*.[42]

Montana

Motto: *Oro y Plata*[43]

Translation: "Gold and Silver"

Origin: This motto first appeared on the territorial seal adopted in 1865. It had been suggested by a special committee charged with designing the seal. Curiously, it was decided that the motto should be Spanish, but no one knew enough Spanish to formulate the motto correctly in the committee report. The error was corrected before the seal was struck.[44]

Nebraska

Motto: "Equality Before the Law"[45]

Origin: This motto was adopted in 1867 along with the state seal. It speaks to the cornerstone of the American system of justice. In 1963, the legislature also adopted a state symbol, a sooner, and a slogan: "Welcome to Nebraskaland, where the West begins."[46]

Nevada

Motto: "All for Our Country"[47]

Origin: This motto was adopted in 1866 along with the state seal. It is clearly an expression of patriotism.

New Hampshire

Motto: "Live Free or Die"[48]

Origin: These words were written as a toast for a veterans' reunion on July 31, 1809, by General John Stark. The motto was adopted by the legislature in 1945.[49]

New Jersey

Motto: "Liberty and Prosperity"[50]

Origin: The state had used this patriotic, hopeful motto informally for at

PN6081
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Paine

Familiar Quotations

A collection of passages, phrases and proverbs traced to their sources in ancient and modern literature

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and the editorial staff of Little, Brown and Company

LITTLE, BROWN AND COMPANY • BOSTON • TORONTO

1 Decent easy men, who supinely enjoyed the gifts of the founder. *Ib.*

2 It was here [at the age of seventeen] that I suspended my religious inquiries. *Ib.*

3 I saw and loved. *Ib.*

4 I sighed as a lover, I obeyed as a son. *Ib.*

5 [Of London] Crowds without company, and dissipation without pleasure. *Ib.*

6 The captain of the Hampshire grenadiers[1] . . . has not been useless to the historian of the Roman Empire. *Ib.*

7 It was at Rome, on the fifteenth of October 1764, as I sat musing amidst the ruins of the Capitol, while the barefoot friars were singing vespers in the Temple of Jupiter, that the idea of writing the decline and fall of the city first started to my mind. *Ib.*

Thomas Paine

1737–1809

8 From the east to the west blow the trumpet to arms!
Through the land let the sound of it flee;
Let the far and the near all unite, with a cheer,
In defense of our Liberty Tree.
The Liberty Tree [July 1775], st. 4

9 Society in every state is a blessing, but Government, even in its best state, is but a necessary evil; in its worst state, an intolerable one. *Common Sense [1776]*

10 Suspicion is the companion of mean souls, and the bane of all good society. *Ib.*

11 When we are planning for posterity, we ought to remember that virtue is not hereditary. *Ib.*

12 O! ye that love mankind! Ye that dare oppose not only the tyranny but the tyrant, stand forth! Every spot of the Old World is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. Asia and Africa have long expelled her. Europe regards her as a stranger and England hath given her warning to depart. O! receive the fugitive and prepare in time an asylum for mankind.[2] *Ib.*

13 These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it *now*, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly; 'tis dearness only that gives everything its value. Heaven knows how to put a proper price upon its goods; and it would be strange indeed, if so celestial an article as *Freedom* should not be highly rated.
The American Crisis, no. 1 [December 23, 1776]

14 Panics, in some cases, have their uses; they produce as much good as hurt. Their duration is always short; the mind soon grows through them and acquires a firmer habit than before. But their peculiar advantage is, that they are the touchstone of sincerity and hypocrisy, and bring things and men to light, which might otherwise have lain forever undiscovered. *Ib.*

15 Not a place upon earth might be so happy as America. Her situation is remote from all the wrangling world, and she has nothing to do but to trade with them. *Ib.*

16 A bad cause will ever be supported by bad means and bad men.
Ib. 2 [January 13, 1777]

17 Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom must, like men, undergo the fatigue of supporting it.
Ib. 4 [September 12, 1777]

18 It is not a field of a few acres of ground, but a cause, that we are defending, and whether we defeat the enemy in one battle, or by degrees, the consequences will be the same. *Ib.*

