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MEMORANDUM
OF CALL

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TO:

~~Christina~~ SEB

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YOU WERE VISITED BY-

Bill Palatuchi

OF (Organization)

NJ

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MESSAGE

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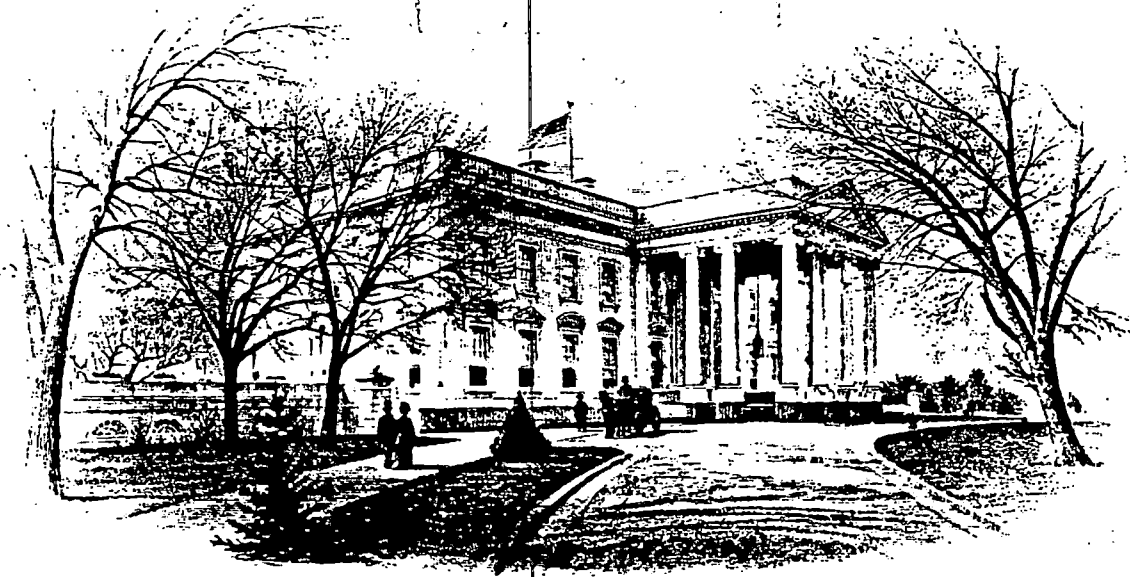
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TO Ken Connolly

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WEBSTER'S AMERICAN BIOGRAPHIES

Charles Van Doren, EDITOR

Robert McHenry, ASSOCIATE EDITOR

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SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS

Journal of Negro History. In 1921 he organized Associated Publishers, Inc., to afford blacks the opportunity to publish works on Negro culture that other publishers would not readily accept. He himself wrote many books on black history, including *The Negro in Our History*, 1922, long a widely used textbook; *African Myths*, 1928; *The Rural Negro*, 1930; *The African Background Outlined*, 1936; and *African Heroes and Heroines*, 1939. In 1926, the year he was awarded the Spingarn Medal of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), he inaugurated the observance of Negro History Week, and in 1937 began publication of the *Negro History Bulletin*, designed for use in schools. He devoted much time to urging other blacks to take up the study of the history of their people, thus laying the foundation for widespread adoption of black studies in schools in the 1960s. From 1944 until his death Woodson was engaged in editing the six-volume *Encyclopedia Africana*. He died in Washington, D.C., on April 4, 1950.

Woodward, Comer Vann (1908–), historian. Born on November 13, 1908, in Vanndale, Cross County, Arkansas, a town named after his mother's family, C. Vann Woodward graduated from Emory University in 1930, studied at Columbia University and took his M.A. there in 1932, and then obtained his Ph.D. from the University of North Carolina in 1937. His post-graduate studies were interrupted by teaching assignments at the Georgia Institute of Technology in 1930–1931 and 1932–1933; he taught history at the University of Florida, 1937–1939, at the University of Virginia, 1939–1940, and at Scripps College, 1940–1943, before serving in the navy during World War II. Returning from active service in 1946, he joined the faculty at The Johns Hopkins University that year and remained until 1961, when he became Sterling Professor of History at Yale. He was also from time to time a visiting professor at several American institutions and was Harmsworth Professor of American History at Oxford, 1954–1955. He was the author of a number of influential books which gained him a reputation as the dean of historians of the South. In 1968–1969 he became the first historian to serve concurrently as president of both the American Historical Association and the Organization of American Historians. His books included *Tom Watson: Agrarian Rebel*, 1938; *The Battle of Leyte Gulf*, 1947; *Origins of the New South, 1877–1913*, 1951, winner of the 1952 Bancroft Prize for history; *Reunion and Reaction: The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction*, 1951; *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 1955; *The Burden of Southern History*, 1961; and *American Counterpoint: Slavery and Race in the North-South Dialogue*, 1971. In his later works, and especially in widely discussed magazine articles in the 1960s, he emphasized the necessity for American historians to reconsider Southern and especially Negro history in order to arrive at a truer understanding of the nation's past and also its future.

Woodward was also the editor of *The Comparative Approach to American History*, 1968.

Woodward, Robert Burns (1917–1979), chemist. Born in Boston on April 10, 1917, Woodward graduated from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in 1936 and one year later, at the age of twenty, took his doctorate in chemistry at the same institution. In 1938 he became a fellow of Harvard College, and two years later he became an instructor in chemistry there. He remained at Harvard throughout his teaching and research career, advancing to full professor in 1951 and to the Morris Loeb professorship in 1953. He also served as consultant to various companies, including the Pfizer Chemical and Polaroid companies. His main area of work was the laboratory synthesis of organic compounds. During World War II he and his associates successfully achieved a total synthesis of quinine, a substance in short supply because of the war. In 1947 he announced the synthesis of protein analogues, an attainment useful in medical research and in the manufacture of plastics and antibiotics. The first successful synthesis of a steroid, a highly complex type of organic molecule, was achieved in 1951. This led to the greater production and availability of rare drugs such as cortisone. During the next decade he and his coworkers were able to synthesize a great number of steroids and alkaloids, including strychnine (1954), lysergic acid (1954), reserpine (1956), chlorophyll (1961), and tetracycline (1962). Woodward also contributed to the understanding of the structures of such substances as penicillin and other antibiotics. In 1965 he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Chemistry for his work in chemical synthesis, the citation noting particularly his synthesis of chlorophyll. In 1972 he synthesized vitamin B-12, the most intricate molecule synthesized up to that time. He died on July 8, 1979, in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Woollcott, Alexander (1887–1943), critic and actor. Born in Phalanx, Monmouth County, New Jersey, on January 19, 1887, Woollcott grew up there and in Kansas City, Missouri, and Philadelphia. He graduated from Hamilton College in 1909, and went to work as a reporter for the *New York Times*. In 1914 he became the drama critic of the *Times*, thus launching a career that saw him become one of the most influential arbiters of taste in theater and literature in the years between the World Wars. Except for service in Europe during World War I (where he worked on the staff of the army newspaper *Stars and Stripes*) he remained with the *Times* until 1922. He then successively worked as drama critic for the *New York Herald* (1922–1924), the *New York Sun* (1924–1925), and the *New York World* (1925–1928). Along with E. B. White and James Thurber, Woollcott was also a steady contributor to the *New Yorker* magazine in its early years. From 1929 to 1942 he was the "Town Crier" of network radio. This was an interview program with guests who discussed with Woollcott topics of literary and social im-

as also the editor of *The Comparison to American History*, 1968.

Robert Burns (1917–1979), chemist. Born on April 10, 1917, Woodward on the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in 1936 and one year later, at Harvard College, and two years later he became an instructor in chemistry there. He advanced throughout his teaching and research, advancing to full professor in 1951 and Morris Loeb professorship in 1953. He was a consultant to various companies, including Pfizer Chemical and Polaroid in the organic area of work was the laboratory organic compounds. During World War II his associates successfully achieved the synthesis of quinine, a substance in short supply at the end of the war. In 1947 he announced the synthesis of protein analogues, an attainment in medical research and in the manufacture of plastics and antibiotics. The first synthesis of a steroid, a highly complex organic molecule, was achieved in 1951. A greater production and availability of such substances as cortisone. During the next few years his coworkers were able to synthesize a number of steroids and alkaloids, including inosine (1954), lysergic acid (1954), chlorophyll (1961), and tetracycline (1961). Woodward also contributed to the knowledge of the structures of such substances and other antibiotics. In 1965 he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Chemistry for his work on chemical synthesis, the citation noting his synthesis of chlorophyll. In 1972 he was awarded the vitamin B-12, the most intricate synthesis hesitated up to that time. He died in 1979, in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

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portance and on which the moderator gave his own very definite views. As drama critic, Woollcott was also an actor at heart, and during the 1930s found several opportunities to appear on stage. His most memorable performance was in *The Man Who Came To Dinner*, 1939, written by George S. Kaufman and Moss Hart with Woollcott in mind as the lead character, Sheridan Whiteside. A prolific author of reviews and articles, he collected many of them in books, including *Shouts and Murmurs*, 1922, *Enchanted Aisles*, 1924, and *While Rome Burns*, 1934. He was a member of the famed literary "Round Table" at the Algonquin Hotel in New York City and a popular storyteller and molder of opinion. But primarily Woollcott was a "personality" who attracted a wide following as a popularizer of culture because of his wit and forceful opinions. He was stricken with a heart attack during a radio broadcast on January 23, 1943, and died in New York City later the same evening.

Woolman, John (1720–1772), social reformer and religious leader. Born on October 19, 1720, at Rancocas, in the present Burlington County, New Jersey, Woolman worked on his father's farm until moving to Mount Holly, New Jersey, in 1741. Deeply religious from his early youth, he had a Quaker education and read voraciously. At twenty-three he took up the Quaker ministry and opened a tailor shop to support himself, thereafter styling himself the "Tailor (or Quaker) of Mount Holly." During 1743–1771 he traveled throughout the colonies attending meetings of the Society of Friends, and spread the Quaker doctrine from North Carolina to New Hampshire. His principal mission was the ending of slavery, an institution that he viewed as utterly inconsistent with religion. Through his travels and writings—*Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes*, 1754 and 1762; *Considerations on Pure Wisdom and Human Policy, on Labour, on Schools, on the Right Use of the Lord's Outward Gifts*, 1758; and *Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind, and How It Is to Be Maintained*, 1770—he had a wide influence; in fact, he was able to persuade the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting to forbid its members to own slaves. He aided Moravian missionaries in Indian camps on the Pennsylvania frontier in securing conversions, in stopping the sale of liquor to the Indians, and in attempting to secure more just land policies. He gave up his tailor shop because it was making more money than he needed and abandoned horseback riding as a vanity, making his later journeys on foot. He ate no sugar because it was produced by slaves, and wore clothing of undyed materials because fabric dyes were often injurious to workers. While working with the poor in England he contracted smallpox and died in York on October 7, 1772. His famous *Journal*, which he began when he was thirty-five, and continued until his death, was first published in 1774 and has often been republished.

Woolsey, Theodore Dwight (1801–1889), educator. Born in New York City on October 31, 1801,

Woolsey grew up there and in New Haven, Connecticut. He graduated from Yale in 1820, and during the next decade pursued theological studies at the Princeton Theological Seminary and at Yale and classical studies in Germany and France. In 1831 he was appointed professor of Greek language and literature at Yale; he became president of Yale in 1846. The years of his presidency saw great changes at the school, for it was a time of much agitation, ferment, and criticism in higher education in the United States. The older colleges were being expanded into universities with courses for advanced degrees, and the great state universities were being founded in the Midwest largely under the stimulus of the Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862. New fields of study, particularly those concerned with agriculture and technology, were being added to curriculums. In 1847 Yale established a department of philosophy and the arts to be responsible for graduate instruction in the arts and sciences and for undergraduate work in applied sciences. In the same year a school of applied chemistry was started, and in 1854 it was merged with the school of engineering as the Yale Scientific School. In 1861 it was renamed the Sheffield Scientific School after the philanthropist whose gifts had made it possible. The Yale curriculum was otherwise diversified, the campus enlarged, and endowment funds increased. In 1871 Woolsey retired as president of the university but remained as a member of the Yale Corporation until 1885. During the years he was president, he left the teaching of Greek and gave instruction instead in political science and international law. In his various fields of interest he also wrote a number of books, including *Introduction to the Study of International Law*, 1860; *Essay on Divorce and Divorce Legislation*, 1869; *Political Science*, 1878, and *Communism and Socialism*, 1880. After his retirement he served as chairman of the New Testament committee that aided in producing the American Standard Version of the Bible, published in 1901. Woolsey died in New Haven, Connecticut, on July 1, 1889.

Woolworth, Frank Winfield (1852–1919), merchant. Born on April 13, 1852, near Rodman, Jefferson County, New York, Woolworth attended country schools and studied for a brief time at a business school at Watertown, New York. He worked on his father's farm, although he craved a mercantile career and attempted to obtain jobs as a store clerk. Inexperienced and awkward, he consented to work for negligible wages in various concerns. By the time he was twenty-one, still on a tiny salary, he convinced his employer that a five-cent counter he had seen in another store would work. Goods that were slightly damaged or overstocked were placed on a special counter and priced at five cents. They sold immediately. In 1879 Woolworth began a store of his own in Utica, New York, which contained a variety of goods, all priced at five cents. The store was unsuccessful, but later in the year he opened another store in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, offering goods at prices up to

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WEBSTER'S AMERICAN BIOGRAPHIES

Charles Van Doren, EDITOR

Robert McHenry, ASSOCIATE EDITOR

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SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS

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790 PAINE

moved to the St. Louis Browns and was their most valuable relief pitcher in 1951, 1952, and 1953. He continued to play in exhibition games. Called by Joe DiMaggio in 1937 "the best pitcher I have ever faced," he was one of the all-time great American baseball players. In 1971 Paige was enshrined in the National Baseball Hall of Fame after it opened to stars of the Negro league. He died in Kansas City, Missouri, on June 5, 1982.

Paine, Robert Treat (1731-1814), public official and judge. Born in Boston on March 11, 1731, Paine came of a noted Massachusetts family and was educated at the Boston Latin School and at Harvard, from which he graduated in 1749. Although he was first destined for the ministry and served as chaplain to the New England troops on the Crown Point expedition of 1755, he soon adopted the law as his calling and was admitted to the bar in 1757, moving his practice from Portland, Maine, to Taunton, Massachusetts, in 1761. A member of the provincial assembly several times during the 1770s, he was chosen one of the five Massachusetts delegates to the First Continental Congress, which met in Philadelphia in 1774. He had earlier been one of the prosecuting attorneys in the murder trial of British soldiers following the Boston Massacre, and his spirited argument to the effect that Parliament had no right to quarter troops in a town against its consent had made his name known throughout the colonies. He also served in the Second Continental Congress, voted for the selection of George Washington as commander in chief, and signed John Dickinson's Olive Branch Petition of July 1775, the final appeal by Congress to the Crown to settle colonial differences short of war; when he later also signed the Declaration of Independence, he became one of the very few men to have signed both documents. Although he was elected to Congress in 1777 he did not go to Philadelphia but remained in Massachusetts, in that year being elected the state's first attorney general, a post he retained until 1790, when he was appointed by Governor John Hancock to the state supreme court. He served on the court until 1804, when he retired because of increasing deafness. In 1779-1780 he had participated in the drafting of the Massachusetts state constitution, and he was active in the suppression of Shays's Rebellion. In 1780, reflecting his lifelong interest in astronomy, he was one of the founders of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He died in Boston on May 11, 1814.

Paine, Robert Treat (1773-1811), poet and editor. Born in Taunton, Massachusetts, on December 9, 1773, Paine was the son of Robert Treat Paine (1731-1814). He was christened Thomas but took his oldest brother's name after the latter died of yellow fever in 1789. Paine was educated at the Boston Latin School and at Harvard, from which he graduated in 1792. His first poems were written during his college years and he read one of them, a poem on liberty, at his commencement. He made some attempt at a business career for a few

years after graduation, but he was not happy as a clerk and by 1794 he had determined on a literary and theatrical career. In October of that year he founded the *Federal Orrery*, but the magazine's satirical contents belied its name; his father's conservative Federalist friends drove him as he became more and more Jacobin and republican in his sentiments. Not at all discouraged by these social rebuffs, which led him to sell the *Orrery* in 1796, he wrote a series of poems and songs that were successful enough financially to support him, and one of which, "Adams's Liberty," composed in June 1798, was the equivalent of a national best seller. In that year he reconciled with his father and agreed to study law, but his conversion was short-lived, and by 1800 he was once again deeply involved in his literary habits, although he was never able to regain his youthful verve. He was very ill in 1804 and almost died; after several years of dismal poverty he died in the attic of his father's house in Boston on November 13, 1811.

Paine, Thomas (1737-1809), author, political theorist, and humanitarian. Born in Thetford, England, on January 29, 1737, Paine received little formal education and spent the first 37 years of his life in poverty, wandering from job to job with few prospects for the future. He served an apprenticeship under his father, a corset maker, and served briefly on a privateer in 1756, after which he was twice dismissed from a post as excise man, apparently as a result of agitating for higher wages. A fortuitous meeting with Benjamin Franklin in London encouraged him to seek his fortune in America and in November 1774 he arrived in Philadelphia with introductions from Franklin, and worked for a time as editor for the *Pennsylvania Magazine*. In January 1776 he published the pamphlet *Common Sense*; in powerful and stirring language he called for independence from England and marshaled a number of supporting arguments for his thesis. The pamphlet was a huge success and may have sold as many as half a million copies; it was issued in Europe as well as in the colonies. Paine soon enlisted in the Continental Army, became an aide to General Nathanael Greene, and began a series of 16 pamphlets entitled *The Crisis* that appeared over some seven years; the first of these appeared in December 1776 and began with the memorable line "These are the times that try men's souls." The pamphlet had an electrifying effect on the dispirited Continental Army and on the country at large. In April 1777 he was appointed secretary of the congressional committee on foreign affairs, a post he held until forced to resign two years later for his indiscreet publication of certain secret papers. In November 1779 he became clerk of the Pennsylvania assembly and in 1781 he accompanied John Laurens to France to seek money and supplies for the Continental forces. He continued writing effectively in support of the Revolution and of the government's policies and as a result he was given a Loyalist's confiscated farm by New

Paine

VOLUME 21

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PAINE, pān, **Robert Treat** (1731–1814), American judge and signer of the Declaration of Independence. He was born in Boston, Mass., on March 11, 1731. After graduating from Harvard College in 1749, he studied theology and then law and was admitted to the bar in 1757. He practiced law in Taunton, Mass., and was assistant prosecuting attorney in the “Boston Massacre” trial.

Paine represented Taunton in the Massachusetts legislature from 1773 to 1777, with the exception of 1776. He was a Massachusetts delegate to the First and Second Continental Congresses and one of the few to sign both the “Olive Branch Petition” to King George III and the Declaration of Independence.

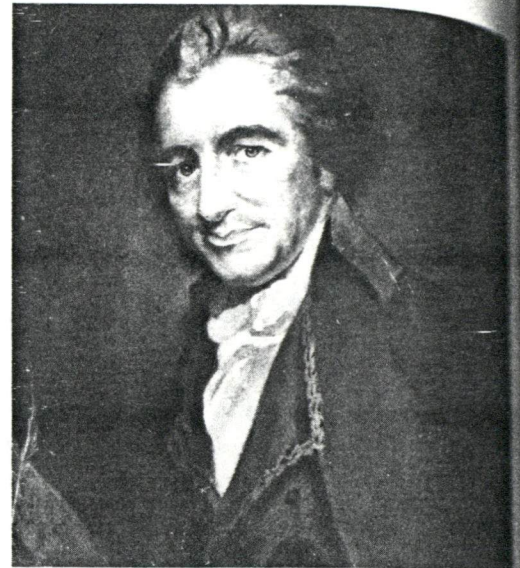
After returning to Taunton, Paine in 1777 was elected the first attorney general of Massachusetts, a position he held until 1790. He played an important role in the drafting of the state constitution of 1780. He declined an appointment to the Massachusetts supreme court in 1783, but accepted in 1790 and served until 1804. He was one of the founders of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Paine died in Boston on May 11, 1814.

PAINE, pān, **Thomas** (1737–1809), Anglo-American pamphleteer, political scientist, and religious thinker, who issued the first public call for the American colonies to declare their independence from Britain. During the course of the revolution, he dedicated his pen to proclaiming the American cause throughout Europe and to keeping spirits high at home. When a subsequent revolution broke out in France, he used in its behalf principles identical to those in his American writings, becoming an international spokesman for political equality, natural rights, and civil liberties. Inspired by events in France, he applied to religion the principles of natural reason that formed the basis of his political works, developing a system of deism based on science and abstract morality.

Life. Paine was born in Thetford, England, on Jan. 29, 1737. After a checkered career as corset maker, schoolmaster, itinerant preacher, and customs inspector, he traveled to America, arriving in Philadelphia in November 1774. With a letter of recommendation from Benjamin Franklin, who at the time was an agent for the colonies in England, Paine was employed for six months as managing editor of a new periodical, the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, to which he contributed miscellaneous poems and essays.

American Revolution. At first an advocate of reconciliation in the contest with Britain, Paine adopted the doctrine of separation as a result of the Battles of Lexington and Concord in April 1775 and brought out his pamphlet *Common Sense*, calling for independence, in January 1776. *Common Sense*, which sold more than 100,000 copies in three months, had a profound impact on public opinion and on the deliberations of the Continental Congress, then meeting in Philadelphia. See COMMON SENSE.

During the Revolution, in the bleak days following Washington’s forced retreat across *New Jersey* and the Delaware River in December 1776, Paine’s writing revived the flagging morale of the troops and the civilian population. On December 19, while serving in the Continental Army, he published the first of a series of propaganda pieces, entitled *The American Crisis*, which begins, “These are the times that try



Thomas Paine, from an engraving by George Romney. NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, WASHINGTON, D.C.

men’s souls.” The inspiration generated by the pamphlet is credited with contributing to the American success at the *Battle of Trenton*. See CRISIS, THE.

In April 1777, largely because of his writings, Paine was elected secretary of the congressional Committee of Foreign Affairs. However, he was forced to resign two years later when it was discovered that he had released in a newspaper article privileged information concerning treaty negotiations with France. After the war, Paine conducted various scientific experiments and invented a method of constructing an iron bridge. In an attempt to promote the bridge, he returned to Europe in 1787, living in England and France.

French Revolution. In 1791, Paine published the first part of *The Rights of Man*—a defense of the French Revolution in reply to the attack by Edmund Burke. (The second part was issued in 1792.) As a result, Paine left England, where he was subsequently declared a traitor and outlawed, and went to France, where he was granted citizenship and, in September 1792, elected to the National Convention. In the convention, Paine associated with such moderates as Condorcet and voted against the execution of Louis XVI. He thereby aroused the suspicion of the radical majority and was arrested by the Committee of General Safety, which confined him in the Luxembourg prison from December 1793 to November 1794.

While in prison, Paine worked on the statement of his religious beliefs, *The Age of Reason* (Part I, 1794; Part II, 1796). It opens with the words: “I believe in one God and no more, and I hope for happiness beyond this life.” For generations *The Age of Reason* was misunderstood and assailed as an atheistic tract, when, in fact, it is an expression of deistic principles, accepted by Franklin, Jefferson, and other 18th century intellectuals.

In 1796, Paine also issued a public *Letter to George Washington*, voicing his disillusionment with Washington’s failure to have used official channels to secure his release from prison. In



NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, WASHINGTON

from an engraving by George Romney

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He also issued a public *Letter to the People of Great Britain*, voicing his disillusionment with the government's failure to have used official force to secure his release from prison. In

the following year, Paine published *Agrarian Justice*, a proposal for a broad government-sponsored welfare program covering youth and old age, based on notions he had set forth in Philadelphia before the American Revolution.

In 1802, Paine left France and went to the United States, where he devoted his major efforts to newspaper articles jointly defending the administration of President Jefferson and the political principles espoused in 1776. During this period he advised James Monroe in his negotiations for the purchase of Louisiana and suggested to President Jefferson that the United States should serve as mediator between France and the black republic of Haiti. Paine died in New York City on June 8, 1809, and was buried on his farm in New Rochelle, N. Y. In 1819, William Cobbett, an English journalist, exhumed Paine's body for reburial in England, but all trace of it has since been lost.

Paine's influence. Paine's vast influence is due in large measure to his luminous literary style, noted for its striking metaphors, colloquial vigor, and rational directness. From a long-range perspective, the importance of *Common Sense* lies in its insistence that America adopt a new system of republican government rather than simply rejecting British rule, and that the American Revolution was a philosophical movement based on natural rights and not just a change of government. Later, it helped formulate the policy of American noninvolvement in European political affairs and was an instrument in the independence movement in Latin America.

The Rights of Man, by defending the dignity of men in all countries against those who consider the average person to be merely one of the "swinish multitude," transcends national boundaries. In the United States it fostered sympathy for France, helping to check a growing anti-French sentiment during the Federal period and reducing pressure for war with France. In Britain it circulated among republican clubs and became a classic document in the working-class movement.

A. OWEN ALDRIDGE
Author of "Man of Reason"

Further Reading: Aldridge, A. Owen, *Man of Reason: The Life of Thomas Paine* (Lippincott 1959); id., *Thomas Paine's American Ideology* (Univ. of Del. Press 1984); Foner, Eric, *Tom Paine and Revolutionary America* (Oxford 1977); Hawke, David F., *Paine* (Harper 1974); Powell, David, *Tom Paine: The Greatest Exile* (St. Martin's 1985); Williamson, Audrey, *Thomas Paine* (St. Martin's 1973).

PAINT, a pigment-bearing liquid designed for application to a surface in a thin layer that cures to an opaque solid film.

Paint is used for many purposes. It was used for decoration long before the beginning of recorded history, and this is still a major use. Closely related to decoration is the use of paint for better distribution of light in homes, offices, and industrial plants.

An even more important function of paint is the protection of wood and metal structures, machinery, and other artifacts that are exposed to the weather. Paint protects wood surfaces from rot and decay, and metal surfaces from oxidation and corrosion.

Specialized paints are used for a wide variety of purposes, especially in industry. Skid-resistant paints are used on steps and floors. Heat-reflective paints keep oil-storage tanks from becoming too hot in sunny locations, and heat-

absorbent paints increase the efficiency of solar collectors. Paints containing fungicides and pesticides help prevent mildew growth on houses, and antifouling paints discourage the buildup of barnacles on ship bottoms.

Phosphorescent paints absorb energy from the sun during daylight and then glow at night. Special fluorescent coatings afford greater visibility both day and night and are used on advertising billboards and signs, safety clothing, and many novelties. Paints can be made electrically conductive or nonconductive to suit special purposes. They even can be designed to indicate temperatures by color change. The United States produces approximately one billion gallons of paint products annually.

Types of Paints and Coatings—Architectural Coatings. Architectural paints are used for decorating and protecting homes, apartments, farm buildings, office buildings, and other commercial structures. They include both solvent-type and water-type paints for interior and exterior surfaces. In the United States architectural paints compose about 51% of all paint products produced and amount to more than 500 million gallons each year.

Product Finishes for Original Equipment Manufacturers. This group of paints is applied by original equipment manufacturers to all types of newly produced articles as part of the manufacturing process. Included among such finishes are marine paints as well as coatings for automobiles, trucks, aircraft, railroad equipment, home appliances, office machines, furnaces, and air-conditioning equipment.

Each product finish is formulated for a specific use. Because of the need to protect manufactured products from a broad spectrum of harmful environments, this group of coatings makes use of the greatest variety of chemical raw materials. Depending on the equipment and its intended use, the coating may be designed to protect against the weather, corrosion by fresh or salt water, chemicals, abrasion and wear, or heat and sunlight. In many cases product finishes also must be colorful and attractive to add sales appeal to the products.

Product finishes account for some 31% of all paints and coatings produced—more than 300 million gallons each year—in the United States.

Special-Purpose Coatings. Paints and coatings included in this category account for slightly more than 18% of all paints manufactured in the United States or about 185 million gallons annually. The special-purpose category includes paint products generally used for maintenance work and coatings for the transportation aftermarket. They differ from architectural paints in that they are designed for special applications and for withstanding unusual environmental conditions. For example, special-purpose coatings are formulated specifically to stand up under extremes of heat and cold, to resist chemical attack in oil refineries and chemical plants, to prevent fungus growth in meat and food packing plants, and to withstand steam cleaning and high humidity.

Special-purpose coatings are used widely in the transportation aftermarket for repainting automobiles, trucks, aircraft, ships and pleasure boats. They are also used widely for traffic-marking paints for highways as well as for the surfaces of parking lots and the floor areas of manufacturing plants. Paints containing metal-

(Smith/Blessey)
September 8, 1989
Draft Two
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 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 pleased to be here. Perhaps a writer best expressed it when -- referring to New Jersey -- 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.

Which exit?

*John Phillip
RNC
813-8500*

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 Courter 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 Courter 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 the 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 build 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 enhance local flexibility. Congressman Jim Courter helped fashion this

*J. J. & W. B. don
P. 155
of 408*

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Yogi

Florio at Superfund

Courter policy

W.P.F.

C.P.

legislation. Governor Jim Courter can ensure that what Tom Kean has started is carried on and, yes, enhanced.

①

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.

Florida?

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

Palmer's

*New New Jersey!
New Attn. Kean!*

The new New Jersey -- Jim Courter's New Jersey -- 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,

2

FLORIO

1)

taxes - voted against Reagan's 1981 tax cuts
• suggest more tax rev. to cut deficit
• hints that N.J. taxes may have to be increased
• higher taxes on industry

2) Spending - continues to support increase spending for specific groups

3) voted against Gramm - Rudman

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 -- 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 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 the slammer. 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

Drug Speech

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 Courter. For no one better knows that the old ways will not work.

Courter

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. Supply and demand. 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.

OS

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 will doubtless work. Urging re-regulation -- not only 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

Florio's Business Ethics

Since taking office, Florio has run a very quid-pro-quo district. His close political advisors, who are also his business associates, have all profited from government decisions. Florio has also benefitted from such decisions. In fact, he sold questionable real estate in preparation for the gubernatorial race.

His business associate, Joe Salema, is considered the "county political boss". All county post appointments and other perks seem to have been channelled through Salema.

Florio campaign contributors have also landed government contracts in the state.

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 to use that heart to build a better life for all.

Nexis?

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 collegial man, a man -- unlike some candidates -- respected by his colleagues. Look at his 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 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.

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Amer. the Q. Ltd

Look, too, at this State -- 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. 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 -- 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 . 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 children to live in. Old values -- new thinking -- the definition of New Jersey.

Coach Lombardi often said that, "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 preferable to the alternative.

So, let us help Jim Courter build 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.

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

Tonight, I make this prediction. This State will cast a November vote for the cause of good government. A vote for our generation. And our children's generation. A vote 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. 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 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 ~~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 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. 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 chapters bearing Jim Courter's name. Our Administration has proposed an "Educational Excellence Act of 1989" to reward

X
Call
Courter

achievement and demand accountability. Well, the truth is: That Act really began here.

In 19__ 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.

*Call Miss Ulin
Call Educ or DMB*

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.

*Chk
Courter*

Then, we come to taxes. And here, the cleavage between the old and new New Jerseys 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 -- the State Jim Courter has helped build -- 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."

*People won't
get it*

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. "Syntax?" 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 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.

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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. My fellow Americans, anyone who believes that doesn't deserve 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 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 war on drugs.

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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 the slammer. 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 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. 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 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 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 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, "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.

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.

Don't say it

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.

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 ^{exciting} occasion. God bless you, and God bless this land we love -- the United States of America.

#

Paine



DICTIONARY OF
American Biography

Edited by Dumas Malone

14

Oglethorpe - Platner

Charles Scribner's Sons
NEW YORK

Paine

by Paine, expresses his idea of philanthropy. He was a director of the American Prison Association and of the Boston Children's Aid Society and was influential in raising the prevailing standards of social responsibility and in securing legislation for social projects. He was an active supporter of the peace movement, president of the American Peace Society from 1891 to his death, and prominent at national and international peace conferences and at those held at Lake Mohonk.

Paine's only political office was his membership in the Massachusetts House of Representatives for the session of 1884-85, during which time he carried on investigations in connection with the committee on charitable institutions, of which he was chairman. Loyalty to his convictions drove him, at considerable cost to himself, into the Mugwump movement of 1884, and he was an unsuccessful Democratic candidate for the Forty-ninth Congress that year. Originally a Unitarian, he went with his family to Trinity Church in 1870 and remained thereafter a prominent member of the Episcopal Church, to the General Convention of which he was many times a delegate. He was chairman of the building committee of Trinity Church, and was primarily responsible for securing the site and raising the funds for its present edifice. He was always either vestryman or warden of Trinity, and between him and its rector, Phillips Brooks, there existed a rich and lifelong friendship. He was president of the board of trustees of the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge and a founder of the Phillips Brooks House at Harvard, at the dedication of which he made the address. He was large in mind and body, a genuine idealist, an executive of tact and force, with a rare capacity for winning adherents to a cause in which his convictions were enlisted. His death occurred in Waltham, Mass.

[S. C. Paine and C. H. Pope, *Paine Ancestry* (1912), C. H. Paine, ed.; M. C. Crawford, *Famous Families of Mass.*, vol. II (1930); *Who's Who in America*, 1910-11; *Survey*, Aug. 20, 1910; *Outlook*, Aug. 27, 1910; National Conference of Charities and Correction, *In Memoriam* (1911); *Boston Transcript*, Aug. 12, 1910.]
F. T. P.

PAINE, THOMAS (Jan. 29, 1737-June 8, 1809), revolutionary political pamphleteer, agitator, deist author of *The Age of Reason*, was born in Thetford, England, the son of Joseph and Frances (Cocke) Paine. Joseph Paine was a poor Quaker corset maker, rather unhappily married to a lady who, as an Anglican and an attorney's daughter, must have been somewhat his social superior. Young Thomas went to grammar-school until he reached thirteen, when poverty made it necessary to apprentice him at the

Paine

paternal trade. At nineteen he left home, shipping on the *King of Prussia* for a brief career as a privateer at the outbreak of war in 1756. His formal education can hardly have gone beyond the rudiments; indeed, as his enemies were delighted to point out, he never learned to write faultlessly grammatical English. In after life he referred frequently and proudly to his Quaker antecedents, and no doubt his feeling for the sanctity of the inner citadel of human consciousness had Quaker origins. But Paine had no trace of Quaker humility, no capacity for mystic self-surrender, and, since he fought in two wars, no absolute doctrines of non-resistance. He never, indeed, formally joined the Society of Friends. Nor, in spite of the efforts of a pious aunt, did he become an Anglican. He relates that a sermon on the Redemption, heard at the age of eight, impressed him with the cruelty implicit in Christianity, and made him a precocious rebel (Van der Weyde, ed., *Life and Works*, VIII, 71). Probably the most permanent influence of these twenty years upon him lay in the monotony of his occupation, in the ugliness of his poverty, in the gap—evident to himself at least—between his abilities and his apparent destiny.

For nearly twenty years more those abilities were concealed from the world. From 1757 to 1774 he was successively, and in various towns, corset maker, exciseman, school-teacher, exciseman again, tobacconist, and grocer. These last occupations he was able to carry on while maintaining his place in the excise. He went through two brief, childless marriages. His first wife, Mary Lambert, died within a year of their marriage at Sandwich on Sept. 27, 1759; the second, Elizabeth Ollive, whom he married on Mar. 26, 1771, while he was stationed at Lewes, was legally separated from him in 1774. The separation seems to have been due, not to any scandal, but to temperamental difficulties on both sides. The mere fact of separation, however, proved later a boon to Paine's enemies, and was generously embroidered to discredit him (George Chalmers, *Life of Thomas Paine*, 1791, pp. 33-35; James Cheetham, *Life of Thomas Paine*, 1809, p. 30). He was twice dismissed from the excise: first, in 1765, for having, as he himself admitted, stamped as examined goods he had not examined at all; and finally, after a reinstatement which shows that his first offense was regarded as venial, for overstaying a leave of absence. The real motive for this second dismissal was probably Paine's activity as agent for the excisemen in their attempt to get Parliament to raise their wages, a form of agitation then rather novel, and

Paine

even revolutionary. He drew up a brief for his fellow excisemen, *The Case of the Officers of Excise*, privately printed in 1772 (published also in 1793). Cut off from his salary as exciseman, he was obliged to go into an ordinary and by no means discreditable bankruptcy. Like many another defeated European, he decided to try the new world. In London as lobbyist for his fellow-excisemen, Paine had had the luck to meet Franklin, and to make a favorable impression upon him. In October 1774, bearing invaluable letters of introduction from Franklin, this "ingenious, worthy young man" left for Philadelphia (A. H. Smyth, *Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, VI, 1906, pp. 248-49). Those years of failure and poverty had given Paine an education. He had not precisely learned from failure; he had, indeed, failed in business partly through too great a devotion to abstract learning. Ever since he had left school he had spent his spare time and money on books, lectures, scientific apparatus. He read widely but always seriously, worked hard at mathematics, experimented with mechanical contrivances. He thus achieved what was rare in Europe at the time, an education strictly confined to contemporaneous matters. No conservative, no evaluating discipline stood between his temperament and his times. Eighteenth-century science taught him to revolt against a society quite unscientifically constructed.

In Philadelphia, where he arrived on Nov. 30, 1774, Paine fell naturally into journalism. He supported himself largely by contributions to Robert Aitken's *Pennsylvania Magazine*. His first year's work covered a wide range, from recent inventions to "Cupid & Hymen." He was a pioneer in the movement for the abolition of negro slavery (*Pennsylvania Journal*, Mar. 8, 1775), but he cannot be numbered among the first defenders of women's rights. An article on that subject in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, included by Conway in his edition of Paine's works, has been shown to be a translation from the French, a language Paine could not read (Frank Smith, in *American Literature*, Nov. 1930, p. 277). Nor is it likely that Paine had any personal influence in establishing the text of the Declaration of Independence (Albert Matthews, *Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society*, XLIII, 1910, pp. 241-53). *Common Sense* gives him sufficient title to originality and fame, and his acknowledged writings are extensive enough without uncertain additions based on "internal evidence."

Common Sense was published as an anonymous, two-shilling pamphlet of forty-seven pages

Paine

in Philadelphia on Jan. 10, 1776. It urged the immediate declaration of independence, not merely as a striking practical gesture that would help unite the colonies and secure French and Spanish aid, but as the fulfillment of America's moral obligation to the world. The colonies must fall away eventually, Paine said; a continent could not remain tied to an island. If now, while their society was still uncorrupt, natural, and democratic, these colonies should free themselves from a vicious monarchy, they could alter human destiny by their example. Paine was the first publicist to discover America's mission. It is curious that, though his political ideology was thoroughly Jeffersonian, he insisted in all his writings of this period on the necessity for a strong federal union, emphasizing the dangers of particularism and state sovereignty. These centralizing doctrines, emphatic in *Common Sense*, were expanded in *Public Good* (1780), a pamphlet directed against Virginia's western land claims. Paine undoubtedly consulted such leaders as Franklin and Rush about *Common Sense*, but the pamphlet itself was entirely his own, and was launched on his own responsibility. Its success was amazing. Paine himself wrote that 120,000 copies had been sold in less than three months, and his best biographer asserts that 500,000 were sold in all (Conway, *Life*, I, 67-69). Even allowing for exaggeration, these are impressive figures.