19 We fight not to enslave, but to set a country free, and to make room upon the earth for honest men to live in. *Ib.*

20 It is the object only of war that makes it honorable. And if there was ever a *just* war since the world began, it is this in which America is now engaged.
Ib. 5 [March 21, 1778]

21 Character is much easier kept than recovered. *Ib. 13 [April 19, 1783]*

22 War involves in its progress such a train of unforeseen and unsupposed circumstances that no human wisdom can calculate the end. It has but one thing certain, and that is to increase taxes.
Prospects on the Rubicon [1787]

[1] Gibbon was a captain in the Hampshire militia from June 12, 1759, to December 23, 1762.

[2] See Samuel Adams, 365:5.

DOUG GAMBLE

Steph B.

424 - 36th Place
Manhattan Beach, CA 90266
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Sept. 12/89

TO: KRISTEN GEAR
2 Pages

JIM COURTER NEW JERSEY FUNDRAISER (Sept. 22)

I'M GLAD TO BE HERE WITH MY FRIEND JIM COURTER. I KNOW YOU WANTED TO HEAR A FEW WORDS FROM A PROMINANT NATIONAL FIGURE WHO CAN REALLY FIRE UP A CROWD AND GENERATE SOME REAL EXCITEMENT. UNFORTUNATELY, BORIS YELTSIN HAD TO GO BACK TO MOSCOW SO I'M HERE INSTEAD.

IF YOU WATCHED "PRIME TIME LIVE" LAST NIGHT YOU SAW THE WHITE HOUSE TOUR TAKEN BY DIANE SAWYER AND SAM DONALDSON. IT WAS LIKE A FAIRY TALE. BEAUTY AND THE BEAST.

SAM DONALDSON MAY NOT BE ON THE WHITE HOUSE BEAT ANYMORE, BUT HE'S STILL AN AGGRESSIVE REPORTER. WHILE ME AND BARBARA WERE LYING IN BED LAST NIGHT SHE ASKED ME A QUESTION AND I ANSWERED IT. THEN WE HEARD A VOICE COMING FROM UNDERNEATH THE BED SAYING "MAY I ASK A FOLLOW-UP, MR. PRESIDENT?"

I HOPE THE DEMOCRATS ARE PLEASED WITH THE POLLS IN THIS RACE. IT JUST PROVES THAT JIM'S PLAN TO LULL THEM INTO A FALSE SENSE OF SECURITY IS WORKING.

MORE...

TO: KRISTEN GEAR - JIM COURTER FUNDRAISER (CONT'D)

I WOULDN'T BE TOO CONCERNED WITH WHAT THE POLLS SAY ABOUT THIS RACE. AT ONE POINT IN LAST YEAR'S PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN I WAS 17 POINTS BEHIND, AND IF YOU WANT TO KNOW WHAT HAPPENED, JUST ASK PRESIDENT DUKAKIS.

IF THE VOTERS OF NEW JERSEY WANT TO GAMBLE, THEY CAN GO TO ATLANTIC CITY. THEY DON'T NEED TO RISK EVERYTHING ON A BIG-SPENDING LIBERAL LIKE JIM FLORIO.

STATE OF NEW JERSEY
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
CN-001
TRENTON
08625

THOMAS H. KEAN
GOVERNOR

COVER PAGE

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STATE OF NEW JERSEY
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

From the desk of

MARLA UCELLI
Special Assistant to the Governor for Education

Date 9/14/89 To Stephanie Blessey
The White House

Attached is a list of some of our best alternate route teachers who entered the program in 1988. I've checked the examples that I think would be most suitable.

M.U.

Attachments

ALL ALT. ROUTE TEACHERS

APPENDIX B

Geraldine R. Dodge Foundation Teaching Fellows

1988 Award Winners

From the grant offered by the Geraldine R. Dodge Foundation, the state was able to award 17 Dodge Fellowships in 1988. These grants of $5,000 are used by the individual to improve her or his teaching. This fourth year of awards bring the total of Dodge Fellows to 65. Fellows have used awards for further study in an academic field, travel, and other approved projects. Fellows also participate in a series of workshops to discuss ways to improve the process of education. These are the 1988 Fellows:

1. Barbara Chadwick

   Barbara earned her undergraduate degree in physics at Richard Stockton State College and her master's in biomedicine at the University of Texas. She has served as an adjunct lab instructor at the college level as well as a director of computer education. She has published articles on computer education and served on the New Jersey Basic Skills Council. Teaching math in Pleasantville.