Paine's authorship soon became known. After defending himself as "Forester" in the *Pennsylvania Journal* from the attacks of the Loyalist William Smith, he enlisted in the army in time to join in the retreat across New Jersey. At Newark he set to work on his first *Crisis*, which appeared in the *Pennsylvania Journal* on Dec. 19, and in pamphlet form on Dec. 23. The famous words with which it begins, "These are the times that try men's souls," probably did not win the battle of Trenton, but its eloquence did hearten many. Cheetham, Paine's bitter enemy, writes that "the number was read in the camp, to every corporal's guard, and in the army and out of it had more than the intended effect" (Cheetham, *Life*, p. 56). Eleven other numbers of the *Crisis*, with four supernumerary ones, appeared in the course of the war. The whole work shows Paine at his best as a political journalist. Characteristic are number three (April 1777) suggesting vigorous measures against American Tories, and *The Crisis Extraordinary* (October 1780) pointing out how an efficient federal and state tax system could readily shoulder the burden of the war.

Paine's services obviously merited some re-

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ward. Occasional journalism was not, in his devoted but careless hands, an adequate means of self-support. In April 1777, he was appointed by Congress secretary to its committee on foreign affairs, a position he filled well enough until he was drawn into the extraordinary affair of Beaumarchais. Before France dared risk active alliance with the revolting colonies, supplies had been sent to America through the medium of Beaumarchais. Payment for these supplies was disputed. Silas Deane [q.v.], American agent recalled from France, upheld Beaumarchais' claim. Congress, however, relying largely on Arthur Lee [q.v.], who was still in France, refused payment. Deane, denied what he considered justice, rashly took to the newspapers in his own defense. Paine had the true revolutionist's scent for corruption, and an optimist's trust in the disinterestedness of the French government. He replied to Deane in the *Philadelphia Packet*, notably on Dec. 15, 1778, Jan. 2, and 9, 1779. In these letters he committed a double indiscretion: he supported his contentions by references to documents (reports from Lee), to which his position gave him confidential access; and by his statements he made it appear that the French government had sent supplies to the revolting colonies while it was still at peace with Great Britain. Under pressure from the French minister, Gérard, Paine resigned his position (Jan. 8, 1779). Gérard asserts that he immediately thereafter got Paine to accept a thousand dollars a year to write anonymously in the papers in support of France, but that he proved an unreliable press agent, and had to be released. The statement has only Gérard's authority, and is inconsistent with Paine's character. He had, indeed, as his conduct in the Beaumarchais affair shows, an idealistic devotion to the revolutionary cause quite proof against the limitations of propriety and tact; but he was incapable of financial dishonesty (Conway, *Life*, I, chap. IX).

Paine was soon (November 1779) given an appointment as clerk of the Pennsylvania Assembly. He continued his *Crisis*, and in 1780 showed further his devotion to the revolutionary cause by heading with a subscription of \$500 out of a salary installment of \$1,699 (paper) a fund for the relief of Washington's army. In 1781 he accompanied John Laurens to France in search of further financial relief, and returned successfully in the same year with money and stores. Beyond his expenses, he got nothing for the trip, and further, he was obliged to give up his position in the Assembly. The successful peace found him honored but poor. New York, however, gave him a confiscated Loyalist farm at

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New Rochelle, and Pennsylvania £500 in cash. For Paine's modest needs this was enough, and until 1787 he lived in Bordentown, N. J., and in New York, mildly lionized, writing, and working on his most cherished invention, an iron bridge (D. C. Seitz, "Thomas Paine, Bridge Builder," *Virginia Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1927, p. 571). In 1786 he published *Dissertations on Government, The Affairs of the Bank, and Paper-Money*, in which he asserted that paper money involved inevitable inflation and injustice to creditors, and insisted that the state of Pennsylvania could not legally repeal its charter of the Bank of North America.

Because of his bridge (which he despaired of getting erected in America), and no doubt his temperamental restlessness, he went to Europe in 1787. The fall of the Bastille found him in Yorkshire making desperate efforts to get his bridge built. He had passed two pleasant years, partly in France and partly in England, welcomed by liberals like Condorcet, Fox, and even Burke, as the author of *Common Sense* and the friend of Washington. The bridge did get built, and stood up, though Paine lost money in the affair. He went to Paris late in 1789, and for nearly three years alternated between Paris and London, a self-appointed missionary of the world revolution. England, Paine felt, needed his efforts if the revolutionary movement were to continue its spread, and Burke's downright and immediately popular condemnation of the French Revolution late in 1790 provided an excellent opportunity for him to exert them. Paine replied to Burke early in 1791 with the first part of his *Rights of Man*. A second part followed in February 1792.

The *Rights of Man* was first of all a party pamphlet, an excellent piece of special pleading in defense of specific measures taken in revolutionary France. It is also an exposition of the "principles of 1776 and 1789." Government exists, Paine said, to guarantee to the individual that portion of his natural rights of which unaided he could not ensure himself. These rights, with respect to which all men are equal, are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression. Only a republican form of government can be trusted to maintain these rights; and the republic must have a written constitution, including a bill of rights, manhood suffrage, executive officers chosen for short terms and subjected to rotation in office, a judiciary not beyond ultimate control by the people, a legislative body popularly elected at regular intervals, and a citizenry undivided by artificial distinctions of birth and rank, by religious intol-

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erance, by shocking economic inequalities. Such a republic will be well and cheaply governed, or rather, little governed, for "government is no farther necessary than to supply the few cases to which society and civilisation are not conveniently competent" (Van der Weyde, VI, 241). Part II contains, rather inconsistently, numerous proposals for social legislation which show that Paine was not unaware of the class struggle. Finally, the *Rights of Man* was an appeal to the English people to overthrow their monarchy and set up a republic. Paine clearly hoped that his pamphlet would do in England what *Common Sense* had done in America. It did indeed become immensely popular with English radicals, and is said to have sold 200,000 copies by 1793 (Conway, *Life*, I, 346). It was suppressed by Pitt's government, and its author, safe for the moment in France, was tried for treason and outlawed in December 1792.

Paine, with Washington, Hamilton, Madison, and certain Europeans of adequate virtue, had been made a French citizen by the Assembly on Aug. 26, 1792. In September the new Frenchman was elected to the Convention from four departments, choosing to sit for the Pas de Calais. As he could not speak French, and had to have his speeches read for him, his rôle in that assembly was inconsiderable. His friends, notably Condorcet, who knew English well, were mostly among the respectable, prosperous, moderate republicans of the Gironde group, and Paine attached himself to their party. He did, however, assert his independence and his humanity at the trial of Louis XVI by urging that the king be imprisoned to the end of the war and then banished for life. After the fall of the Girondins in June 1793 Paine ceased, on his own admission, to attend an assembly which was but a subordinate part of the tyrannical government of the Terror (Van der Weyde, V, 308). With a few congenial friends, he lived peacefully in the semi-rural Faubourg St. Denis until, a vote of the Convention having deprived him of his French citizenship and parliamentary immunity, he was imprisoned on Dec. 28, 1793, under a law providing for the imprisonment of nationals of countries at war with France. Poor Paine, outlawed in England, was now arrested in France as an Englishman. His imprisonment in the Luxembourg was not very harsh, for he was able to compose part of *The Age of Reason* there. He was never brought to trial and, after the fall of Robespierre had ended the Terror, was released in November 1794 at the request of the new American minister, Monroe, who claimed him as an American citizen.

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There has grown up an exaggerated account of Paine's tribulations in France. His imprisonment has been seen as a plot devised by his bitter enemy, the American minister, Gouverneur Morris [*q.v.*], and consented to by violent Jacobin politicians anxious to rid themselves of a dangerous opponent. It is much more likely that the simple, official explanation is the true one. Paine was generally regarded by French politicians as a harmless humanitarian. Even his heresy on the execution of Louis XVI was forgiven on the ground that, as a Quaker, he could not vote for the death penalty. The debates in the Convention make it clear that he lost his French citizenship chiefly because patriotism, fanned by military defeat into hysteria, demanded extreme measures against foreigners. The very fact that he was never brought to trial is conclusive proof that the Jacobins did not desire his death. Morris had a conservative's dislike for Paine's ideas and activities, a social conformist's dislike for his Bohemian habits. When Paine formally applied to him for protection, Morris sent the French foreign minister a letter which mildly disclaimed responsibility for Paine's acts since his acceptance of French citizenship, but which did at least request that information be communicated to the American government. The minister's reply denied Paine's claim to American citizenship. Morris did not press the matter, and wrote Jefferson that Paine, even were the French brought to admit him an American citizen, would still be liable under French criminal law for offenses alleged to have been committed in France, and that he was better off unnoticed in jail than publicly on trial before the pitiless revolutionary courts. It seems gratuitous to attribute hypocrisy to Morris in an act displaying such obvious common sense and tact.

On his release from the Luxembourg, Paine, weakened by illness and without means of support, was hospitably cared for by Monroe and nursed back to health. Restored to his seat in the Convention, he appeared before that body in July 1795 and reiterated his faith in the *Rights of Man*. He next took up residence with Nicolas de Bonneville, a moderate republican journalist whom he had known before the Terror. Until 1802, when the Peace of Amiens made it safe for him to return to America, he lived in Paris, his slender resources eked out by the kindness of friends. He wrote variously, and helped to organize a little group of "Theophilanthropists," a sort of ethical culture society which aimed to supplant Christian superstitions with an orderly faith in humanity. He published a

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Dissertation on First-Principles of Government (1795), and an essay, *Agrarian Justice*, . . . (1797). The *Letter to George Washington* (1796), in which he accused the president of bad faith or at least indifference, and Morris of deliberate plotting against him, was the outburst of a disappointed man not wholly free from delusions of persecution, and did much to injure his reputation in America.

The great work of this period was *The Age of Reason* (Part I, 1794; Part II, 1796). This so-called "atheist's bible" begins with the assertion, "I believe in one God, and no more; and I hope for happiness beyond this life." Paine, of course, was not an atheist, but a deist, and *The Age of Reason* was begun as a final justification for the metaphysical ultimates of his belief. He starts out with the familiar proofs of the existence of God, the argument from design and the argument from a first cause. He defines knowledge in the customary way of his century as clear, mathematical, and scientific. He then proceeds to show that man's knowledge of the Christian God is not that sort of knowledge. The second part of the work is an analysis of both testaments, book by book, designed to show that the Bible is inconsistent, and therefore not infallible. Almost everything that Paine brings forward here is today a commonplace of critical scholarship. His attempts at a treatment of comparative religions, such as his reference to "Christian mythology" and his scandalous analogy between the paternity of the first person of the Trinity and the paternities of Zeus, are modern enough in spirit, and today would offend many professing Christians by their manner rather than their matter—a remark which indeed holds true of the whole book. Having demolished Christianity, Paine returns to his God, whose power is apparent "in the immensity of the creation," whose wisdom is seen "in the unchangeable order by which the incomprehensible whole is governed" (*Ibid.*, VIII, 43).

In October 1802 Paine at last returned home to America. Mere physical absence, however, had not prevented his playing his usual contentious part in American politics. The first copy of the *Rights of Man* to arrive in America was lent by its recipient, J. Beckley, to Jefferson, with the request that he pass it on to the printer to get out an American edition. Jefferson [*q.v.*] passed it on, and wishing, as he characteristically explained later, to take off a little of the "dryness" of a formal accompanying note, added some genial remarks about the pamphlet's uses as an antidote to the "political heresies" of the time. The printer proceeded to publish Jeffer-

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son's note as a sort of official preface (P. L. Ford, *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, V, 1895, pp. 328 ff.). The Federalists at once took up the phrase "political heresies" as leveled at John Adams—as indeed it was. J. Q. Adams as "Publicola" attacked Paine's principles and Jefferson's indiscretion in the *Columbian Centinel* (June–July 1791), and Paine found himself vicariously in the midst of the bitterest possible party warfare. *The Age of Reason* and the *Letter to Washington* served to maintain his highly controversial position in America. In 1801, Jefferson involved himself further by offering Paine passage home in a public vessel, the *Maryland*. By this time, as Henry Adams temperately puts it, Paine was "regarded by respectable society, both Federalist and Republican, as a person to be avoided, a character to be feared" (*History of the United States*, vol. I, 1889, p. 317). Paine wisely refused the offer, and returned on a private vessel.

The last seven years of Paine's life were spent partly in Bordentown, partly in New York City and in New Rochelle. They were marked by poverty, declining health, and social ostracism. Paine wrote little of importance in these years. In New York he mixed with radical society, and especially with the rationalists gathered around Elihu Palmer as the "Columbian Illuminati." Madame de Bonneville, wife of his old Parisian friend, had come to America with her three children, one of whom was Benjamin de Bonneville [*q.v.*], of later fame. Paine generously helped to support the family, stranded in America when Napoleon refused to allow the father to leave France. In these final years of Paine's life center many of the tales told to his discredit—that he was a drunkard, a coward, an adulterer, a tavern atheist. Many of these have no basis at all. But one thing is certain; whether deservedly or not, his last years were those of an outcast. He died in New York on June 8, 1809. There is no evidence of a death-bed repentance, though naturally enough such stories were industriously circulated (Conway, *Life*, II, 420). Since consecrated ground was closed to the infidel, he was buried in a corner of his farm in New Rochelle. In 1819 William Cobbett [*q.v.*], to atone for his bitter attacks on Paine in the nineties, had the latter's bones dug up, and took them back to England, intending to raise a great monument to the patriotic author of the *Rights of Man*. The monument was never erected, and on Cobbett's death in 1835 the bones passed into the hands of a receiver in probate. The court refused to regard them as an asset, and, with the coffin, they were acquired by a fur-

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niture dealer in 1844, at which point they are lost to history.

Any attempt at a calm appraisal of Paine's character runs the risk of shading hostile black and friendly white into a neutral gray. Men always described him in superlatives, and in anything less than superlatives he seems unreal. He took an extreme, partisan stand on two issues that still divide Americans: in politics, that of the Jeffersonians against the Hamiltonians; in religion, that of the modernists against the fundamentalists. That Paine was a revolutionary by temperament is a statement on which his admirers and his detractors can agree; but it does but form the start for an analysis of his character. The repressed circumstances of his youth taught him that something was wrong with the world. His familiarity with the scientific and sociological writings of his contemporaries gave him a definite idea of a much better world. Experience helped him to fill in the outlines of this picture of a better world, but hardly to alter them. To the end, Paine would put up with nothing less than the Republic of Man. In America, in England, in France, he was serving, not men, but Reason.

This devotion to an abstraction, combined with a temperament naturally rebellious, made Paine extraordinarily sure of himself. His success as a writer sustained his self-confidence, while his failure at everything else supplied him with an abundance of grievances. This quality appeared to his enemies as a colossal vanity. Étienne Dumont wrote that he "was drunk with vanity. . . . It was he who had done everything in America. . . . He fancied that his book upon the *Rights of Man* ought to be substituted for every other book in the world" (*Recollections of Mirabeau*, 1832, p. 271). Even in the pages of his friend Monroe, this vanity comes out, perhaps in a truer light, as an extraordinary conviction of his own rightness, of his superior obligation to follow the light of his own reason (S. M. Hamilton, *Writings of James Monroe*, II, 1899, p. 441). He had also the unworldliness of the true revolutionary. Much has been made of his failure to enrich himself out of the hundreds of thousands of pamphlets he scattered over the western world, of his selling *Common Sense* at a loss, of his gift of the profits from the *Rights of Man* to the radical London Corresponding Society. But he did these things perhaps as much from indifference as from generosity. He simply lacked, as his early failures in business show, the gift of managing his own affairs. One suspects that towards the end he came to nurse this weakness as a virtue. Indeed, it is difficult to

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escape the conclusion that in some respects Paine was the professional radical, the persecuted witness against the sins of the mighty. No doubt he was badly treated by respectable people on his return to America. No doubt he really was persecuted for his failures, big and little, to conform to current standards. But he gained an easy if somewhat shabby martyrdom thereby. And, cruel though the remark may seem, a happy, honored Paine is inconceivable in any world short of his own ideal one.

Of many of the aspersions spread by the pious and the conservative against Paine's character, we can make short shrift. Like most hated public men, he was accused of sexual irregularities, but all the evidence makes him out a singularly chaste man. After his death, Cheetham accused him of adultery with Madame de Bonneville, thirty-one years his junior. She brought a libel action against Cheetham and won it triumphantly (Conway, *Life*, II, 399). Nor can Paine be accused of financial dishonesty. He had numerous connections, especially in France, with men who were enriching themselves at public expense, but no one has succeeded in pinning a single job on him. Neither the charge that he beat his first wife nor that of his cowardice during the New Jersey campaign rests on any real evidence. That of drunkenness is a different matter. Too many people, friends and foes alike, have mentioned Paine's fondness for the brandy bottle for the fact of his drinking to be disputed. In his old age, he probably drank rather frequently. But he never was, as fanatics have charged, a dipsomaniac, nor did he die in *delirium tremens*. He seems always to have been careless about his personal appearance, and age and ostracism made him in his last years a trifle unlovely.

This opinionated and temperamental revolutionary never could bear to inflict physical suffering on any creature. He could not, like Robespierre, be cruel to men under the comfortable illusion that he was destroying abstractions. He did at times incline to think the great mass of people fools. He is reported—in a work of fiction, indeed, but with great psychological truth—as having defended the proposition that the minority is, even in a legislative body, more apt to be right than the majority (Royall Tyler, *The Algerine Captive*, 1802, vol. I, chap. XXVIII). But this paradox has become almost a traditional property of modern liberalism. It was one of the beliefs that helped disarm Paine for action, and prevent him from turning persecutor. In the last madness of the French Revolution he appears touchingly sane and modest. He cared too

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much for his ideal state—for liberty, equality, and fraternity—to risk trying to realize it. His ideals, his sense of martyrdom and election, his softness, all the qualities that made him a good agitator, combined to turn him against the Terror.

Paine seems never to have labored to learn to write, but to have written easily and well from the moment, near middle age, when he decided to make writing his occupation. Now he did not write romantic prose, nor Augustan prose. He has nothing to do with mystery nor with majesty. But his prose is not pedestrian. He wrote neatly, lucidly, argumentatively, with the simplicity that appeals artlessly. His sentences are brief, or at least relatively free from inversions and other Latin tricks. All his rhetoric is centred on the epithet, not on the sentence structure. He is full of telling and quotable phrases: "government is for the living, and not for the dead"; "society is produced by our wants and government by our wickedness"; "the ragged relic and the antiquated precedent, the monk and the monarch, will molder together" (Van der Weyde, VI, 26; II, 97; VI, 302). If, as in the last quotation, the epithets are a trifle theatrical, the effect on his audience is all the more telling. Jefferson thought Paine's style resembled Franklin's. Both men, indeed, wrote simply in a century fond of periodic eloquence. But Paine is moving, almost passionate, in a curiously contentious way; his aphorisms lack the sleek touch of common sense. Paine was always pleading a cause; his books are arguments, rather than expositions. Occasionally his pleading seems unnecessarily involved, or descends to endless chicanery. But in general he succeeds admirably in being interesting, understandable, and irritating—necessary virtues of a revolutionary journalist.

Paine belongs rather to the history of opinion than to the history of thought; he is the propagandist, through whom the ideas of great original thinkers are transmitted to the crowd. Yet one cannot in fairness deny him that measure of originality which makes stereotypes of philosophical abstractions. His written work, and in particular his major writings, *Common Sense*, *the Rights of Man*, and *The Age of Reason* can be taken as one of the typical patterns of eighteenth-century thought in Europe and America—in some respects, perhaps, as the most typical of such patterns. At first sight, his surprising ignorance of French may seem to have limited his command over the materials common to his contemporaries. But he mixed with the leading radicals of both continents, learned a great deal by talking, and thus absorbed his Bayle and his

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Voltaire, his Rousseau and his Holbach at second hand.