2. Lauren Egbert

   Lauren earned her bachelor's degree in Spanish at Tulane University where she graduated summa cum laude and Phi Beta Kappa. She studied in Madrid during her senior year and was named Outstanding Senior Scholar by her faculty. After graduation, Lauren taught ESL at an adult learning center in New Jersey. Teaching Spanish in Long Branch City.

3. Paul Howe

   Paul earned his undergraduate degree in English at LaSalle University where he studied under a President's Scholarship and a Gannett Scholarship. He received his master's degree from Harvard University where he was a teaching fellow and is currently a Ph.D. candidate. Paul has been an actor and vocal soloist in the New England Conservatory of Music and was head of his college drama society. Teaching English in Cherry Hill.

4. Maurice Rosales

   Maurice earned his undergraduate degree in English at SUNY, Purchase and took graduate coursework at the University of Arkansas where he was a teaching assistant. He is bilingual and has published several translations of poetry. Maurice has experience as a computer operator, an advertising copywritar and director of an immigration job placement service. Teaching English in Teaneck.

5. Paul Whitehill

Paul graduated with honors from Trinity College in Ireland where he earned a bachelor's degree in history and a law degree. He received an MBA degree from Columbia University and also completed coursework for a major in Spanish. Paul is multi-lingual and worked for 10 years as a multi-lingual marketing executive for Fortune 500 companies in Latin America. He has taught at Paterson Catholic High School and Passaic County Community College. Teaching Spanish in Hackettstown.

6. Susan Bergey

Susan graduated with honors from Philadelphia University of the Arts and earned her master's degree at Mannes College of Music. Susan was a recipient of the Demrosch Scholarship. She performs extensively and is a section member of the New York City Symphony and a hornist with several orchestras in the New York area, including the Garden State Symphonic Band. She has worked also as registrar and a faculty member at Mannes College of Music. Teaching music in Elizabeth.

7. Joseph Smith

Joseph received his bachelor's degree in English from Syracuse University where he graduated Phi Beta Kappa and magna cum laude. He earned his master's in English at New York University. Joseph has worked as a newspaper reporter, a copy editor for a major publishing company and he has taught Sunday school and served as a scout leader. Teaching English in Linden.

8. Jeffrey Schalk

Jeffrey earned his bachelor's degree in fine arts at Cooper Union where he was awarded a prize for excellence in drawing. He received his master's degree in fine arts from Yale. He has had several exhibitions and has worked as a college instructor and served as assistant to the director at the Pace Gallery. Teacing art in Ridgefield Park.

9. Philip Keller

Philip earned his bachelor's degree in engineering at Princeton University. He was awarded a National Merit Scholarship and a New York Building Industries Scholarship. He has worked as an assistant project superintendent in public works construction and as a computer systems manager with a New York construction firm. Teaching science in Long Branch City.

10. Ann Crawford

Ann received her bachelor's degree in music from Illinois Wesleyan University where she gradated first in her class as valedictorian. She has done post-graduate study at Julliard. She has extensive experience as a performer and musical director. Ann has taught in several private

schools as well as at the Robin Horneff Performing Arts Center. Teaching music in Ridgefield.

11. Caroline Brayer

Caroline earned her bachelor's degree in mathematics and English at Amherst College where she attended under a New York Regents Scholarship and graduated with honors. She was president of the Amherst Women's Rubgy Club and has worked as a tutor and a pool director. Teaching math at Millstone.

12. Mina Baisch

Mina received her undergraduate degree in mathematics from Swarthmore College where she was involved in Upward Bound. She has worked as a volunteer in a residential institute for the mentally handicapped, as a private school teaching fellow and a public school substitute teacher. Teaching math in Camden.

13. Joe Swain

Joe earned his undergraduate degree in political science at the University of North Carolina where he graduated Phi Beta Kappa. He earned his master's degree in international studies at Princeton where he received a University Fellowship. Joe has taught at the university level and in the private school sector. Teaching social studies in Lakewood.

14. Paulette Blowe

Paulette received her bachelor's degree in music at Williams College where she received the Herbert Lehman Scholarship for academic achievement and community service and was a member of the college woodwind ensemble, the choral society and the track team. She was also active in black student organizations. Paulette lived for five years in Kenya and has worked as a tutor of high school students. Teaching at the elementary level in Plainfield.

15. Elyse Truland

Elyse received her undergraduate degree in psychology from Franklyn and Marshall College where she graduated Phi Beta Kappa and magna cum laude with honors in psychology. At Franklyn and Marshall she was a Dana Scholar and vice president of the national psychology honor society, and she won the Paul Whitely prize in her field. She was worked as a Hillel director with B'nai B'rith and has served as a child care volunteer and a tutor. Teaching psychology in Bayonne.

Newark

Courter, Florio set their sights on gun control

Gubernatorial candidates discuss stances on arms, death penalty

By DAVID WALD

Gubernatorial candidates Jim Courter and James J. Florio continued to trade shots yesterday over gun control and the death penalty in separate appearances with representatives of police organizations.

Rep. Florio, the Democratic candidate, challenged Courter for failing to support a gun control measure that would ban assault weapons and said Courter was wrong to suggest that New Jersey's death penalty law needs to be changed.

Rep. Courter, the Republican, said the bill banning assault weapons is flawed and should be amended before passage. Courter also said the death penalty had to be changed because the state Supreme Court continued to overturn death penalties.

Florio was endorsed yesterday by two Mercer County police organizations, the Mercer County Sheriffs' Officers PBA Local 187 and the Mercer County Brothers Officers Law Enforcement Society.

He was joined by Senate President John Russo (D-Ocean), a co-chairman of his campaign, at a Trenton news conference.

Russo, sponsor of the law that reinstated the death penalty in New Jersey, said he was upset with politicians "pandering for votes on the issue of capital punishment."

He said the New Jersey law was comprehensive and that he saw no need to "tinker with the state constitution."

Florio, who supports the death penalty, said Courter's position would force changes that would result in more litigation and more delays.

But Courter, campaigning in Newark, where he received the endorsement of the Hispanic Law Enforcement Society of Essex County, said, "The death penalty is not working."

He said the state Supreme Court has rewritten the death penalty statute and that the law needs to be clarified "so it can be used."

Courter similarly said legislation sponsored by state Sen. Frank X. Graves (D-Passaic), the mayor of Paterson, was too vague.

Graves' bill banning assault weapons has been endorsed by Florio and Gov. Thomas Kean.

Courter said he supports banning assault weapons but that the Graves bill was "internally inconsistent."

He said there are instances in the bill in which the same type of weapon is both prohibited and exempted. He said he would prefer legislation similar to the kind passed in California which specifically lists the type and manufacturer of a weapon.

The Republican said that if the law is passed as written, it could be tied up in litigation.

Courter also challenged Florio's sincerity on the gun control issue, noting that Florio in 1981 ran for governor with the support of the National Rifle Association.

Courter admitted that he accepted $1,500 in contributions from the NRA from 1980 to 1983, but added, "There's a difference. Florio's claiming he's the leader on gun control. I think that's inconsistent."

Florio's press secretary, Jon Shure, said, "Jim Florio throughout his career has balanced the rights of sportsmen with the legitimate need to take guns away from criminals. Every vote he has cast has reflected that view. Certainly his position on banning assault weapons reflects that."

Neither Florio nor Courter supports a ban on the sale or possession of handguns.

Courter: Death penalty law is weak

By Paul J. Hendrie
Record Staff Writer

V. James Landano doesn't support capital punishment.

"Had the death penalty been in effect for me, I definitely would have been executed," Landano said. A federal judge last month overturned Landano's 12-year-old murder conviction in the killing of an off-duty Newark police officer.

But if Republican Rep. Jim Courter becomes governor and gets his way, death penalty cases won't linger for years and years.