Fundamental to this pattern of Paine's is the notion that mechanical causation in the Newtonian sense is an absolutely universal phenomenon. The laws of Nature, in his opinion, apply to politics as to astronomy, and in both fields men can, by discovering these laws and adapting their conduct to them, make their lives orderly and agreeable. Now in politics the majority of men have, through ignorance, disobeyed these laws and have reaped the consequence in unhappiness. To set up kings and priests to secure political health is as foolish as to set up magical incantations to secure physical health. An enlightened people will abolish old institutions as old superstitions, and in their place put the law of Nature, codified in the Rights of Man. Force as we know it will cease to exist, and all government will be self-government. Paine does not, of course, put things quite as baldly as this. He fills in the pattern with many and sometimes contradictory details. In particular, he hesitated before a dilemma familiar to his contemporaries: are common men to be trusted to manage their own affairs, or must the enlightened central government restrain selfish or ignorant particularism? Though the theoretical bases of his thought are all on the anarchic side, he often proposes practical measures on the authoritarian side (Van der Weyde, VII, 18; IV, 219 ff.). He makes no real attempt to sound the meaning of his favorite abstractions—rights, liberty, equality. His thought lacks subtlety and shading. Like most of his contemporaries, he is a confirmed environmentalist. But Paine is blunter than any one but a propagandist may be. "Man is not the enemy of man," he asserts, "but through the medium of a false system of government" (*Ibid.*, VI, 209). Heredity is a mere political imposition. It has no justification in nature. Wisdom, in particular, is a "seedless plant" (*Ibid.*, 263).

These political ideas, save where they are preserved in such pieces of ritual as the preamble to the Declaration of Independence or the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, seem now outmoded enough. Much in Paine's writings is almost quaint, as when he argues that his deist God created the solar system in order to teach men mathematics (*Ibid.*, VIII, 83). The nineteenth century pointed out adequately enough the weakness of his political philosophy—the abuse of the deductive method, the assumption that men are capable of guiding their conduct wholly by reason, the contempt for history, the faith in written constitutions, the

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neglect of economic conflicts. The twentieth century is bidding fair to undermine the mechanical concept of causation on which his whole system rests. But of the work of Paine and men like him this much at least remains: the final destruction of the idea of a society hierarchically organized under a pessimistic and static cosmology; and the belief, now apparently rising again in a chastened form after the anti-rationalism of the nineteenth century, that human reason is man's best guide in politics and in ethics.

As to how much influence Paine's writings exerted on the course of history, there can be no final answer. Conceivably the United States of America might have become a free nation had *Common Sense* never been written. But even those who see history determined by economic and other physical, concrete forces can hardly deny that *Common Sense* helped to humanize and to concentrate such forces. Since his death Paine has lived on as a hero to a relatively small band of free-thinkers, of which men like Ingersoll and Bradlaugh were leaders. He has played in both Anglo-Saxon countries a rôle similar to that played by Voltaire on the Continent. To the majority of Englishmen and Americans, his name has been anathema. Not even his services during the Revolution have made him popular in the land which, after the abstract Republic of Man, he held most dear. There are signs, however, that the "atheist" is being forgotten in the patriot. At the celebration of the centenary of his death in New Rochelle in 1909, a Son of the American Revolution, in full Continental uniform, shared the platform with Paineite free-thinkers. But there are still many to whom Paine is, as he was to Theodore Roosevelt, a "filthy little atheist" (*Gouverneur Morris*, 1888, p. 289). The discredit into which Paine fell is no doubt explicable partly by the fact that he was temperamentally a rebel, a socially disreputable professional agitator, and that America has done its best to live down this aspect of its origins; partly by the fact that his life was an unheroic sequence of purely literary struggles.

[Paine's unpublished letters and papers were destroyed by fire while in the possession of General Bonneville. Most of his letters to Jefferson and other contemporaries have been used by Conway in his *Life*. Further scholarly research like that of Frank Smith, "New Light on Thomas Paine's First Year in America," *American Literature*, Jan. 1930; "The Authorship of 'An Occasional Letter upon the Fair Sex,'" *Ibid.*, Nov. 1930, can no doubt add somewhat to our knowledge of Paine's minor journalistic writings. The first critical and complete edition of his works is that of M. D. Conway, *The Writings of Thomas Paine* (4 vols., 1894-96). The edition of W. M. Van der Weyde, *The Life and Works of Thomas Paine* (10 vols., 1925), adds nothing of importance to that of Conway. There are numerous separate and inexpensive editions of *Common*

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Sense, The Crisis, the Rights of Man, and The Age of Reason.

Early examples of hostile lives are those of George Chalmers, or "Francis Oldys" (1791); and James Cheetham (1809); of friendly lives, those of T. C. Rickman (1819), and Gilbert Vale (1841). The standard biography is M. D. Conway, *The Life of Thomas Paine* (2 vols., 1892); this was translated by Félix Rabbe, and published, with additional material, as *Thomas Paine (1737-1809) et la Révolution dans les deux Mondes* (1900). Conway is an uncritical admirer, and constantly exaggerates Paine's achievements; he is somewhat careless about giving exact references to his authorities. But he did a thorough piece of research in Europe and in America, and generously publishes his evidence as well as his conclusions. Subsequent lives by Ellery Sedgwick (1899), F. J. Gould (1925), W. M. Van der Weyde (1925, vol. I of the same author's edition of the *Works*), and M. A. Best (1927), have added no important facts, and little critical interpretation.

For Paine's political and theological ideas, see Leslie Stephen, *Hist. of English Thought in the 18th Century* (2 vols., 1876), I, 458-64; II, 260-64; M. C. Tyler, *The Lit. Hist. of the Am. Revolution* (1897), I, 452-74; C. E. Merriam, "Thomas Paine's Political Theories," *Pol. Science Quart.*, Sept. 1899, pp. 389-403; F. J. C. Hearnshaw, ed., *Social and Political Ideas of . . . the Revolutionary Era* (1931), 100-40. A recent article is H. H. Clark, "Toward a Reinterpretation of Thomas Paine," *Am. Literature*, May 1933. An obituary is in *N. Y. Evening Post*, June 10, 1809. There are no critical bibliographies; see the "Brief List of Paine's Works" in Conway, *Life*, II, 482-83; "Selected Reading List" in A. W. Peach, *Selections from the Works of Thomas Paine* (1928), i-iii.] C. B.—n.

PAINTER, GAMALIEL (May 22, 1743—May 21, 1819), Revolutionary soldier and one of the founders of Middlebury College, was born in New Haven, Conn., the third son and the youngest of the six children of Shubael and Elizabeth (Dunbar) Painter. He was a descendant of Thomas Painter who was living in Massachusetts in 1637 and later moved to Rhode Island. Gamaliel received only a common-school education, perhaps at Salisbury, Conn. Here, on Aug. 20, 1767, he married Abigail Chipman. With her brother, John, he purchased land in the township of Middlebury, Vt., possibly from his own brother, Elisha, who was one of the original grantees in 1761. After preliminary explorations he took his wife and two sons to Vermont in 1773. Until the outbreak of the Revolution he was busy with the usual duties of the backwoodsman, clearing and planting his land, making surveys, opening roads, and, like most early settlers in western Vermont, resisting New York claimants to his lands. With the outbreak of hostilities he promptly joined the army, apparently serving with the expedition to Canada in 1775. The next year he became a lieutenant in Warner's Additional Continental Regiment. Later, he held a captain's commission in Baldwin's Artillery Artificer Regiment. He retired from the service in April 1782. Meanwhile, he had represented Middlebury at the two conventions at Dorset, Jan. 16 and Sept. 25, 1776; and in the

THE
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OF
YOGI BERRA

Wisdom of Yogi Berra

Yogi Berra's Health and Racquet

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Ford.

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ter of the malaprop, the father of
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int. Those who have been associ-
ed with him over the years, know

naking Yogi Berra necessary.

Glossary of Berraisms

On the Mets' chances in the 1973 National League East pen-
nant race: "It's not over 'til it's over."

Explaining declining attendance in Kansas City: "If people
don't want to come to the ball park, how are you gonna stop
them?"

Why the Yankees lost the 1960 World Series to the Pittsburgh
Pirates: "We made too many wrong mistakes."

Why he thought he would be a good manager: "You observe a
lot by watching."

On becoming a good defensive catcher: "Bill Dickey is learn-
ing me all his experience."

Explaining why he wasn't dancing at a Yankees' victory party:
"I got rubber shoes on."

His theory on baseball, a thinking man's game: "Ninety per-
cent of the game is half mental."

When fellow coach Joe Altobelli turned 50: "Now you're an
old Italian scallion."

When a friend said he was afraid it was too late to get into a popular Fort Lauderdale restaurant: "Well, why did you wait so long to go now?"

When a Yankee player walked into the hotel bar and said he was waiting for Bo Derek to meet him: "Well, I haven't seen him."

Explaining his variety of sweaters in assorted colors: "The only color I don't have is navy brown."

When Billy Martin locked his keys in his car: "You gotta call a blacksmith."

To Carmen, about the movie, *The Magnificent Seven*, starring Steve McQueen: "He made that picture before he died."

To the clubhouse man after a workout on a hot, humid day: "Hey, Nick, get me a diet Tab."

To a sportswriter complaining that the hotel coffee shop charged \$8.95 for a breakfast of orange juice, coffee, and an English muffin: "That's because they have to import those English muffins."

His theory on golf: "Ninety percent of the putts that fall short don't go in."

When Ken Boswell of the Mets said he was having trouble at bat because of a propensity to uppercut the ball: "Well, swing down."

Giving telephone directions to Joe Garagiola, who called to say he got lost driving to the Berra home in Montclair, New Jersey: "You ain't too far, just a couple of blocks. Only don't go that way, come this way."

About a popular Minneapolis restaurant: "Nobody goes there any more, it's too crowded."

\$2 billion Superfund Settlement



- 1st st. to mandate recycling
- 14 pt plan to ^{pt 1 halt} stop polluting ocean
 - upgrading local treatment facilities
 - stopping facilities from dropping
- N.J. has dedicated more money to clean up toxic wastes
- passed legislation to take toxic ~~waste~~ waste
 - N.J. is perhaps the leader in cleaning up toxic wastes (collets)
- Spill Fund takes fines from those who dump & uses them as rebates
- marks



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

THOMAS H. KEAN
GOVERNOR

COVER PAGE

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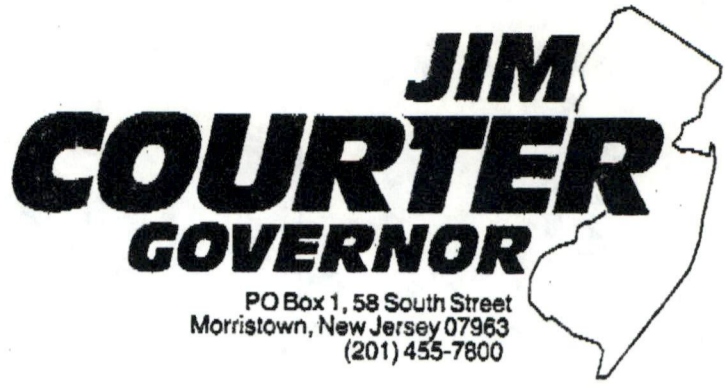
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FAX MEMORANDUM

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TEXT OF STATEMENT BY CONGRESSMAN JIM COURTER**Morris County Courthouse****Morristown, New Jersey****August 7, 1989**

WHEN I ANNOUNCED MY CANDIDACY FOR GOVERNOR EARLIER IN THE YEAR, I MADE IT VERY CLEAR TO THE PEOPLE OF NEW JERSEY THAT ONE OF MY PRIMARY OBJECTIVES WAS TO ENSURE THAT VIOLENT CRIMINALS -- THE CONVICTED MURDERERS, DRUG KINGPINS AND COP-KILLERS -- ARE MET WITH THE MOST SEVERE PENALTIES OUR STATE'S CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM CAN MUSTER.

AND, EVERYWHERE I GO THROUGHOUT THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY, PEOPLE TELL ME HOW WORRIED THEY ARE ABOUT VIOLENT CRIME; AND HOW CONCERNED THEY ARE FOR THE SAFETY AND WELL-BEING OF THEIR FAMILIES.

ON SUNDAY, THE F.B.I. RELEASED NEW STATISTICS THAT SHOW VIOLENT CRIME NATIONWIDE IS UP 5.5% AND MURDERS ARE UP 2.9%, AND, HERE IN NEW

JERSEY, STATE POLICE IN MAY RELEASED STATISTICS THAT REVEALED A SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE IN MURDER, RAPE, ROBBERY AND AGGRAVATED ASSAULT.

AS A FORMER PROSECUTOR -- AND NOW AS A CANDIDATE FOR GOVERNOR -- I BELIEVE THAT THE VICTIMS OF CRIME, NOT THE VIOLENT CRIMINALS, DESERVE THE FIRST CALL ON OUR COMPASSION.

I OPENED THE NEWSPAPER LAST WEEK TO READ THAT THE DEATH SENTENCE OF A MAN WHO STRANGLED HIS VICTIM WITH AN ELECTRICAL CORD AND THEN REPEATEDLY STABBED HER WITH A SCREWDRIVER WAS REVERSED BY THE STATE SUPREME COURT.

JUST LIKE MOST OTHER CITIZENS, I AM OUTRAGED -- NOT JUST BECAUSE THE DEFENDANT PLEADED GUILTY TO THE MURDER -- BUT BECAUSE THIS WAS THE FOURTEENTH CONSECUTIVE DEATH SENTENCE REVERSED OR PROHIBITED BY THE STATE SUPREME COURT SINCE THE REINSTATEMENT OF NEW JERSEY'S DEATH PENALTY LAW.

THE MORRIS COUNTY COURTHOUSE IS THE SITE OF ONE OF THE MOST WELL KNOWN MURDER TRIALS IN MORRIS COUNTY HISTORY. AFTER ALMOST SIX YEARS OF APPEALS, IT IS STILL IN THE COURTS -- AND THE APPEALS PROCESS HAS YET TO BE EXHAUSTED.

←
S. H. J.
J. H. J.

WHEN JIM FLORIO AND I MET WITH THE NEW JERSEY COUNTY PROSECUTORS ASSOCIATION TWO WEEKS AGO, I DISCUSSED MY PLAN TO PUT TEETH IN WHAT IS NOW A PAPER TIGER DEATH PENALTY LAW -- A LAW THAT PROTECTS OUR CITIZENS AND FAMILIES IN THEORY, BUT NOT IN PRACTICE.

THE CONGRESSMAN FROM CAMDEN, ON THE OTHER HAND, SAID TOUGHENING THE NEW JERSEY DEATH PENALTY STATUTE WOULD ONLY ADD TO CONFUSION OVER INTERPRETATION AND SQUANDER PROGRESS MADE TOWARD MASTERING THE EXISTING STATUTE.

HE ONLY THING I'M HAVING TROUBLE INTERPRETING IS JIM FLORIO'S POSITION: DOES HE WANT AN INEFFECTIVE DEATH PENALTY LAW THAT FAILS TO PUNISH MURDERERS, DRUG KINGPINS AND COP-KILLERS?... OR DOES HE SUPPORT MY -- AND THE LAW ENFORCEMENT COMMUNITY'S -- EFFORT TO PUNISH THOSE GUILTY OF HEINOUS CRIMES?

YOU CAN'T PRETEND TO BE A MAINSTREAM CANDIDATE ON THE DEATH PENALTY BUT THEN ACT LIKE A LIBERAL WHEN IT COMES TO ADDRESSING, AND PUTTING FORTH A PLAN TO RECTIFY, THE MOST DRAMATIC SHORTFALL IN NEW JERSEY'S CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM.

JIM FLORIO GIVES LIP SERVICE TO THE DEATH PENALTY BUT
WON'T USE IT AS GOVERNOR -- I WILL.

MY PROPOSED REFORMS INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING:

- # THE NEW JERSEY CONSTITUTION SHOULD BE AMENDED SO THAT THE DEATH PENALTY CAN BE APPLIED TO THOSE CRIMINALS WHO DEMONSTRATE A RECKLESS DISREGARD FOR HUMAN LIFE AND CAUSES A VICTIM'S DEATH;
- # WE SHOULD MODIFY THE CURRENT REQUIREMENT THAT A DEFENDANT CAUSE THE DEATH "BY HIS OWN CONDUCT." THERE ARE CASES IN WHICH THE ACCOMPLICE IS ACTUALLY THE DRIVING FORCE BEHIND THE MURDER;
- # THE LIST OF AGGRAVATING FACTORS SHOULD BE REVISED TO INCLUDE A DEFENDANTS INVOLVEMENT IN DRUG-RELATED CRIMES AND HISTORY OF SERIOUS VIOLENT OFFENSES;
- # WE SHOULD REVISE THE PROVISION THAT ALLOWS ONE JUROR TO PROHIBIT THE DEATH PENALTY; AND,

WE SHOULD ELIMINATE THE "PROPORTIONALITY REVIEW" SECTION OF THE STATUTE. BECAUSE THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT HAS HELD THAT PROPORTIONALITY REVIEW IS NOT REQUIRED BY OUR FEDERAL CONSTITUTION, WE SHOULD REMOVE THIS UNCLEAR PROVISION FROM THE NEW JERSEY STATUTE.

IF JIM FLORIO CANNOT ACCEPT THESE REFORMS, HE SHOULD AT LEAST BE HONEST ENOUGH TO ADMIT THAT HE IS AGAINST THE DEATH PENALTY. ANYONE CAN VOTE FOR THE DEATH PENALTY IN CONGRESS... THE QUESTION TODAY IS WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO IN NEW JERSEY -- AS GOVERNOR -- TO PRACTICE WHAT YOU PREACH?

I HAVE NEW SOLUTIONS FOR NEW JERSEY'S FUTURE AND I STAND BY MY COMMITMENT TO THE PEOPLE OF NEW JERSEY TO MAKE CONVICTED VIOLENT OFFENDERS PAY THE PRICE FOR THEIR BRUTAL CRIMES.

#####

JIM COURTER GOVERNOR



PO Box 1, 58 South Street
Morristown, New Jersey 07963
(201) 455-7800

FAX MEMORANDUM

TO:

FROM:

DATE:

MESSAGE:

Congressman Smith
Kevin Kirk

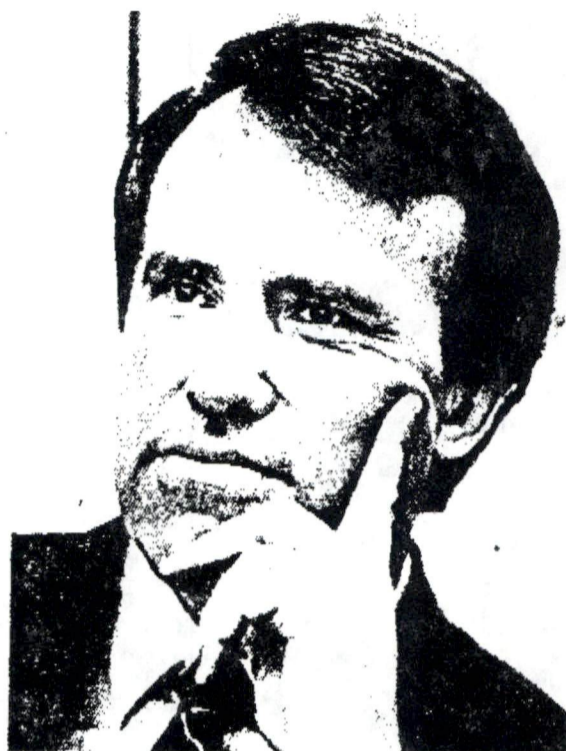
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BIOGRAPHY OF CONGRESSMAN JIM COURTER

Prior to his election to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1978, Congressman Jim Courter served in the Peace Corps in Venezuela, founded a law firm, established a legal aid bureau for the poor, and served as first assistant prosecutor in his home county of Warren.

Mr. Courter won reelection to Congress by wide margins in 1980, 1982, 1984, 1986, and most recently in 1988 by receiving 70% of the vote. In 1984 he was asked by President Reagan to serve as State Chairman of the New Jersey Reagan-Bush campaign, and has campaigned on behalf of numerous state and local Republican candidates throughout his career. In 1981 he was the first major elected official to endorse Tom Kean's gubernatorial bid and served as Governor Kean's Campaign Chairman for that race.



In Congress, Mr. Courter is a member of the Armed Services Committee and Select Committee on Aging. Addressing New Jersey's pressing environmental problems, Congressman Courter has co-sponsored legislation to ban ocean dumping and has recognized the importance of developing new initiatives in the area of plastics recycling. In other areas, he has spoken forcefully on the importance of education and issues affecting New Jersey's youth, and through his work on the Select Committee on Aging, has addressed issues affecting the State's older population as well. Mr. Courter has distinguished himself in the war against drugs by sponsoring legislation to toughen penalties on drug users and drug kingpins, coordinate federal law enforcement efforts, and increase the use of the military to combat drugs. Finally, in the important area of insurance reform, Congressman Courter has proposed an innovative plan to reduce insurance costs and expand consumer choice for all New Jersey drivers.

Mr. Courter was born on October 14, 1941 in Montclair, New Jersey, and has been a lifelong resident of the State. He graduated from Colgate University with a B.A. degree in 1963 and three years later earned a J.D. degree from Duke University School of Law. The author of a book entitled *Defending Democracy*, Mr. Courter has also written numerous articles appearing in the *Wall Street Journal*, the *New York Times*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, and the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. Congressman Courter is married to the former Carmen McCalman; they have two daughters, Donica and Katrina, and make their home in Hackettstown, New Jersey.

Paid for by Friends of Jim Courter, P.O. Box 1, Morristown, NJ 07963, Ray Mark, CPA, Treasurer

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TITLE: BETTER NEW JERSEY

VIDEO	AUDIO
	<p><u>ANNOUNCER:</u> Jim Courter has been working for honest solutions all his life.</p> <p>First as a Peace Corps volunteer in South America...</p> <p>Then as a legal aide to the poor <i>+ disambiguation</i> in Union County.</p> <p>Soon, Jim Courter earned the reputation as a tough, local prosecutor.</p> <p><i>AS OUR CONGRESSMAN,</i> In Congress, he's pushed hard for stiffer penalties for drug dealers and users.</p> <p>As Governor, Jim Courter will impose the death penalty for murderers, drug kingpins and cop killers.</p>

Get murder case.



Generic Republican

TITLE: BETTER NEW JERSEY, p.2

VIDEO

AUDIO

Jim Courter is on our side on the environment, too.

*Confirm
fact
Get
found*

He ^{delivered} ~~helped begin~~ New Jersey's first successful Superfund clean-up along the Upper Passaic River. ~~in Summit.~~

He ~~helped~~ block oil drilling off the Jersey shore to save our beaches.

As Governor, Jim Courter will put polluters in jail.

Listen to Jim Courter:

COURTER: People ask me why I want to be Governor there's just one reason: to help make New Jersey a better place to live.

TITLE: BETTER NEW JERSEY, p.3

VIDEO

AUDIO

A New Jersey where our streets
are safe...

Our schoolyards are free of drugs...

And our beaches, lakes and streams
are clean...

We can build a better New Jersey.

ANNOUNCER: Jim Courter. Honest
Solutions for New Jersey's Future.

Paid for by Friends of Jim Courter.

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

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 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. ^{You}

We've seen ~~them~~ ^{You} fight to clean up our environment. And to clean up our schools. We've seen ~~them~~ ^{You} fight the scourge of drugs and crime. ^{And} ~~We've seen them~~ ^{we've seen} create over 500,000 new jobs in the last eight years. ^{And} ~~And~~ school test scores go up twice the national rate. And we've seen ~~them~~ ^{You} 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.

have
 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. *NJ > > (M)*
 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 asked 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 -- new solutions for a new New Jersey.

For instance, ~~they~~^{you} are strong advocates of America's first national comprehensive strategy to end drug use, which I announced earlier this month. ~~Republicans~~^{you} 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. ^{you} 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 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 ^{sides} ~~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

Am bit up the

hand -- honesty and independence. Republican candidates who reject^s the liberalism practiced ~~by~~^{of} 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.

#

34TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The New York Times

October 24, 1982, Sunday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section 11; New Jersey; Page 1, Column 1; New Jersey Weekly Desk

LENGTH: 1553 words

HEADLINE: TWIN ATTACK ON URBAN DECAY

BYLINE: By RUTH MARI

BODY:

THE SALE of \$85 million in bonds to revitalize depressed urban centers - a sale that voters will be asked to authorize next week - is frequently associated with pending legislation to establish Urban Enterprise Zones.

Although the only connection between the bond issue and Urban Enterprise Zones is that both are designed to bring life back into the state's sagging inner cities, they are considered complementary.

'It's a misconception that the bond money could be used to finance aspects of the Enterprise Zones,' said Jeffrey Laurenti, executive director of the State Senate, 'but it could be channeled into the same geographic areas that receive Urban Enterprise Zone designation and strengthen them.'

Should the legislation be enacted, an Urban Enterprise Zone would be an area designated to receive tax incentives for businesses that create new jobs and hire a percentage of people who were previously unemployed.

The New Jersey Committee of the Regional Plan Association, an independent nonprofit planning and advocacy organization, considers the bond issue's potential for making Urban Enterprise Zones more attractive a positive factor.

Dr. James L. Wunsch, associate director of the association, calls the bond issue a 'comprehensive approach to meeting urban needs' and points to a paragraph in the association's position paper stating that 'without up-front capital such as can be provided in the bond issue, it is uncertain how effective Urban Enterprise Zones can be in attracting new businesses.'

The Community Development Bond Act, which predates the legislation for Urban Enterprise Zones, is designed to establish a state equivalent of the Federal Urban Development Action Grant program, known more commonly by the acronym UDAG. The measure was sponsored by Joseph P. Merlino of Trenton, the former President of the State Senate, and signed into law by former Gov. Brendan T. Byrne before he left office.

Of the total amount to be voted on, \$45 million would establish a revolving loan fund, called the Local Development Financing Fund, to assist businesses in distressed urban areas that put up at least dollar for dollar in matching money. As the loan is repaid, it would become available for other projects.

(c) 1982 The New York Times, October 24, 1982

Modeled after the UDAG program, which has been cut by 30 percent, the state program is expected to stimulate commercial and industrial development. According to figures provided by the state's Department of Commerce and Economic Development, the first round of loans is expected to generate about \$420 million in private investment, 8,000 to 11,500 permanent jobs and 4,800 construction jobs.

The prediction is based, in part, on the UDAG experience wherein \$92 million lent to New Jersey businesses generated \$596 million in private investment.

Of the remainder of the bond-issue money, \$30 million would be used for loans or seed-money grants to the urban counties and municipalities to make them more attractive to businesses. Suggested projects include the construction of museums and performing arts and civic centers.

The final \$10 million would be used to expand the Industrial Parks program of the state's Economic Development Authority, a program that already has created such parks in Newark, Elizabeth, Jersey City and Trenton. Under this project, the authority assembles and prepares sites for private development.

According to Richard W. Roper, director of the program for New Jersey Affairs, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University, the bond issue addresses problems in areas with high unemployment, low levels of new capital investment and a deteriorating tax base.

'Many private companies which might be interested in developing such areas are now unable to secure the financing that would make their involvement feasible,' he said, 'and counties and municipalities have difficulty raising the money necessary to stimulate private spending.'

Not everyone favors the bond issue. Samuel Terelli, chairman of the United Taxpayers of New Jersey, which represents some 200 independent taxpayers' organizations, said that all bond issues 'indenture future generations and put us deeper and deeper in debt.'

Mr. Terelli says government is trying to manipulate business to move into areas where it does not want to be. 'Let business run business, and government run government,' he said. 'If business can't make it in a certain area or if people aren't buying certain products, there's usually a good reason. Why should our taxes subsidize industry?'

The final form of the **Urban Enterprise Zone** legislation has not been decided. Two bills among the several being considered by the Legislature are the most significant, according to Mr. Laurenti. One, sponsored by Senator Wynona M. Lipman, Democrat of Newark, is favored by Governor Kean; the other, sponsored by Senators John A. Lynch, Democrat of New Brunswick; Edward T. O'Connor, Democrat of Jersey City, and others, is favored by the majority of the Democrats.

Senator Lipman is also named as a co-sponsor of the Lynch-O'Connor measure. The Lipman bill would permit up to four **Urban Enterprise Zones**; the O'Connor measure, six. The bills differ in requirements for zone designation and in the benefits they confer.

(c) 1982 The New York Times, October 24, 1982

The Lipman measure would create a New Jersey Enterprise Zone Authority, headed by the Commissioner of Commerce and Economic Development, to designate Urban Enterprise Zones and monitor their operations. They would give preference to areas with the greatest potential for success and the highest levels of poverty, unemployment and general distress.

For a business to be eligible for the benefits, at least 25 percent of its work force would have to live within the zone or have been unemployed for a year before being hired. The state's Department of Labor would develop and coordinate a skill-training program tailored to the needs of the private sector.

Incentives for both the Lipman and Lynch-O'Connor legislation include exemption from the corporate net-worth tax, permission to carry operating losses forward or backward and tax credits for new employees who have been out of work.

Under the Lynch-O'Connor bill, Urban Enterprise Zones would be administered by the Economic Development Authority. An amendment to the State Constitution would be required to implement tax abatements for businesses situated in the zones.

To cover half of the tax revenues lost by the municipalities, the state would provide financial aid from an Enterprise Zone Assistance Fund. Retail sales of all items except motor vehicles and certain manufacturing equipment would be exempt from the state sales and use taxes, and tax deductions would be provided for job training.

The Political Action Committee of the New Jersey Coalition of 100 Black Women has committed itself to furthering discussion of the Urban Enterprise Zone concept, contending there is insufficient awareness of the impending legislation.

The committee recently sponsored a forum at Rutgers University on both the zone concept and the bond issue, and is now encouraging community groups and urban centers that would be eligible for zone designation to organize their own forums.

"This is a subject that needs to be discussed in cities like Newark, Jersey City, Camden and Trenton," said Janet Haynes, cochairman of the committee. "These are the cities that need rejuvenation."

Senator Lipman, one of the speakers at the Rutgers forum, said that she supported the concept because Newark was a logical candidate to become an Urban Enterprise Zone.

"But this program must not become just another noble experiment," she warned. "The nation's cities have seen too many noble experiments that were doomed to failure because they underestimated the complexity of the problems they addressed."

Kenneth D. Merin, deputy chief counsel to Governor Kean, told the forum that the Urban Enterprise Zone was a concept that had never been tried before. It will create 50,000 jobs within the next decade, he predicted.

However, Dr. John D. Retting, a professor at Seton Hall Law School, said he did not believe it would work. "The tax incentives won't counterbalance

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problems of crime and shortage of skilled labor in the target areas," he said. "They won't draw businesses and, if they do, they will create more problems than they eliminate."

A better idea than tax abatements, Dr. Retting said, would be to collect the taxes and use the revenue for better police protection. Meanwhile, the Federal Urban Enterprise Zone legislation awaits hearings in the House Ways and Means Committee. A Senate bill has been approved by the Finance Committee and awaits approval by the full Senate.

SUBJECT: LAW AND LEGISLATION; GOVERNMENT BONDS; REFERENDUMS; AREA PLANNING AND RENEWAL

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BODY:

GOV. KEAN: Thank you very much for a kind -- overly kind introduction. And thank you for the invitation. And good afternoon.

I was thinking, as I was getting ready to make these remarks, about the time I was a young graduate student 25 years ago, approximately. And we used to listen to records by a fellow called Tom Lehrer. And Tom Lehrer was a political comedian -- some of you who are as old as I am will remember -- a satirist who wrote songs that made fun of a lot of the very unfunny things that were about our nation in the early 1960s -- the possibility of nuclear annihilation, racial discrimination, and the wanton destruction of our earth through pollution. And in 1965, Lehrer wrote a song about -- called "Pollution." As I was preparing these remarks, I remembered those words: "If you visit an American city, you will find it very pretty. Just two things of which you must beware: Don't drink the water, and don't breathe the air." (Scattered laughter.)

Lehrer's humor contributed to a growing clamor that had been started by a remarkable woman named Rachel Carson with a book called "Silent Spring." We were a dirty nation, destroying in decades what God had given us and what had been in place, after all, for millions of years. Of course, back then not everyone believed that we had to protect the environment. At its most benign, resistance to that took the form of gently mocking humor. And I remember when I was a freshman in the New Jersey Assembly around 1965 or '66, and I introduced a bill -- it was before environmentalism was known -- called a conservation bill to preserve a pristine glacial pond in the northwest part of our state. And I remember one grizzled Democrat on the other side of the aisle jumping up and saying, "Now I've seen everything. Essex County has sent down a bird watcher." (Laughter.)

All too often, however, the resistance to the environmental movement was much more malicious. It stemmed from people who knew the danger, but chose to either ignore it or sometimes even to lie about it. As the Love Canal scandal unfolded, for example, Hooker Chemical stubbornly refused to admit that it had been dumping toxic chemicals in the Canal for some 20 years. In fact, Hooker executives put an ad in the local newspaper that insisted "You'd be hard-pressed to find any group of people who care as much about the environmental well being of Niagara Falls as the people at Hooker."

Even more recently, there was the Cabinet secretary who said, "The environmentalists' real thrust is not clean air or clean water or parks or wildlife, but the form of government under which America will live. Look what happened to Germany in the 1940s. The dignity of man was subordinated to the power of Naziism, and those are the forces that this thing can evolve into." Now in 1988, most of us, most Americans, would consider those remarks absurd.

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The reason is that acid rain and ocean pollution, toxic waste and the greenhouse effect are no longer mere phrases. They're real problems that threaten everyday Americans from every single walk of life. Even the simplest act, like going to the back door and trying to throw out your garbage has become for some an environmental nightmare. Acid rain is ruining up to 20 percent of the lakes on the entire eastern seaboard. Polluted water has closed beaches and ruined vacations from New Jersey to California, while decimating fish harvests from Chesapeake Bay to Puget Sound. Leaking toxic waste sites threaten a number of families, threaten their health, in hundreds of communities across this land, while mountains of garbage choke landfills and cause property taxes to soar in industrial states and crowded states like mine.

As so often happens in this democratic system of ours, these problems have led to political consequences. Americans have reached, I believe, a consensus about the environment and that consensus transforms -- transcends every party line and I think transforms at the same time every region.

Eleven years ago, the people of my state were asked whether they would rather maintain strict anti-pollution laws or relax them to create jobs. Eleven years ago, people of my state split in a poll -- 46 percent on each side. Last year, we asked them the same question. And 69 percent said they wanted tougher laws. Only 24 percent wanted to relax any law. In ten years, half of the people of my state have changed their mind on that question. Last Tuesday, NBC asked Americans leaving the polls whether they would pay higher taxes to preserve the environment, and two-thirds said, yes, they would, for that cause.

But do you know how I really know that attitudes have changed? Let me read you something I came across recently. "The summer of 1988 may well have marked a turning point in political consciousness where the problem of pollution is concerned. The issue has been building for years. But, this summer, it crested. The environment is no longer a cult issue." Now, take a guess where that came from. If you guessed the Sierra Club magazine, the New York Times editorial page, or even the Nation, you're wrong. That pro-environmental opinion comes from the National Review, a publication you'd find, I guess, on Barry Goldwater's coffee table, not Ted Kennedy's.

The people of America, liberal and conservative alike, understand this challenge that is facing our generation. They cry out for leadership, and too often in the past, that leadership has not been provided.

The wetlands -- that, to me, is a perfect example of where we've failed. For years, Lee Thomas, the head of EPA, has been trying to focus the Congress on our national and on our nation's disappearing wetlands. Lee knew well that wetlands were disappearing so fast that in 212 years we've destroyed more than half of the wetlands that existed when Columbus first sighted this nation. Each year, we're losing nearly another half a million acres, and some states -- states like California, and Iowa -- have lost 90 percent of their wetlands. Children alive today may see the first man on Mars, and at this rate, the last wetland in the United States.

Now, few people outside of the environmental movement seemed to care that we are destroying the spawning ground of 60 to 90 percent of the US commercial fish catch. They didn't care that we are wiping out the home of 1/3 of the nation's endangered species, nor did anyone seem to realize that all over the country, we are destroying natural flood protection that otherwise we would have to build in at simply astronomic cost to the taxpayer. The examples -- we call them horror stories -- are really endless. We know, for example, that all of the ducks, geese, and other migratory birds in the Midwest need small ponds. They need wetlands to survive as they pass through the heartland, and they call these wetlands "prairie potholes." But you know, we're paving those prairie potholes. The ducks and geese are crowding into the few remaining holes, and avian

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cholera is on the rise.

And how about the grandfather of our waters, the Mississippi? There, we're our own worst enemy. We built levees on the river to prevent farms and towns from flooding, and now, those same levees prevent sediment from reaching the vast Mississippi wetlands, and as a result, those wetlands are literally sinking down. We're losing more than 36 square miles a year of irreplaceable breeding grounds for fish, for the shrimp industry, and for many other things as well. And some day, if it continues at this rate, we might have to add the city of New Orleans to what is sinking, since it's built on those same Delta wetlands. Lee Thomas understood the damage that was occurring, but he was frustrated by the Congress' seeming inability to act in the face of so many interests. When it came to the wetlands, the timber industry had a very definite stake, and they wanted one thing. The housing industry, another. The environmentalists wanted a third thing. So, last year, when Congress reauthorized the Clean Water Act, they felt they better just ignore the problem of wetlands. That's why Lee Thomas called me and called Bill Reilly of the Conservation Foundation, and asked us to convene the National Wetlands Policy Forum. You see, he wanted to prove that even on an issue as contentious as this, that good people representing various interests could sit down and find a common interest and achieve a consensus.

Coming up with an answer to the incredibly shrinking wetlands problem required compromise. It required imagination and it required an awful lot of creativity. And the members of this panel succeeded. They succeeded, not just because they were a bunch of what my son sometimes calls "granola heads." (Faint laughter). Yes, we had the heads of environmental groups, and good people like Jay Hair, from the National Wildlife Federation, and Fred Krupp (sp?) from the Environmental Defense Fund, but we also had two governors. We had Carroll Campbell of South Carolina and Governor Booth Gardner of Washington. And yet, we also had developers. People like Shirley Weisman (sp?), the president-elect of the National Homebuilders Association, and Mel Simon (sp?), whose shopping malls have simply changed the landscape of suburban America. And we had business leaders like Bill Chamberlain, of the Atlantic Richfield Oil Company, also serving in the forum. We had farmers, good representation from the farm community. We had professors. We had government officials, like Nancy Elliott (sp?) of Yorktown, New York, and Peter Brunell (sp?) of the California Coastal Conservancy. And of course we can't forget the man who kicked off the project and stayed through hour after hour, and hour and hours at end of meetings, Lee Thomas, who never left until we achieved what we were after.