Courter, of Warren County, is calling for a major overhaul of the state's capital punishment law, which he calls a "paper tiger" weakened by a "liberal" state Supreme Court.

His Democratic opponent, Rep. Jim Florio of Camden County, agrees that people who kill should be subjected to capital punishment, but he says the law is fine and should be left alone.

Two years have passed since a jury voted to send a prisoner to death row. And nobody has been executed in New Jersey since capital punishment again became law in 1982.

At a news conference Monday, Courter accused his opponent of playing "lip service" to a capital punishment law that cannot be enforced.

"Does he want an ineffective death penalty law that fails to punish murderders, drug kingpins, and cop killers?" Courter said of his opponent.

THE RACE FOR GOVERNOR

Reiterating his support for capital punishment, Florio said changing the law now would require new court interpretations.

"Jim Courter wants to put the death penalty law back in court, where further litigation will continue to tie it up," Florio said.

Courter proposes amending the state constitution to apply capital punishment to criminals with "reckless disregard" for human life and include accomplices who are the "driving force" in murders.

The Republican nominee would allow juries to consider a murderer's drug-related crimes and violent history in weighing death sentences. A provision allowing one juror to block the death penalty would be scrapped by Courter, as would a review to ensure that the penalty is imposed consistently in different parts of the state.

Civil libertarians say these so-called proportionality reviews are important because minorities and the poor are more likely to receive a capital sentence. But Courter said the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled such reviews are not necessary. He said the state courts use them as excuses to reverse capital sentences.

"I've been an advocate all along of not changing the death penalty" law, said Jim O'Brien, chairman of the state Coalition of Victims' Rights and the father of a murdered girl. "But during the last year, I've watched the New Jersey Supreme Court slowly but surely take away this death penalty."

Courter insisted changing the law would not delay executions further, because the existing law has been narrowed by the state Supreme Court. And he said his plan would not make it easier to convict anybody — it would just become easier to impose capital punishment once somebody was convicted.

Florio, Courter exchange barbs on death penalty, environment

Newark Star Ledger p21 8/8/89

By KEVIN COUGHLIN

New Jersey's gubernatorial candidates traded sharp words yesterday over the death penalty and the environment in separate Morris County appearances.

"It's a colossal act of chutzpah to redefine yourself at the 11th hour as a conservationist when the record clearly puts you in the camp of those who ... would have concreted over New Jersey and the country," said Rep. James Florio (D-1st Dist.) near a wooded pond in Denville.

Florio visited the 415-acre former Jersey City watershed site, which local environmentalists are trying to save from a housing development, to stress his environmental record. He tried to paint his opponent, Rep. Jim Courter (R-12th Dist.), as hawkish when it comes to spending money for nerve gas, the contras and laser weaponry, but sheepish on preserving areas where hawks might fly. Florio said Courter was the state's only lawmaker to oppose the Pinelands Preservation Act, which he authored.

Speaking outside the Morris County Courthouse in Morristown an hour later, Courter suggested Florio should apologize for "misleading" the public.

"Once again, he's using a smokescreen," Courter said. He explained that he favors saving open space, but voted against the Pinelands bill because he thought it did not fairly compensate landowners for their property. And he said his votes on nerve gas and chemical warfare bills have been aimed at reducing deadly stockpiles, some of which date to World War II.

Meanwhile, Courter, a former Warren County assistant prosecutor, assailed Florio for paying "lip service" to the death penalty. Courter said the death penalty has deterrent value and should be strengthened. The state Supreme Court has interpreted the law too narrowly, he said, eroding its applicability and making the measure a "paper tiger."

Insisting that violent crime is among the public's key concerns, Courter said the state Constitution should be amended to include the death penalty for criminals showing a "reckless disregard for human life" in causing a death. He also wants the penalty extended to killers' accomplices, and he wants drug-related crimes and past violent offenses factored into death penalty deliberations.

Courter objects to a provision enabling a single juror to block the death penalty. He further disagrees with the "proportionality" part of the statute that requires similar crimes to receive similar penalties throughout the state. Courter termed that requirement unclear and unnecessary, according to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Endorsing Courter yesterday was James O'Brien, a Mendham Township man whose 25-year-old daughter was murdered in 1982. The convicted killer received a life sentence.