Now, a lot of people thought this was simply a recipe for stalemate and simply thought if you got those particular people in a room there was no way that we were going to agree on this kind of a contentious issue. But, you know, the lions laid down with the lambs, and it worked. We discovered that, despite(?) we had disagreements, we knew that, but that overall, we shared some goals. We produced a document that should, I hope, be a model for future attempts to get these contentious issues behind us and move ahead on environmental protection. And the greatest success we achieved was to agree that we must in this nation of ours set a goal, no net loss of wetlands anymore for our nation. This is very important -- important for a couple of reasons. This is the first time ever that we've been able to set this sort of a goal. And second, we made that goal a premise to every other decision that we reached. I'll go into detail later or in question and answers, but briefly, what we do is we told Congress to put in place a national wetlands policy, including identification of all the nation's wetlands. We asked federal and state leaders to end government programs that inadvertently destroy wetlands, for states to be given the flexibility to adapt programs to their own needs, and for the private sector to be involved and be

more creative in ways that they can help to protect wetlands. More importantly, we agreed that we simply have to agree for everybody's interest -- and the real significance of this report I don't think can be overstated -- yes we announced a major wetlands policy today, but what we did I think transcends the wetlands. A group of totally diverse Americans, with sometimes mutually exclusive interests, were able to come to consensus. Developers sat in the same room and agreed with environmentalists, industry chieftains sat in the same room and agreed with government leaders. We can get that same kind of cooperation. We can do wonders. We can clean our oceans. We can reduce acid rain. We can turn down the thermostat on the greenhouse effect. On acid rain, for example, the Midwest and the East simply have to break bread together. That's the only way the problems is going to be solved -- rather than break heads trying to figure out who's going to pay for a solution we all know has to come. On ocean pollution, we can no longer have neighboring states play Cain and Abel with one another. New York and New Jersey had a feud about ocean dumping for so long that sometimes I thought interstate commerce between us meant trading accusations rather than goods and services. Well, Governor Cuomo and I finally sat down together on the issue. And we negotiated an agreement to end dumping off the New Jersey shore. And once that agreement was in place, the logjam in Congress just sort of naturally broke. These problems can be solved. We can craft an acid rain version, I believe, of the wetlands agreement, but it requires that most elusive of commodities, it requires leadership. Now, who will provide that leadership? Today, I think it has to be my party, I think it has to be the Republican Party, and after the election, obviously it has to be the Bush administration. I believe we stand in this nation and in my party at a historic moment. For the first time in 40 years, the party in power for two elections now holds power for a third. For the first time in 60 years, one Republican administration has been elected to succeed another. The voters have given a mandate that says basically, "Full speed ahead." America has entrusted us with what I think is just an awesome responsibility. They have made us the nation's stewards again, and I don't believe in any way we can afford to let them down. I know that Republican environmentalists still sounds to some like an oxymoron. Sometimes you'd sooner expect Morton Downey to talk about the virtues of silence -- (laughter) -- then the party of Jim Watt to talk about the virtues of protecting the environment. But, you'd make a very serious mistake if you were to believe that. My party has its roots in freedom -- freedom for black Americans from slavery; freedom for all Americans from the twin tyrannies of unemployment and inflation; and yes, I believe freedom for all Americans from the tyrannies and ravages of pollution. Yes, our first environmental President, Teddy Roosevelt, was a Republican. I know many of you heard that before. Two years ago, I gave a lecture on Republican environmentalism to the Natural Resources Defense Council, and I was told by a member of my staff that Mike Barrone (?) of the Washington Post told -- said later on, "Oh no, not another Teddy Roosevelt with a Republican environmentalist speech." (laughter.) But, these are our roots as a party, and they extend right into modern times. It was the Nixon administration that put 15 separate environmental laws on the federal books, including the Clean Air Act, the Coastal Zone Management Act, EPA, and RCRA, among others. The convention that nominated President Bush is a good barometer that I believe this Republican party of mine has returned to its roots. Look at what the Sierra Club found when it polled the delegates to New Orleans about the environment. Three-fourths of the delegates said they wanted

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government -- government -- I said the "G" word -- (laughter) -- to do more to reduce acid rain. By a two-to-one margin, the delegates said, if necessary, they'd even pay higher federal taxes to pay for a cleaner environment. This poll wasn't conducted in Atlanta. It was conducted in New Orleans. And it was also in New Orleans that George Bush devoted a good three minutes of his acceptance speech to the problems of acid rain, toxic waste, and ocean pollution. And he carried the theme of environmental protection right through the fall campaign.

I know that the post-election analyses have all focused on negative campaigning. But, I think that too many people may have been just reading the President-elect's lips and not paying close enough attention to what he was actually saying. Because, in Seattle, Washington, and in Gibraltar, Michigan, and on the shores of New Jersey, George Bush laid out an environmental agenda in detail that is as sensitive and as thoughtful as any candidate for president in my lifetime.

The President-elect endorsed our goal of no net loss of the nation's wetlands. He said the time for talk about acid rain is over. The time for action is now. He vowed to strengthen the Superfund Toxic Waste Cleanup Program. And he called for a new trust fund to protect parks and recreation areas.

Yes, I know the Vice President pointed out the facts on Boston Harbor and that that received a great deal of attention. But, what received less attention was his pledge to cut national production of toxic waste by 25 percent and to try to do that in his first term; his vow to convene an international conference on global warming; his zero tolerance policy for polluters; and his clear decision to enforce an end to ocean dumping and of sewerage sludge, and to do so within three years.

George Bush called for a new way of thinking -- a conservation ethic, he called it -- that must guide all our policies in the 1990's. Like Teddy Roosevelt before him, George Bush, I believe, will make the environment a Republican priority -- a national priority. As a result, I think you'll see the kind of consensus being built on other environmental issues that we have built here on the wetlands. I don't think we can wait any longer for leadership.

Look what we've done to our globe. We've probed it, excavated it, burned it, ripped things from it, and buried things in it. If we were renters and we did that to an apartment, we would have been evicted a long, long time ago. Make no mistake, we're tenants on this planet. And we have violated that biblical injunction found in Revelations, "Hurt not the earth, neither the sea nor the trees." Later in Revelations, you know, St. John describes the aftermath of the apocalypse, saying, "Heaven and the first earth were passed away and there was no sea." We need no Armageddon to reach that apocalypse. In fact, if things go unchecked, we are approaching this apocalypse now. But we have within us, I believe, the ability to alter the course. We can change the way we do business with one another, and certainly with this earth. That is most of all what this agreement in Vail today goes to prove, and that is what I hope we will see occurring over the next four years. Thank you very much. (Applause)

MR. RODERICK: Thank you, Governor. A couple of questions regarding wetlands. Is it true that you declared an 18-month moratorium of development in wetlands in New Jersey? Why? And what was the effect?

GOV. KEAN: We were trying to push for a goal of how to preserve some inland wetlands, and a bill was moving through the legislature, but very, very slowly. I used my executive power to declare a moratorium on further destruction of the wetlands until that bill reached my desk. The bill reached my desk in about two weeks after that moratorium was declared. It did have the effect of concentrating people's attention tremendously -- (laughter) -- and it got together some folks who had thought their interest was in delay, and once that

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moratorium was on the table, felt their interest was in reaching a compromise and a solution. So, I think it helped substantially in preserving some wetlands and stopping increased destruction.

MR. RODERICK: In what ways do you feel that the private sector can help in the preservation of wetlands, as you have suggested? Why should the private sector be trusted to help resolve this dilemma when private interests have placed the survival of the wetlands in jeopardy?

GOV. KEAN: Well, first of all, I think the private sector simply has to help, because without it certainly government can't do it alone, nor should they. The private sector -- and by "the private sector," I mean, obviously, industry, which was represented so constructively on the wetlands forum, has to be a player, has to be part of it. And their legitimate interests have got to be recognized. Without the private sector's involvement, no constructive resolution of these problems is really going to be found. But when they come in with constructive arguments, when they come in trying to achieve, as they often do, the same goal, then through talk, then through discussion, then through the kind of thing we went through on the Wetlands Forum, then I believe we can be successful. But the private sector, I think, has got to be involved. Yes, I think they can be trusted. I think very often we've got to put our cards on the table. They've got to recognize that it's in their long-range interests to preserve some of these areas, to help with the solution of some of these problems. I don't -- I'm one of those who doesn't believe, necessarily, there is an absolute conflict between, for instance, development and the environment. In fact, I believe that economic progress often can't occur, unless at the same time we have a certain amount of preservation of open space, of clean water, of clean air, and the other things which actually make people who create economic development want to come to a region. There's no worse degradation -- where you find real degradation of the environment, you find people also unwilling to come in and create economic development. So, I think the two have got to come together, and I think the private sector not only has a role to play, I think the private sector has to be a player if we're going to come to the solutions.

MR. RODERICK: Given what you have said, Governor, do you support the upgrading of the Environmental Protection Agency to Cabinet-level status? And if so, would you be interested in being this nation's first Secretary of the Department of Environmental Protection?

GOV. KEAN: (Laughs) -- The first part's much easier than the second. The -- I think it would be a very good thing, to upgrade -- upgrade it. I think the environmental problems are so great now, that I think to have a Department designated to deal with them and Cabinet-level status, would be a good thing, and I think very helpful in moving on the agenda. I'm Governor of New Jersey. I hope to stay as Governor of New Jersey, to finish out my term, no matter how attractive something like that might be.

MR. RODERICK: We can get back to this later, but let's try it again now. I think New Jersey allows what? Two terms as governor? (Laughter) You must have something in mind following your second term? Could you give us an idea of what it might be, or what kind of job could attract you to a Bush administration?

GOV. KEAN: I know my wife is listening to the answer -- (Laughter) -- but the -- I purposely, and it may sound strange, but I purposely have not focused. I've got a year and three or four months, I guess, left on my -- on my term of office. I really haven't focused extensively on what I'm going to do next, because I think, if you have a job like the one I do, if you focus too extensively on what you're going to do next, you sort of take your eye off the ball of what you're trying to do now. And we've got not only a number of environmental priorities, like the establishment of a coastal commission, but

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we've got a lot of other things we're trying to do in the state of New

Jersey. I know, if you ask me this question a year from now and I don't have an answer, that I'm going to be a little disturbed, and so is my family. But up to this point, up to this point I really haven't concentrated on what I'm going to do next, other than trying to be a good governor of the state.

MR. RODERICK: You are still keeping your teaching certificate current, then, I take it?

GOV. KEAN: Yes, that I'm doing, that I'm doing. (Laughter.)

MR. RODERICK: Could you list the top -- say, three top priorities, as you see them, for the national environmental agenda over the next few years?

GOV. KEAN: Wow. Top three priorities? I think we've gotten to the point now where I think some of these priorities have got to be global in nature, and we've got to bring our friends in on the solutions. We cannot, as we -- in so many other ways, you know, as a nation we can't solve our own problems anymore without bringing the rest of the world in. I think the environmental priorities are almost the same.

I mean, global warming, I believe in; I believe that is something that's happening, and I believe it has incredible consequences for the policy, governmental policy, in the future. And if that is the case, then I think this has got to be a priority, not only of the United States, but we've got to bring in our friends, our allies, and even people who have not been our friends and allies, and get them in a room and see whether or not we can come up with a solution. I think George Bush's idea of a conference at the White House, you know, under American sponsorship to try and work on some of these problems, is an exciting one.

The whole idea of the oceans -- I happen to believe the oceans may be finite, that you cannot continue to dump garbage all over the world, an unspeakable fault (?) of one kind or another, and chemicals and toxics in the ocean forever, without having terrible consequences. After all, life came from the ocean, and I think if we destroy the ocean and the wetlands and the estuary zones and all of that, that we're -- so I think the ocean has got to be, has got to be a priority.

Obviously, clean air, with all its ramifications, has got to be a priority; and then, sort of rounding out, the water. We know, in a number of states -- our state, for one -- where there was over-building without planning. We find out the very water that people want to drink becomes unusable, and you have this terrible business of people having to live with bottled water while you try to bring in a clean supply. We've got to pay a lot of attention to ground water, to the water that we use in the majority of this country to drink. We don't have the problems the rest of the world does. All of you who travel know, if you go to other countries, the value, the actual value of clean water, how important it is. We have never had that problem in most of this country. We've got to start recognizing that water is a real resource and we'd better work environmentally on preserving it.

MR. RODERICK: How do you feel about nuclear energy?

GOV. KEAN: I personally feel that nuclear energy has got to be a transitional form of energy until we come up with what I think are cleaner and better solutions. Every solution that I've seen under present technology for nuclear energy has some pretty bad environmental consequences. I happen to believe that, though, that we shouldn't say nuclear is going to solve our energy problems -- that we should look at it as a transitional source of power until we can move beyond it. And that takes research. And that takes technology into solar -- a number of other sources of energy which we hope will come -- our scientists and engineers will make ready for us coming into the next century.

MR. RODERICK: President-elect Bush has pledged to do a better job on the

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environment, but he also has called for a flexible freeze on the budget. Where is he going to get the money?

GOV. KEAN: Well, this is, of course, the big question on a number of these priorities. A lot of the priorities we're talking about don't, however, require a tremendous amount of money. What they take is leadership. On the wetlands forum that we just met on, an awful lot of the priorities which we've recommended in the changing of the law take very little, if any, money. We also think we have to be a lot more creative in finding resources. For instance, in New Jersey, we have a system of permit fees, where if somebody wants a permit, we use the small fee for that purpose to do the enforcement and do the regulation involving that area. There are tax checkoffs in a number of states. There are a number of things going on that are looking for creative ways to establish trust funds or to find the means to do these various programs. And then, of course, there is the establishment of the priorities -- of priorities. The one problem I have, I guess, with policy in Washington -- or one of the problems I've had in recent years with problems in Washington -- is that, recognizing that we all have a terrible budget problem, policy makers often start from the idea that everything that's now being done is fine. And therefore, we just simply can't increase. You know, just practically, that's not right, that there are a lot of things that we're talking about doing in the future that may be a higher priority than some of the things we're doing now. Then you make adjustments and changes. They're difficult. They involve bureaucracy sometimes or are attached to a different policy and program you don't want to go. But, that's what leadership's all about -- switching around priorities, making changes. We -- for heaven's sake, when I was elected Governor we went immediately almost into the worst recession in our state since the Great Depression. I was faced with a starting gap of \$600 million, which then grew from there on. And I had a budget gap to solve, which was comparable to about three-quarters of the present debt -- except we had a balanced budget requirement at the end of the year. We couldn't simply put it off or borrow it or anything else. We had to make some very, very difficult choices. But let me tell you something, we did not cut funds for environmental protection, we increased them. We did not cut funds for education, we increased them. We took a number of human service programs and increased them. And to do so, we cut back on a number of programs -- we brought a team in that cut \$100 million off ongoing government expenses. We laid off some folks and we raised some revenues and we put the thing together. But I think the idea of setting priorities doesn't mean you can't do anything new. And it doesn't mean you necessarily can't change what's going on in the past.

MR. RODERICK: Vice President Bush tried to claim the environmentalist mantle in this election even though leading environmental groups said he didn't deserve it. How do you rate the Reagan Administration's record on the environment and Mr. Bush's interest in it?

GOV. KEAN: Well, I've criticized the Reagan record on the environment, not since Lee Thomas has been around -- (laughs) -- but earlier on. And I was fairly forceful, I think, in those criticisms. I tell you my feeling about George Bush. This is probably -- and I think is the first real outdoorsman -- the first real person who's made his living in the ocean and takes his recreation in the ocean. The first one who enjoys, if he has a holiday, going out camping in the national parks. This is the first man like this we've elected, I think, since Teddy Roosevelt in either Party. This is a man who loves the outdoors, and therefore, who cares about it and understands the environment.

When he came to New Jersey to talk about the ocean, he wasn't just -- I didn't feel -- saying something for the campaign, he was somebody who really

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loves the ocean and wants to do something about it. Because as you know, if he gets a vacation that's where he goes, into the ocean to find his recreation in one way or another.

So, I believe this is somebody who deeply cares about the environment, who has an understanding of it, who enjoys it, and who will move ahead on an environmental agenda.

MR. RODERICK: This is a similar question. To really improve the quality of the environment, clearly more federal regulation and better enforcement of anti-pollution is needed. But the Reagan administration is hardly in favor of strong efforts to protect the environment. Do you think the Bush administration will be different in this regard?

GOV. KEAN: I think the Bush administration will put a lot more emphasis on the protection of the environment, but I -- you know, with Lee Thomas sitting here, I can't say the Reagan administration hasn't done a great deal to help us in the states in that regard under Lee's leadership and under Bill Ruckelshaus' leadership within the administration. There have been a lot of strides made forward in that area. I happen to think that the Bush administration will put more of a stress on environmental protection based from the President on down in the administration. What was the last part of that question?

MR. RODERICK: How he would differ from the Reagan administration.

GOV. KEAN: Yeah. I think also you'll see -- and we recommended some of this in our forum -- I think you will see more delegation of the states under a federal umbrella. I think you will see more of the "look, these are the ends to be achieved, and as long as you achieve these ends, how do you as states want to achieve them." I think you'll see a Bush administration, in other words, adding emphasis, and in priority will put the environment very, very high on the list of this country's priorities.

MR. RODERICK: Could you tell us what the current state of New Jersey's beaches are after a summer of notorious pollution? And can you give the public any assurance that this situation won't recur next summer?

GOV. KEAN: We've got a situation on the New Jersey beaches which has two facets. One is the real problem which is the most important, we have been, as you know, flows come up and down the East Coast, you can't do something in one state alone. But we have put into effect a program that's costing us as a state a quarter of a billion dollars which does everything from address the problems of storm water run-off which is one of the main problems we have, to the out-fall problems to sweeping beaches to upgrading old sewage plants to preservind dunes, all sorts of things which in one way or another will improve the ocean. We've also worked, due to the compromise that Governor Cuomo and I came up with, we have worked out in the United States Congress action -- under the leadership of the New Jersey -- we have worked out an end to ocean dumping. We're not going to have that sewage sludge in a number of years dumped off the New Jersey shore and the New York bight anymore.

We are moving to ways in which we can clean our ocean. Can I guarantee that next summer there'll be no problems along the New Jersey shore? No, because a lot of these things are a long-term process to cure just as they were a long-term process to create. But I can say is that this summer there were no problems -- no problems really from, to those of you who know New Jersey, from Monmouth County south, which was the majority of the New Jersey shore -- not one beach closed, not one test that found any kind of pollution, not one area that found any unsafety -- lack of safety for anybody swimming.

And I can say beyond that, that if you do come and decide to swim in New Jersey, from this point of view it'll be the safest place in the country because we test more. We go in and tell you if there's a problem. There are number of places in this country where you go in the water, you might hope

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it's all right, and it may look all right, but you don't know it's all right. Let me tell you this, in New Jersey, we test every -- almost every day on every major beach area up and down the shore, and if there's a problem, we will close the beach and we'll tell you you can't swim. So, if you swim on the New Jersey shore, believe me, you're going to be safe, so come. (Laughter and applause.)

MR. RODERICK: Governor, someone from here has been to Atlantic City and they're not very impressed -- (laughter) -- according to the card here. They say, why is the promise to revitalize Atlantic City from the tax receipts of the casinos have been broken? Anyone visiting Atlantic City can see that the communities and long-time residents of the city are not prospering. What went wrong?

GOV. KEAN: Well, the first thing is, you see, the tax receipts cannot be used to revive Atlantic City. The way in which those who are promoting casino gambling got the referendum passed to allow gambling in Atlantic City was to tell the senior citizens and the handicapped people in the State of New Jersey that every cent of money that the state made through casinos would be given to senior citizens and handicapped. So, we've got a lot of senior citizen programs in the State of New Jersey that no other state has, and that's helpful. But, we cannot use that money to revive Atlantic City.

What we have got -- I'll tell you the way we have tried to address the problems of Atlantic City because it is true. We've got that gleaming waterfront of the casinos and a lot of poverty still behind the casinos. We have got developed now a casino reinvestment fund where the casinos have to put aside monies to reinvest in housing and the redevelopment of that city. In fact, the first contract for the worst area of the city, I think, has been signed either this week or next week. But, what it amounts to is almost \$1 billion over the next 10 to 15 years; it has to be reinvested to redevelop that city. This will mean the housing -- a tremendous amount of new housing; this will mean stores; this will mean restaurants; this will mean the areas of the city that have not kept up with the redevelopment of the casino waterfront. (Inaudible) -- will come into their own. We're also -- there's a rail line that's opening this year from Philadelphia to Atlantic City. We got a new Convention Hall; new airport coming on line, I hope. A number of things coming which is going to work together, I hope, to fulfill the promise of Atlantic City. That city decayed over a long number of years, and simply putting a bunch of gambling houses on the water was not going to reverse that urban decay in a short period of time. But our belief is that through this casino redevelopment fund, due to that billion dollars that's going to be reinvested, that you will see Atlantic City again develop into a resort that all of us certainly in New Jersey want it to.