O'Brien, chairman of a crime victims' rights group, expressed impatience with a state court system he views as overly lenient regarding filing of death sentence appeals. Appeals of New Jersey death penalty cases average 12 years, compared with just under seven years nationally, he said.

Florio said many death penalty cases are nearing the end of appeals, however, and to modify the law simply would invite another 10 or 12 years of appeals. Under a tougher law, Florio added, V. James Landano—whose murder conviction was overturned last week after 12 years—might have been executed.

But Florio said he still views the death penalty as a deterrent: "I'm from the Old Testament school that says when you take someone else's life, you put your own life in jeopardy."

The Camden congressman, campaigning with his wife, Lucinda, cited preservation of land near water supplies as a centerpiece of his campaign and said he backs the Open Space Bond Act and Natural Resources Trust Fund. Endorsed by the Sierra Club, Florio asserted that Courter is stingy with funds for the Interior Department and consistently gets low marks from the League of Conservation Voters.

Courter claimed that organization is biased toward Democrats. He also denied press accounts that his campaign is sputtering, contending July and August traditionally are months for strategizing. He rapped Florio as a "big spender" with a high performance rating by the American Civil Liberties Union—a group Courter said cares more for the rights of criminals than victims.

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Florio details nine-part plan to combat drugs

6/28/89 p. 10 Newark Star Ledger

State czar, inmate boot camp, ban on assault arms envisioned

By JOSEPH D. McCAFFREY

Democratic gubernatorial candidate Rep. James J. Florio (D-1st Dist.) yesterday announced a nine-part anti-crime plan to reclaim the streets of New Jersey's cities from drug pushers.

At a press conference on the plaza in front of the Camden County Hall of Justice in Camden, Florio outlined an anti-drug program which calls for a state drug czar, military-type boot camps for users and first time offenders, and a statewide ban on military assault weapons.

The first part of Florio's program called for "swift, certain punishment" for drug pushers.

"Drug laws shouldn't be a hollow shell. I'll start a program in three counties, and then expand it to shorten the time between arrest and sentencing. Criminals will know we aren't fooling around."

For the second point Florio said, "I will call upon the governors of New York, Pennsylvania and Delaware to join New Jersey in a joint task force that will make the most of our intelligence and resources. And I'll set up special drug task forces within the state to help local police in heavy crime areas."

Third, Florio said he would push for a ban on assault weapons. "We have to follow through on the start made by Sen. Frank Graves (D-Passaic) and the state Senate and ban assault weapons. Our police are being outgunned. I've always balanced the legitimate rights of sportsmen with the need to keep guns out of the hands of criminals, and I can assure you that hunters don't need Uzis and AK-47s."

Fourth, Florio said, "Penalties must be toughened." He endorsed the death penalty for the killing of any law enforcement officer.

Florio said he will appoint a single person in the Attorney General's Office to track drug cases so the law is applied uniformly from county to county.

Fifth, Florio proposed "boot camp"-type jails for some drug offenders, or some kind of community service.

"Not every drug user is a hardened criminal, but they should feel the sting of loss of liberty. It's also an appropriate way to pay back their neighbors for thoughtless, potentially dangerous behavior."

Sixth, Florio said he will press for more aggressive confiscation of property belonging to drug criminals.

"That money should be educating children, not supplying criminals with speedboats and fancy cars."

Seventh, Florio proposed that health insurance policies should cover drug treatment, "just as they now cover alcoholism."

Eighth, he proposed greater education efforts down to the pre-school level.

"The danger is that kids find out too late about how bad drugs are—not too early," he said.

And ninth, he said, "I will set up the Governor's Office on Substance Abuse to direct and coordinate our efforts against drugs.

"Call it a drug czar if you like," he said.

"I've talked a lot in this campaign about safe air and safe water. They are important, but so are safe streets. So is the peace of mind that comes from knowing that children walking to school aren't running a gauntlet of pushers," Florio said.