MR. RODERICK: Governor, do you agree that Canada contributes acid rain which is destroying the Adirondack and New England/ New Jersey forests?

GOV. KEAN: Canada has a problem because -- and Canada doesn't like to admit this -- but when Canada is talking about the fact we've got to do something about acid rain, Canada's own standards for what it is polluting the air with are not very strong. The only thing we can say is that the prevailing winds are such that not an awful lot of that blows into states like New Jersey and New England; ours is more apt to blow at them. So I don't think Canada contributes, from what I've heard, as much to the degradation of our environment frankly as we contribute to theirs. But that doesn't mean we shouldn't hold Canada to the same kind of standards they want to hold us to.

And I believe to address acid rain as we try to work an agreement between the North East and the Midwest and get a way to really significantly reduce acid rain, then -- and one of the things, by the way -- going back to George -- is George Bush never once said in this campaign -- at least in my hearing -- "it's a problem that has to be studied" when he talked about acid rain. (Light

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laughter.) I said once we're going to have the most studied environmental disaster in the nation's history. (Laughter.) He never said that. He said, it's time to ACT (speaker's emphasis) on acid rain.

And I believe acting -- and I believe Canada -- and we talk about treaties and we talk about everything else -- I believe that we ought to hold them to standards as to what they do with their own emissions the same as they would like us to have the same kind of good standards.

MR. RODERICK: The Clean Air Act has not been enforced with Congress and the administration unable to agree on sanctions and deadlines as cities continue to pollute their air. What is the answer to cleaning up the air?

GOV. KEAN: Well, I feel -- you know, I feel very -- sort of embarrassed talking in front of Lee Thomas who knows much more about this subject than I do. (Laughs.) But my feeling is that we will not really be able to clean up the air until we solve a problem that we call transport. In other words, you can sanction us in New Jersey right down to the fact where we don't have any more people driving around and not a single piece of industry left in New Jersey, we're still going to violate the Clean Air Act standards. And the reason is the flow of air that comes over us from Pennsylvania, from Ohio, from a number of other areas, brings with it the problems of pollution because of what we call "transport."

Now, until we can agree on regional solutions, until we can agree on standards that are somewhat universal, it doesn't help, as was thought in the Clean Air Act at one time, to simply ratchet down state by state. We all have got to, I think, regionally agree that there are certain standards in this world we live in that all of us have got to agree to, and whether you're putting up a higher smokestack so the stuff doesn't really come down in five miles, but comes down instead in 100 miles, that doesn't really solve the problem. And we'll only solve the problem, I believe, when we hold everybody to reasonably -- the same reasonable standards.

MR. RODERICK: "How did you get 60 percent of the black vote of New Jersey?" "What advice would you give to the national Republican organization, which could muster only about ten percent of that vote last week?"

GOV. KEAN: The first thing I'd say to the National Republican Party is, "You didn't try." The National Republican Party had no outreach into the black community. They made -- they had an ethnic outreach into almost every other community. They didn't spend any time. They didn't really try, I don't think, to address the black community. The first thing you've got to do is talk to people. The first thing you've got to do is communicate your ideas. The first thing you've got to do is have an outreach. And we've got to do a much better job of that in the Republican Party.

I didn't do that by accident. I worked very, very hard. I went into areas that the Mayor of Newark once said, "He's not only in areas that no Republican has before, he's in some areas that I haven't seen a white man in a long time." (Laughter). You go into the community. You let them know you, and you've got to exchange ideas.

Secondly, in my own view, the black voter is not looking for an awful lot that every other voter isn't looking for. First of all -- I'll tell you what I campaigned on when I went into the black community, very traditional issues, very Republican issues, if you like. I talked about creating jobs, not just in vague terms, but creating jobs in people's neighborhoods, because in a lot of places where black people live, they do not have the opportunity to get the kind of job that so many other Americans have the opportunity to get, jobs that they can advance and jobs which they can make a better life for themselves and their kids. So, I talked about things like urban enterprise zones, I talked about ways -- we created, by the way, 20,000 new jobs using enterprise zones

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in the most depressed cities in the states, in riot-torn areas. I talked about programs like this, to bring jobs into areas where people lived. I talked about education a lot, urban education.

The schools in our nation's cities are an unmitigated disaster; we ought to admit it. Not every school -- there are some shining examples of urban educators who are doing a wonderful job. But all too many schools are simply warehousing kids, instead of teaching them. Why is it, do you think, that so many good black Baptists are working seven days a week to send their kids to Catholic schools? It's not because they've been converted. (Laughter) It's because they recognize that they want the same opportunity for their kids that our parents wanted for us, to do better than they're doing. And no matter how menial a job, no matter how much some mother is on welfare, she wants, if she can, to provide a better -- so, I talked about schools, and I talked about a number of strategies to really improve urban schools, even to the extent of, where a school responded to nothing else, simply taking it over, firing the school board, firing the principal, and bringing the parents and bringing in urban educators who could educate those kids, giving them hope. And I talked about crime.

You know, you talk about crime in this country, and everybody says somehow that's appealing to a white community or something. It's not. The black community suffers more from crime in this country than any other community in our population, and we ought to realize it and try to do something about it. I did something once -- I supplied, with state funds, matching funds, about 2,000 extra policemen on the streets and corners of the city. I remember talking at a black church one time when I was running for office, and a woman stood up and said, "I only want one thing from you." And I said, "What's that?" She said, "I work, I work hard. I have a small apartment, and I walk one block from my apartment to the bus stop. Three Fridays," she told me, "in the last three or four months," she said, "I've been mugged, and my paycheck has been taken away. If you can simply find some way to get a policeman on that street corner, it's all I want."

I talked about law enforcement and ways to improve law enforcement in the cities. I think, if the Republican Party goes in -- and I could -- a couple of more things there, but if the Republican Party will go in with some basic solutions to the problems in people's lives, if they will communicate that, they will find a good response in the black community, as they found a good response in a number of other communities. They simply have to try.

MR. RODERICK: Thank you, Governor. We have come very close to the end of our allotted time. Before asking you one more question, I would like to present you with a certificate of our appreciation for being here and a replica of the Press Club seal on a paperweight.

GOV. KEAN: Oh, thank you.

MR. RODERICK: Now, somebody out there -- and maybe this would be helpful to a number of people in our audience -- would like to know if you have any advice on how to beat the slots in Atlantic City? (Laughter)

GOV. KEAN: Well, the first thing you've got to do is come and try. (Laughter and applause) Thank you.

MR. RODERICK: Thank you very much. That ends our luncheon. (Applause)

draft

(Smith/Blessey)
September 20, 1989
Draft Six
JERSEY
10:00 p.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 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 want to change the rules of the game dramatically -- new solutions for a new New Jersey.

For instance, they 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 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.

May 15 / Administration of George Bush, 1989

2. Pursuant to section 1121 of the 1988 Act, the tariff provisions necessary to give effect to the Nairobi Protocol were enacted in terms of the provisions of the Tariff Schedules of the United States (TSUS) (19 U.S.C. 1202). However, because of the repeal of the TSUS and the enactment of the Harmonized Tariff Schedule of the United States (HTS), effective on January 1, 1989, and pursuant to section 1204 of the 1988 Act (19 U.S.C. 3004), it is necessary to provide for the equivalent tariff treatment in the HTS of the articles covered by section 1121.

3. Section 1204(b) of the 1988 Act directs the President to proclaim such modifications to the HTS as are necessary or appropriate to implement the applicable provisions of statutes enacted, executive actions taken, and final judicial decisions rendered after January 1, 1988, and before the effective date of the HTS.

4. Section 604 of the Trade Act of 1974 (19 U.S.C. 2483), as amended, authorized the President to embody in the HTS the substance of the provisions of that act, of other acts affecting import treatment, and of actions taken thereunder.

Now, Therefore, I, George Bush, President of the United States of America, acting under the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, including but not limited to sections 1121 and 1204 of the 1988 Act and section 604 of the Trade Act of 1974, do proclaim that:

(1) The HTS is modified as provided in the annex to this proclamation.

(2) The amendments to the HTS made by this proclamation shall be effective with respect to articles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse for consumption, on or after May 30, 1989.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twelfth day of May, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and thirteenth.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:22 a.m., May 16, 1989]

Note: The proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on May 15.

The annex to the proclamation will be printed in the Federal Register of May 17.

Remarks at the National Peace Officers' Memorial Day Ceremony May 15, 1989

Thank you, Suzy. If it doesn't start clearing up, we're issuing snorkels to everybody out there. [Laughter] Thank you, Suzy Sawyer, and of course, to Dewey Stokes and Craig Floyd, my respects as well. You have great leadership, and I salute them. I want to say how pleased I am that the Secretary of the Treasury is with me, Nick Brady; our Attorney General, the able Dick Thornburgh; and our drug czar, Secretary Bill Bennett. The fact that we four are here is intentional. It sends the signal of our commitment and of our interest. And I know Members of Congress are here as well. I spotted my own Senator, Senator Phil Gramm of Texas, and Senator Pete Wilson. But I'm going to be in trouble because I can't see over there—who else is there. But I know many are sitting right over here, and we salute them. I see Senator Ford and others. And we're just delighted that they are here today.

Last fall a retired New York police lieutenant gave me badge number 14072, and I have it with me today—the badge his son wore the day he was gunned down by a gang of cocaine cowards. Matt Byrne asked me to keep Eddie's badge as a "reminder of all the brave police officers who put their lives on the line for us every single day." Matt, your son's badge, as I have told you, is kept in my desk at the Oval Office. And during the debate on gun-related violence that has raged in this country the past several months, neither it nor what it represents has ever been far from my mind. I've heard the many voices, the courageous and the compassionate, the wounded and the widowed, and I salute the survivors that are here today.

We gather today to respond to those voices and to honor the fallen by launching a national strategy, a partnership with America's cities and States, to take back the streets. It calls for a return to common

sense. And it begins with a clear-eyed vision of the kind of problems we face, the kind of people we are, the kind of values that we hold, and the kind of nation we intend to bequeath to our children.

The problem is violent crime, and in particular, the blood that's been shed by increasingly sophisticated guns in the hands of a new class of criminals. Usually, but not always, the deaths are tied to a cycle of dollars and drugs and dependency. The principles are simple. My generation well remembers what some believe was FDR's finest speech: The "Four Freedoms," an address to a joint session of the Congress. And the last, often forgotten, but arguably the most fundamental of those freedoms was simply this: freedom from fear. Our sworn duty to "insure domestic Tranquility" is as old as the Republic, placed in the Constitution's preamble even before the common defense and the general welfare. And so, when we ask what kind of society the American people deserve, our goal must be a nation in which law-abiding citizens are safe and feel safe.

To achieve this goal, people must be held accountable for their actions, and that's common sense. Most Americans are law-abiding, and most believe that there is such a thing as right and wrong, good and evil. And whether it's the brutalization of a young runner in a park or terrorizing a young man on to a crowded highway, these are acts that cannot be excused or explained away. A common sense approach to crime means that if we're going to affect people's behavior we must have a criminal justice system in which there is an expectation that if you commit a crime you will be caught; and if caught, you will be prosecuted; and if convicted, you will do time. For far too long, a privileged class of violent and repeat offenders have calculated that crime really does pay, that our criminal justice system is a crapshoot where the risks are worth the rewards. Well, it's time we change the odds and up the stakes enormously.

And we will lead the way. We'll do our part and then some. But no Federal effort can succeed without the full partnership of the cities and the States that you so nobly represent. Unfortunately, nowhere is your front-line role more evident than in the

honor roll that will be read today: of 161 officers killed in the line of duty last year, 152 were State or local cops. And you are the first line of defense, and your respective governments have an obligation to adopt tough legislation and provide the resources—in police, prosecutors, and prisons—to fully back you up.

At the trial of Eddie Byrne's executioners, there was testimony that the hit was ordered from prison to send a message to the people behind the badge. And one witness said that they hoped to see the attack on the television news at Riker's Island. Well, today we have a message of our own: We're going to take back the streets by taking criminals off the streets. And it is an attack on all four fronts: new laws to punish them, new agents to arrest them, new prosecutors to convict them, and new prisons to hold them.

I am announcing today—and there is no more fitting place than right here—a comprehensive new offensive for combating violent crime—for Eddie Byrne, for every officer we honor here today, and for America. The first front of this campaign, new laws, starts with the semiautomatic and so-called assault weapons that criminals have taken as their gun of choice. And again, common sense has to play an important part in this discussion. The fact of the matter is, nearly half the households in this country have guns, and guns are already out there. And the overwhelming majority are legitimately owned for legitimate purposes. But in contrast to legitimate gun ownership is the chilling fact that something like 80 percent of all firearms used by felons are stolen or otherwise unlawfully obtained. Throughout our nation's history, the hard lesson we've learned is that criminals will get guns. And so, let me be very clear about our response: The right to own a gun is not a license to harm others.

And so, first I am calling on Congress today to do for dangerous firearms what it has wisely done for dangerous drugs: to double the mandatory minimum penalties for the use of semiautomatic weapons in crimes involving violence or drugs. And the math is simple. Anyone who uses a semiautomatic for crime, or so much as has one on them during a crime, will do an auto-

matic 10 extra years in Federal prison. No probation. No parole. No matter which judge they get.

And secondly, we just can't plea bargain away the lives of your loved ones, the lives of our cops and kids. And I'm directing the Attorney General to advise America's prosecutors to end plea bargaining for violent Federal firearms offenses. Those who use guns will do time—hard time.

And third, when a criminal carries a gun and someone dies, they must pay with their own lives. We are calling on Congress today to enact the steps necessary to implement the death penalty and to newly designate

The current debate was first sparked when an unstable gunman in Stockton, California, purchased an AKS-47 over the counter and used it to lay waste to an elementary school playground. Patrick Edward Purdy had no business buying that gun. He was arrested on his first weapons charge before his 15th birthday. And by his fourth firearms arrest, Purdy had finally turned 18, and with it chalked up the first of two adult convictions. Although for violent and weapons offenses, both convictions were misdemeanors. Purdy crawled through the loophole that bars only felons from buying guns and got that deadly AKS-47. That is outrageous.

And therefore, we also propose that Congress close this Purdy loophole and others like it that allow deadly weapons to fall into deadly hands. Again, that's just plain common sense. We must not allow deadly weapons to fall into deadly hands. But we need to do more than just enact new laws. And in a recent movie about the L.A. gang wars, a woman shouts encouragement to a cop on patrol, telling him: "You get them off the street." And he answers: "Lady, we're trying." And the woman offers a four word solution: "You need more help." And believe me, we know it. Our police need more help. And I'm here today to tell you that we're prepared to match rhetoric with resources and call on our cities and States to do the same.

The second front, if you will, of our new offensive calls for increased manpower and a new strategy on guns, a strategy based on models of proven effectiveness. I have directed the Attorney General and the Treasury Secretary, working together with State and local enforcement, to launch a comprehensive, coordinated offensive against our nation's most violent criminals. And I am requesting funding for hiring 825 new Federal agents and staff—375 at ATF, 300 at the FBI, and 150 Deputy U.S. Marshals. Many of these hirings will permit experienced investigators from all three agencies to promptly combat violent crime in the field.

Of course, arresting these thugs doesn't help if we don't have the muscle to prosecute each criminal to the fullest extent of the law. And that's why the third front of

Stephanie,
Note that here he says "no plea-bargaining"; but on the Fact Sheet it says "reformed plea-~~b~~ bargaining". (p. 720)

the Capitol and ask its support for legislation prohibiting the importation, manufacture, sale, or transfer of these insidious gun magazines of more than 15 rounds.

White House Fact Sheet on Combating Violent Crime

May 15, 1989

The President outlined today a comprehensive program to combat violent crime. The program is designed to strengthen the Nation's criminal justice system and the Federal, State, and local law enforcement partnership. The program is grounded in the President's belief that greater certainty of apprehension, prosecution, and punishment will help deter crimes of violence. It includes proposals to strengthen current Federal, State, and local laws, to step up enforcement and to hold perpetrators of crimes fully accountable for their actions.

The President is proposing a common sense approach to crime with initiatives to limit access to weapons by criminals, to reform the criminal justice system, to enhance enforcement and prosecution, and to expand prison capacity to ensure both the certainty and severity of punishment.

Fundamental Principles

Four principles underlie the goals of our criminal justice system and the means for accomplishing them.

- A primary purpose of government is to protect citizens and their property. Americans deserve to live in a society in which they are safe and feel secure.
- Those who commit violent criminal offenses should, and must, be held accountable for their actions.
- Our criminal justice system must have as its objective the swift and certain apprehension, prosecution, and incarceration of those who break the law.
- Success in accomplishing our criminal justice system goals requires a sustained, cooperative effort by Federal, State, and local law enforcement authorities.

The President today proposed a comprehensive four-part program to strengthen current laws, enhance enforcement and apprehension of criminals, facilitate prosecutions, and expand Federal prison capacity.

this campaign calls for Congress to back up these new troops with 1,600 new prosecutors and staff. And now there probably isn't a police officer here who hasn't seen a case where a dangerous felon—properly arrested, fully prosecuted, and sentenced to the maximum—walked out of jail early, sometimes years early, because prisons are bursting at the seams. That is not right.

Part of our common sense approach is a simple recognition that it doesn't do any good to provide new Federal agents, new assistant U.S. Attorneys and new laws with long-term penalties if we don't have the prison cells to keep criminals where they belong. A chain is only as strong as its weakest link. And so, as the fourth front in this comprehensive effort, I am calling on the Congress to authorize an additional \$1 billion, over and above the \$500 million already slated for 1990, for Federal prison construction. These 24,000 new beds will boost Federal prison capacity by nearly 80 percent.

Not since Lincoln has a President stood in front of the Capitol and been just a few miles from the front lines of a war, never was the toll more visible than in the faces of the brave men and women, the families, gathered here today. And when I first stood here as President, over there, only moments after taking the oath of office, I made a promise: "This scourge will stop." And that's a promise that we intend to keep. Ladies and gentlemen, I offer my condolences for your fallen loved ones and for your fellow officers. And I salute your commitment, and I salute your courage, and as a citizen—grateful for the protection you have provided for me and my family and my fellow countrymen. I thank you, and I wish you Godspeed.

Thank you all, and God bless the United States of America. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 12:29 p.m. on the West Front of the Capitol. In his opening remarks, he referred to Suzy Sawyer, executive director of the Fraternal Order of Police Ladies Auxiliary; Dewey Stokes, national president of the Fraternal Order of Police; and Craig Floyd, president of the National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial Fund.

Comprehensive Crime Control Act of 1989

I. STRENGTHENING CURRENT LAWS

To ensure that those who commit violent criminal offenses are held fully accountable for their actions, it is essential to eliminate certain gaps in existing law and to strengthen some existing statutes.

A. Enhanced Penalties for Firearms Violations

The President proposed seven changes in Federal firearms laws which would:

1. double the mandatory penalty from 5 to 10 years under 18 U.S.C. 924(c) for the use of a semiautomatic firearm during the commission of a violent crime or drug felony;
2. amend the Armed Career Criminal statute to count as predicate offenses acts of juvenile delinquency which if committed by an adult would constitute a serious drug offense; many youthful repeat offenders now escape the enhanced career criminal penalties because most of their prior offenses were charged as juvenile delinquency;
3. allow for pretrial preventive detention of defendants in cases involving certain serious Federal firearms and explosive offenses;
4. authorize criminal penalties and mandatory minimum sentences for theft of a firearm;
5. enhance penalties for smuggling firearms into the United States while engaged in, or in the furtherance of, drug trafficking;
6. require mandatory revocation of Federal supervised release for those possessing a firearm anytime before the term of their supervised release expires;
7. double the current penalty for a knowing and materially false statement on ATF Form 4473 to a maximum sentence of 10 years imprisonment.