"It isn't enough to yearn for a simpler time. We have to work and fight to re-establish the values that made this state and this country great."

Florio said children must be reached at an early age, and the earlier the better. He said he knows a middle school teacher named Sarah Davis. "One day she came to me and said, 'How do I teach values to 8- and 9-year-olds who have $300 in their pockets?'

"When I was that age I used to deliver newspapers. They are already in the drug business."

Florio also praised Assemblyman Wayne Bryant (D-Camden), who was in the audience, for preparing a bill that would declare public housing projects "drug-free zones," just like school zones are now.

Florio said that bill would be introduced in the Assembly tomorrow. It would mandate jail sentences for pushers convicted of selling drugs in public housing projects.

Florio said, "If such a bill hasn't been signed already, I'll be proud to sign it when I become governor."

Florio's promise: I won't lose again

4/4/89

By FRED PIERETTI
Home News Trenton bureau

ASBURY PARK — Acting every bit like the front-runner for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination, Rep. Jim Florio yesterday launched his third try for the Statehouse, promising to appoint an "environmental prosecutor" to "track down polluters who poison our state."

Florio, D-1st Dist., an eight-term congressman from Camden County, stressed the theme of environmental protection in his announcement speech, which was given first at the Stevens Institute of Technology in Hoboken and then the Berkeley-Carteret Hotel in Asbury Park. Florio was to speak outdoors at both locations, but rain forced his announcement inside.

Ironically, water was the symbol the 51-year-old legislator chose to convey his first message of the 1989 gubernatorial campaign.

"Today, I announce for governor ause I want to make sure that n we turn on the faucet, we get safe, clean, pure drinking water," Florio told about 300 enthusiastic supporters at both sites. "I want to be the governor who makes sure that we can always enjoy the beauty and inspiration of the Jersey Shore."

Florio is widely perceived as a national champion of the environment. He is the author of the federal Superfund law to clean up toxic waste sites and other landmark environmental legislation.

Florio, however, avoided revealing his plans on auto insurance reform, a central issue in the primary race for both Republicans and Democrats. Calling it a "Jersey Devil of a car insurance system," Florio did say that "high premiums" will no longer be "another unfair tax" on working people. He promised to discuss his proposal for auto insurance reform today at a press conference at his alma mater, Trenton State College.

On the issue of drug abuse, Florio said he favored the death penalty "where appropriate" in fighting the problem. Jon Shure, a Florio campaign spokesman, said Florio supported federal legislation that called for the death penalty for drug kingpins and when drugs are involved in a killing.

Florio begins his third — and long-expected — bid for governor with a wide lead over his two rivals, Assemblyman Alan Karcher, D-Middlesex, and Princeton Borough Mayor Barbara Sigmund. Florio has been successfully courting party leaders and has the backing of 20

See FLORIO, Page A2

Continued from Page A1

of 21 county chairmen and numerous state and municipal officials. Both state Sen. President John F. Russo, D-Ocean, and Sen. Majority Leader John A. Lynch, D-Middlesex, Union, cited Florio's statewide lead when they dropped out of the race.

Florio lost the Democratic primary in 1977, but received the nomination in 1981, only to lose the November contest to Gov. Thomas H. Kean by 1,797 votes, the closest election in state history.

"I've learned a lot since then," said Florio, a former Golden Gloves boxer. "I don't intend to lose again."

One lesson the Brooklyn-born congressman evidently took to heart was about campaign strategy. Observers ascribed the 1981 loss to Kean in part to Florio's perceived aloofness toward people. In an effort to be more personal, Florio made his first grandson, Matthew, who is 1-year-old today, a theme of his campaign.

"Any grandparent can tell you that when you look into the face of the child of your child," Florio said, "the promises you make are promises you keep."

Florio also made both speeches with his wife, Lucinda Coleman Florio, at his side. Florio is divorced from his first wife, Ann, and married Lucinda, who teaches third grade in Pine Hill, last year.

Echoing Kean's commitment to education, Florio also touched on this issue.

"I know that education is another word for opportunity," he said. "I know that a state where some kids aspire to the best colleges and others can't read is not a state that can grow."