The President also urged all States to adopt model legislation providing mandatory minimum sentences for criminal offenses involving firearms to parallel Federal mandatory minimum provisions.

He directed the Attorney General to provide the States with related technical assist-

ance through the Law Enforcement Coordinating Committees (LECC's). At present, 30 States have some provision for mandatory terms of imprisonment for use of firearms in the commission of a crime.

The President proposed providing a 5 percent bonus to the formula portion of drug law enforcement grants for those States which adopt this model legislation.

B. Restricting Plea Bargaining

If our criminal justice system is to achieve its objective of ensuring that those who commit violent firearms offenses are held fully accountable for their actions, plea bargaining practices nationwide must be reformed. Too often, serious felons walk away from court after pleading guilty to minor offenses and misdemeanors because overburdened prosecutors have accepted plea agreements rather than going to trial. The lesser charges result in lesser sentences or probation, and repeat offenders continue to beat the system. To speed an end to such plea bargaining:

1. The President directed the Attorney General to issue and fully implement guidelines for Federal prosecutors regarding plea bargaining under the Sentencing Reform Act to ensure that Federal charges always reflect both the seriousness of the defendant's conduct and the Department's commitment to statutory sentencing goals and procedures. This will ensure that Federal prosecutors seek minimum mandatory penalties for all violent firearms offenses.
2. The President urged State and local governments to reform their plea bargaining and sentencing practices along similar lines and to devote increased resources to prosecutions.

C. Enacting Death Penalty Procedures

The criminal justice system must accord paramount importance to the protection of innocent life. The murderous assault weapon armed gang member, the terrorist, the traitor, and the assassin, who threaten American lives and the Nation's security, must know that they will face the death penalty for their crimes.

The President proposed to restore an enforceable death penalty for the most aggravated Federal crimes. His proposal includes

adequate standards and constitutionally sound procedures for applying the Federal death penalty provisions that now appear in Federal statutes for homicide, espionage, and treason. It would also authorize the death penalty for a number of new offenses, such as murder for hire. In direct response to the increase in firearms-related violence, the proposal specifies that the use of a firearm in committing the offense or a previous conviction of a violent felony involving a firearm constitute aggravating factors justifying capital punishment.

D. Restricting Imported Weapons

When the study of imported weapons by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms is completed, the administration will make permanent the temporary suspension on the imported weapons, if any, that fail to meet the criteria specified in the Gun Control Act of 1968 (18 U.S.C. 925).

E. Preventing Circumvention of Import Laws

The administration will propose an amendment to ensure that actions taken under the provisions of the Gun Control Act of 1968 shall not be circumvented by domestic assembly of such weapons or any combination of domestic and foreign assembly of such weapons.

F. Restricting Gun Clips and Magazines

The administration will propose legislation prohibiting the importation, manufacture, transfer, or sale of gun magazines of over 15 rounds for use by private citizens.

G. Limiting Access to Weapons by Criminals

In addition to greater penalties for misusing firearms, it is also important to limit access to weapons by criminals. This can be facilitated in three ways:

1. Strengthening and Expanding Prohibitions on Access to Weapons by Criminals.

a. The President proposed to bar the sale of firearms to, or possession of firearms by, persons convicted of any violent offense, expanding the existing prohibition to cover individuals convicted of violent misdemeanor offenses.

b. The President also proposed to bar the sale of firearms to, or possession of firearms

by, persons who are convicted of any serious drug offense.

2. *Improving Mechanisms for Identifying Criminals Who Attempt to Purchase Firearms.* The Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988 requires the Attorney General to develop a system for the immediate and accurate identification of felons and others who attempt to purchase firearms, but are barred by Federal law [18 U.S.C. 922(g)(1)] from buying or possessing firearms. The initial stage of the study must be completed by November 18, 1989.

a. The President directed the Attorney General to expand the National Criminal Records Identification System Implementation study to include a review and evaluation of State and local procedures which have effectively limited criminal access to firearms and, based on that review and in consultation with the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, to develop recommendations for model State legislation and procedures to complement and enhance efforts to reduce felons' access to firearms.

Model State legislation or procedures might include a reasonably structured waiting period or use other devices to facilitate accuracy in determining whether an individual seeking to purchase a weapon from a licensed gun dealer is ineligible by reason of Federal law. At present, more than 20 States have waiting periods, identification requirements, or other procedures which effectively limit criminal access to weapons.

b. The President urged States to transfer criminal history conviction, sentencing, and other case disposition records to the proper Federal authorities. He also directed the Attorney General to recommend additional improvements in the criminal records data system. The quality of criminal history data is a critical factor in crime control and prevention. At present, the only criminal history records consistently reported by States and localities are arrest records.

Timely and accurate reporting of conviction, sentencing, and other case disposition records is essential to the effective operation of the Nation's criminal justice system.

To improve the national data base, States should make such criminal record reporting mandatory and take steps to ensure that centralized State criminal history repositor-

ies are adequately funded and managed. In addition, States should maintain records and report on all serious crimes committed by juveniles who frequently continue their criminal careers into adulthood, but often escape early identification as repeat offenders and recidivists because their juvenile records are not reported.

3. Eliminating Loopholes and Clarifying Existing Offenses. The President also proposed to eliminate loopholes and clarify existing offenses related to the sale or transfer of firearms, in order to:

- a. facilitate the prosecution of unlicensed gun dealers engaged in illegal weapons transfers to aliens or transients;
- b. expand Federal jurisdiction to permit prosecution of transactions in stolen firearms and weapons lacking serial numbers in cases where the firearms have previously moved in interstate or foreign commerce (present law requires the firearms be moving in interstate commerce at the time of the offense);
- c. provide a uniform standard to determine whether a person is under Federal firearms disabilities based upon State convictions;
- d. require that persons convicted under State law of a serious drug offense or violent felony apply to Federal authorities in order to have their firearms rights restored;
- e. amend provisions regarding the disposal of forfeited firearms; and
- f. clarify the definition of burglary in the Armed Career Criminal Act to eliminate loopholes caused by differing State laws.

H. Making Drug Testing a Condition of Release

The President also proposed to authorize and fund nationwide implementation in 1990 of drug testing as a mandatory condition of Federal probation, parole, or supervised release. It is estimated that 81,500 people will be on some form of Federal supervised release in 1990. The Justice Department and the Federal Judiciary will coordinate implementation of this program.

The President urged States to adopt similar mandatory drug testing programs as a condition of parole.

II. AUGMENTING ENFORCEMENT

A primary purpose of government is to protect citizens and their property. This requires the sustained cooperative commitment of Federal, State, and local law enforcement officials. Apprehending violent offenders requires increased enforcement personnel, improved cooperation among law enforcement authorities, and not permitting the exclusion of evidence on legal technicalities.

A. Additional ATF Special Agents

The President proposed to increase funds for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms to provide for the hiring, training, and equipping of 375 ATF special agents, inspectors, and support personnel to investigate assault weapon and other firearms violations by armed career criminal and repeat offenders.

B. Additional U.S. Marshals

The President proposed to increase funds for the U.S. Marshals to provide for about 150 additional positions for the Marshals Fugitive Investigations and Court Orders Program. This would direct greater Federal efforts to capturing fugitives and career criminals.

C. Additional FBI Agents

The President proposed to increase funds for the FBI to provide for about 300 additional positions for the Bureau's Violent Crime and Major Offenders Program and Organized Crime Program and to assist States and localities improve their efforts in fighting violent crime through greater Federal/State cooperation.

D. Coordinated Task Forces

The President directed the Attorney General and Secretary of the Treasury to develop a coordinated strategy for the deployment of the additional U.S. Marshals, ATF and FBI agents. Their deployment will emphasize working closely with State and local authorities in task forces to target and investigate career criminals who are subject to prosecution as repeat offenders under Federal firearms laws and related statutes.

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E. State and Local Resources

The President urged State and local authorities to increase their law enforcement resources devoted to identifying and apprehending violent criminal offenders.

F. Exclusionary Rule Reform

The President proposed to establish a general "good faith" exception to the exclusionary rule which would permit evidence to be admitted if the officers carrying out a search or seizure acted with an objectively reasonable belief that their conduct was in conformity with fourth amendment requirements. The reform legislation would clarify that in the absence of explicit statutory authority for doing so Federal courts may only exclude evidence on the basis of constitutional violations.

III. ENHANCING PROSECUTION

In order to assure that criminals are held accountable for their offenses, certainty of prosecution must accompany severity of punishment. Federal, State, and local authorities must expand and coordinate their prosecutorial efforts.

A. Additional Assistant U.S. Attorneys

The President proposed to increase funds for the U.S. Attorneys Offices to support 1,600 additional positions to handle the increased number of Federal defendants and to prosecute more drug cases, weapons offenses, and other priority matters.

B. Additional Criminal Division Attorneys

The President proposed to increase funds for the Justice Department Criminal Division to support 168 additional positions to focus on drug cases, weapons offenses, and other priority matters, including activities to foster State and local cooperation and coordinated law enforcement strategies.

C. Additional Housing for Unsentenced Prisoners

The President proposed additional funds for the U.S. Marshals Service to provide transportation and 300,000 added jail days for unsentenced prisoners and pretrial detainees.

D. Additional Judicial Branch Resources

The President proposed increasing the administration's budget request for the Judi-

ciary by \$40 million for FY 1990 to cover costs associated with processing increased numbers of criminal defendants and for additional Federal criminal prosecutions.

E. Habeas Corpus Reform

The President proposed immediate enactment of habeas corpus reform to establish a general 1-year time limit on Federal applications by State prisoners and to require deference in Federal proceedings to the results of fair and reasonable State court determinations. This will correct the existing system of review, under which over 10,000 cases are annually filed in Federal court.

IV. EXPANDING PRISON CAPACITY

Prison overcrowding remains a national problem. The most acute problem is at the Federal level. At both the Federal and State level prison overcrowding is a factor in sentencing. At the State and local levels it is often responsible for the early release of convicted criminals.

A. Expanding Federal Prison Construction

The President proposed an additional \$1 billion for Federal prison construction, bringing the total 1990 budget to over \$1.5 billion. This will increase prison capacity by about 77 percent, adding over 24,000 new Federal prison beds. The present rated Federal prison capacity is 30,951 beds; the present Federal prison population is approximately 48,000.

B. Converting Unused Federal Properties

The President directed the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of Education, and the Administrator of the General Services Administration to work with the Attorney General to identify expeditiously properties and facilities suitable for conversion for use as Federal prisons or jails.

C. Deporting Criminal Aliens

The President proposed to provide the Attorney General with \$14 million for the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and the Executive Office for Immigration Review in order to expedite the deportation of convicted criminal aliens.

Crimes committed by aliens are rising disproportionately in relation to the general population and entailing more violent and drug-related crime.

The Federal Bureau of Prisons has identified 9,254 aliens in its facilities, 20.6 percent of its total inmate population.

D. Encouraging State Prison Construction

The President commended and encouraged State prison construction efforts. States currently have construction of 63,452 new bedspaces underway. An additional 78,094 bedspaces are planned, and funding has been secured for their construction. Moreover, States have requested construction of 72,190 additional bedspaces.

E. Review of Court-Ordered Prison Caps

The President directed the Attorney General to conduct a review of the role of court orders and consent decrees in prison crowding situations, including an assessment of the scope of judicial authority in formulating and issuing such orders, the impact of such orders on the operation of prison systems and public security, and non-judicial means of addressing prison crowding. The Attorney General will report his findings to the President and recommend any necessary remedial actions.

Legislation to implement elements of this initiative will be transmitted shortly by the Attorney General.

FUNDING SUMMARY

Enforcement:	
BATF.....	\$18.8 million
U.S. Marshals.....	\$12.0 million
FBI.....	\$19.5 million
Prosecution:	
U.S. Attorneys.....	\$49.6 million
Criminal Division.....	\$5.4 million
Unsentenced Prisoner Support	\$13.0 million
Courts.....	\$40.0 million
Drug Testing:	
Mandatory Testing.....	\$10.7 million
Criminal Alien Deportation:	
INS.....	\$12.5 million

FUNDING SUMMARY—Continued

EOIR (Executive Office for Immigration Review).....	\$1.6 million
State Grant Bonus:	
Office of Justice Programs (Bonus).....	\$6.0 million
Subtotal (nonprison).....	\$189.1 million
Prisons:	
Federal Prison Construction.....	\$1.0 billion

This will bring the total 1990 prison construction budget to over \$1.5 billion, which includes \$115 million available from the Special Forfeiture Fund available to the Office of National Drug Control Policy, and \$401 million in the original Bush Budget.

Total Increase ¹ \$1,189.1 billion

¹ This total can be accommodated within the overall domestic discretionary spending cap set in the Bipartisan Budget Agreement.

White House Statement on the President's Meeting With Cornelio Sommaruga
May 15, 1989

The President met today with Cornelio Sommaruga, president of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). The visit provided an opportunity for President Bush to express American appreciation for the impressive humanitarian and human rights work of the ICRC around the world. ICRC efforts on behalf of refugees, the hungry, the displaced, political prisoners, and prisoners of war are well-known and well-respected.

The President and Mr. Sommaruga specifically discussed ICRC activities in Afghanistan and Sudan, and Mr. Sommaruga thanked President Bush for the recent special contribution of \$10 million as a humanitarian gesture for ICRC activities in these countries.

**REMARKS: GOP FUNDRAISER
EAST BRUNSWICK, NEW JERSEY
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1989**

GOVERNOR AND MRS. KEAN, CONGRESSMAN AND MRS. 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.

- 2 -

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."

- 3 -

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 EAST BRUNSWICK 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.

- 4 -

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.

- 5 -

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.

- 6 -

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.

- 7 -

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.

- 8 -

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.

- 9 -

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.

- 10 -

WE'VE SEEN YOU FIGHT TO CLEAN UP OUR ENVIRONMENT. AND TO CLEAN UP OUR SCHOOLS. WE'VE SEEN YOU FIGHT THE SCOURGE OF DRUGS AND CRIME. WE'VE SEEN YOU 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 YOU OPPOSE THOSE LIBERAL DEMOCRATS WHO CHERISH NEW TAXES LIKE MOTHS DRAWN TO A FLAME.

- 11 -

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.

- 12 -

FIRST, THE ENVIRONMENT. FOR HERE, AS ELSEWHERE, REPUBLICANS HAVE HELPED BUILD THE NEW NEW JERSEY. REPUBLICANS HAVE PUSHED LEGISLATION TO BAN OCEAN DUMPING. MADE NEW JERSEY A LEADER IN 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 THIS STATE'S MAGNIFICENT SUPPORT 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.

- 15 -

THAT'S THE NEW NEW JERSEY. THE OLD NEW JERSEY'S ATTITUDE WAS: IF ONE TAX DIDN'T WORK, TRY ANOTHER. IN FACT, THE OLD NEW JERSEY REMINDS ME OF A STORY ABOUT MARK TWAIN.

IN LATER LIFE TWAIN SUFFERED FROM ARTHRITIS. AND WHENEVER THE PAPERS REPORTED THAT HE'D HAD ANOTHER ATTACK, STRANGERS WOULD SEND HIM HOMEMADE REMEDIES TO SPUR HIS RECOVERY.

- 16 -

WELL, TWAIN HAD A STANDARD REPLY: "DEAR SIR: I TRY EVERY REMEDY SENT TO ME. I AM NOW ON NUMBER 87. YOURS IS 2,653. I AM LOOKING FORWARD TO ITS BENEFICIAL RESULTS."

FELLOW REPUBLICANS, ALL THOSE REMEDIES DIDN'T CAUSE MARK TWAIN'S RECOVERY. AND ALL THE DEMOCRATS' TAXES DIDN'T CAUSE NEW JERSEY'S RECOVERY. THE NEW NEW JERSEY KNOWS THAT. THE OLD NEW JERSEY DOESN'T.

- 17 -

BUT, NOWHERE IS THE DIVISION OF NEW VERSUS OLD MORE CLEAR-CUT THAN IN THE AREAS OF CRIME, DRUGS, AND PUNISHMENT.

REPUBLICANS BELIEVE THAT WHEN ASKED WHAT KIND OF SOCIETY AMERICANS DESERVE, OUR ANSWER MUST BE: A NATION IN WHICH PEOPLE ARE SAFE AND FEEL SAFE. THAT'S WHY WE WANT TO CHANGE THE RULES OF THE GAME DRAMATICALLY -- NEW SOLUTIONS FOR A NEW NEW JERSEY.

- 18 -

FOR INSTANCE, 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. YOU BACK MORE INTERDICTION AND TREATMENT. AND OUR PLAN TO STOP USE BEFORE IT BEGINS.

- 19 -

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.

- 20 -

AND WITH A REPUBLICAN GOVERNOR AND GENERAL ASSEMBLY, THAT FUTURE WILL ALSO INCLUDE NOT JUST A WAR AGAINST DRUGS -- BUT A CRUSADE AGAINST ALL CRIME. SUPPORTING TOUGHER LAWS. GIVING OUR LAWYERS MORE RESOURCES. DECLARING OPEN WARFARE ON THE CON-ARTISTS AND THE HOODS.

- 21 -

LOOK AT JIM COURTER, WHO'S SPENT A LIFETIME FIGHTING CRIME. FOR HE EMBODIES THE VALUES AND IDEAS 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.

- 22 -

LOOK, NEXT, AT JIM'S RECORD ON THE ENVIRONMENT. AS CONGRESSMAN, 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.

- 23 -

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.

- 24 -

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.

- 25 -

LET ME ASK YOU A QUESTION. YOU MAKE THE CHOICE. DO YOU WANT A DEMOCRATIC GOVERNOR -- AND A DEMOCRATIC GENERAL 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 GENERAL ASSEMBLY WHO THINKS THAT MURDERERS, DRUG KINGPINS, AND OTHER CRIMINALS SHOULD GET EXACTLY WHAT THEY DESERVE? [PAUSE] . . . I AGREE.

- 26 -

WE NEED A GOVERNOR WHO WILL MAKE THE DEATH PENALTY LAW EVEN STRONGER. AND WE NEED A GENERAL ASSEMBLY WHICH WILL KEEP THE JOB DONE. THE POLICIES OF THE 70'S JUST 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."

- 27 -

TOM KEAN KNOWS THAT. THAT'S WHY HE'S BECOMING PRESIDENT OF DREW UNIVERSITY. AND WHY HE'S HEADING THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE OF THE "POINTS OF LIGHT INITIATIVE" FOUNDATION TO BRING COMMUNITY SERVICE TO EVERY CORNER OF AMERICA. AND JIM COURTER 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.

- 28 -

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.

- 29 -

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.

- 30 -

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 GENERAL ASSEMBLY PRESERVE THE NEW NEW
JERSEY.

GOD BLESS YOU, AND GOD BLESS THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA.

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*Hang onto
GOP majority
in state assembly
united*

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

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GOP FUNDRAISER
East Brunswick 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 party 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 *East Brunswick* ~~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

*State
GOP*

gambling

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.

liberty & prosperity

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 you **fight** to clean up our environment. And to clean up our schools. We've seen you **fight** the scourge of drugs and crime. We've seen you 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 you 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

*who stick
to new taxes
like ugly
on an ape*

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 have helped build the new New Jersey. Republicans have pushed legislation to ban ocean dumping. Made New Jersey a leader in 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 this State's magnificent support 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.

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?"

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

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

For instance, 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. You 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

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 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 ideas 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. As Congressman, 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.

not the government

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 General 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.

The failed policies of the 70's just 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's heading the advisory committee of

*Republican
saying*

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 General Assembly preserve the **new** New Jersey.

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

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